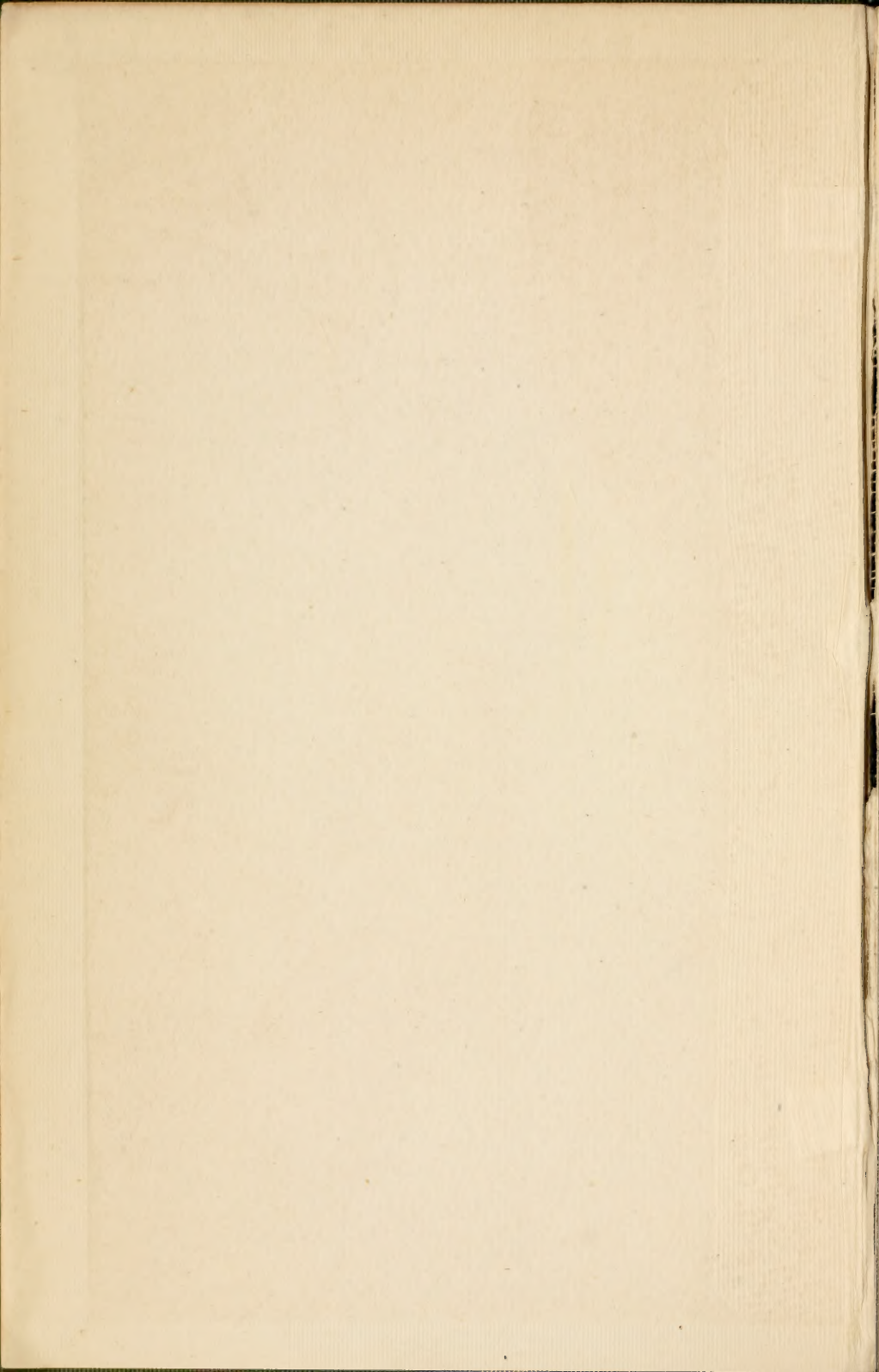





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HISTORY OF IRELAND

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES
TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

REV. E. A. D'ALTON, M.R.I.A.

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME II.

From 1547 to 1782

82902
21/8/04

WITH MAPS AND PLANS.

London:

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LIMITED

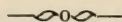
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MIDDLE ABBEY STREET,
DUBLIN.

PREFACE.



THE period covered by this volume was for Ireland a period of storm and struggle and suffering. The strife of race had become intensified and embittered by a strife of religion, for England had definitely cut herself off from Rome, and had even become one of the great champions of Protestantism, while Ireland still clung to the Catholic faith. Religious toleration had then made little progress. Neither France nor Spain was willing to tolerate any religion but Catholicism, and, in consequence, history has to condemn the horrors of the Inquisition, and the banishment of the Huguenots. Nor would England allow her subjects to be anything but Protestants. Even the non-conforming Protestants laboured under disabilities ; but the Catholics, above all, were trampled on and oppressed. Their attachment to Rome was held to be inconsistent with being loyal subjects ; and for such disloyalty no punishment was too severe. Without making allowance for difference of racial temperament, the Englishmen of that time, as previously, thought that what was good for England was also good for Ireland. They regarded Irish customs as rude, the Irish language as a barbarous tongue, and the Irishman's religion—Catholicity—as superstition and idolatry. The people who clung to these deserved little mercy, and often got neither mercy nor justice ; they were deemed unworthy of getting the status of English subjects, as they were unworthy to be left in possession of their lands. And hence the Plantation of Ulster, the attempted confiscations of Strafford, the savageries of Cromwell, and the horrors of the penal laws.

In dealing with these events, which have stirred up so many angry passions, it is not easy to steer an even keel. Irish history and Irish politics have sometimes been confounded, and the historian has often written from the politician's standpoint. He has been a Royalist or a Puritan, a Jacobite or a Williamite, has favoured Ormond or the Nuncio ; he has his thesis to prove, his party to vindicate, his opponents to attack ; he has been an advocate and a partisan masquerading as a historian.

I have not written in this spirit. I have no thesis to prove, no party to defend or attack ; I do not conceive that history is either a panegyric or an invective ; I have sought for the truth and told it, regardless of what parties or persons might suffer. I have endeavoured to make the work accurate and impartial, as well as readable. Those who have read the preceding volume have freely admitted that it is marked by these characteristics, and my hope and conviction is that they will find this volume at least equally so. Two of the chapters appeared originally as articles in the *Dublin Review*. I have to express my obligations to the Editors, as well as to Messrs. Burns and Oates, for leave to republish them. I have also to thank Mr. Bagwell for permission to make use of the maps in his valuable work, *Ireland Under the Tudors* ; and Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co., for allowing me to use the sketch-maps of Dublin, Drogheda, and Wexford, in Gardiner's great work on the *Commonwealth and Protectorate*. I am indebted to Colonel Moore, C.B., for his kindness in reading over the portions of the volume dealing with battles and sieges. I am also indebted for assistance to Mrs. Conor Maguire, to Dr. M'Donald of Maynooth College, to Rev. J. J. Tuffy of Claremorris, to Father O'Reilly, the Librarian at the Franciscan Library, Merchant's Quay, Dublin, to Mr. Martin J. Blake, B.L. of Lincoln's Inn, and to Brother Joseph of the Monastery at Castlebar. And there are many others, who, perhaps, would not wish their names mentioned, but whose kindness to me, in the midst of many difficulties I am not likely to forget.

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ERRATA.

Page 51, line 1, 1658 should be 1558.

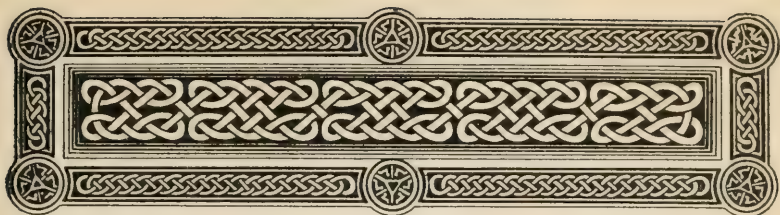
„ 120, line 13, insert *it* before *was*.

„ 153, line 7 from the bottom, omit *that*.

„ 154, line 10 from top, *altar* should be *altars*.

„ 193, third last line, after *name* put *of*.

„ 206, line 4, *fuimes* should be *fuimus*.



HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

The Reign of Edward VI.

WHEN Edward VI. became king he was but nine years old, and he died before he had completed his sixteenth year. Ware laments that his years were so few ; points to the fact that he wrote a diary of the events of his reign ; that his learning and knowledge were a marvel ; and that “ posterity might expect extraordinary performances from him if God would have permitted him longer to live.” ¹ That he had a more than average amount of talent appears certain ; but his views on matters of State were those of his teachers rather than his own ; and it is more than likely that his diary was so revised and corrected that it might be said to be the work of another hand. His sister Mary, in one of her letters, told himself that, though his knowledge and gifts were beyond his years, she knew that his letters were not his own composition, but proceeded from those “ who wish these things to take place which be most agreeable to themselves.” ² The acts of his brief reign, the credit or discredit of them, ought not, therefore, be attributed to this sickly boy, but rather to those counsellors who surrounded him and who acted under the shelter of his name. Under the will of Henry VIII.,

¹ Ware's *Annals*.

² Lingard's *History of England*, Vol. v., p. 157 ; Green's *Short History*, Vol. II., p. 239.

these were sixteen in number, called executors, assisted by another council of twelve, called advisers. Among the executors was the young King's uncle, Seymour, Earl of Hertford, but the position assigned to him was not sufficient for his aspiring disposition, and under the pretext that the arrangement was cumbrous and unworkable, he persuaded a majority of the executors to appoint him Lord Protector of the realm with the special custody of the King's person and with all the powers of royalty. In this position, he exercised unlimited power; flouted both the executive and advisory councils; had himself raised to the dignity of Duke of Somerset; dissolved many of the monasteries which Henry VIII. had spared and appropriated their revenues and lands; and acquired wealth so rapidly that he was enabled to build that magnificent palace in London which still exists under the name of Somerset House. Successful in his first war with Scotland, at first everything promised well. But troubles soon came. His own brother conspired against him and was in consequence imprisoned and executed; his second war with Scotland was unfortunate; his war with France ended in the loss of Boulogne; his religious innovations made him unpopular; his arrogance irritated the executive council; his harshness and intolerance became a menace to its members, until at last, under the Earl of Warwick, a party arose which was strong enough to pull him down, and, like his own brother, a few years earlier, he was accused, condemned and executed. Nor did his successor, the Earl of Warwick, fare better, for he too lost his life in the succeeding reign.

These intrigues and cabals and wars were sufficient to occupy the whole attention of the ruling powers in England during Edward's reign, and, in consequence, Ireland was but little in their thoughts. Yet, it was not altogether forgotten. St. Leger was continued in the office of Viceroy, and continued to pursue his pacific policy with success, the only war in which he was engaged, in the first year of Edward's reign, being one with O'More of Leix and Brian O'Connor of Offaly. More than once, the latter of these chiefs had incurred the enmity of the officials at Dublin; but, six years before this date, his offences were pardoned, and Offaly was divided between himself and his brother Cahir, on condition that they paid tribute and were

obedient to English law, and, so late as 1545, Henry VIII. expressed his willingness to make Brian O'Connor a viscount.³ In what way he offended subsequently is not clear. Perhaps he refused to pay his yearly tribute; perhaps he made war on some of his neighbours; most likely, the officials at Dublin distrusted and suspected him, and were anxious to get possession of the fertile country over which he ruled. For some cause, both himself and O'More of Leix were proclaimed traitors and expelled from their territories; and when they returned from Connaught and made an attempt to recover what they had lost, they were met by St. Leger, with all his forces, and defeated.⁴ In this engagement St. Leger was assisted by Sir Edward Bellingham, who had landed at Waterford earlier in the year, with a force of 1,000 men, and who was placed in command of the English forces in Ireland with the rank of Captain-General. Apparently disapproving of St. Leger's conciliatory measures, the English Council recalled him in the following year (1548), and Bellingham was appointed to succeed him.⁵

The new Viceroy had a record of some years public service. He had been sent as envoy to Hungary, had been Lieutenant of the Isle of Wight, was one of those who took part at the siege of Boulogne, and had been sent on a mission to the Emperor. His services were rated highly by the Lord Protector and his council, and when sending him to Ireland, they wrote to the Viceroy, bidding him be guided by his advice, as Master Bellingham was a gentleman "in whom, for his wisdom, policy and experience in the affairs of war both his Majesty and the council had great confidence."⁶ In the wars with France and Scotland, they looked to Ireland with alarm. A French or Scotch force, landed there might meet with considerable support. The chiefs had submitted, but were not enthusiastic subjects of England; the mass of the people were Catholic and distrustful of a Protestant government, and probably would prefer the rule of a Catholic nation such as France. By kindness and conciliation, they might have been made

³ *State Papers*, Henry VIII., Vol. III., pp. 334, 524.

⁴ *Four Masters*, 1547.

⁵ Hamilton's *Calendar of State Papers*.

⁶ *Carew Papers*, Vol. II., Introduction.

more loyal, by allowing them the free exercise of their religion and giving them time to abandon ancient customs and adopt English ways. But Somerset and his friends in sending Bellingham did not intend to try conciliation. They despised the Irish; they were Catholics, and Somerset was determined they should be Protestants; and if they did not yield, they were to be whipped into submission. For such a policy Bellingham was not an unsuitable instrument, and the vigour with which he hastened to crush O'Connor and O'More showed that he was in earnest. But this victory did not end his difficulties, and many others had to be met. There were pirates everywhere along the coast. At Youghal, a pirate named Smith had plundered their fishing boats; at Kinsale, there was a pestilence, "they had a wide empty town, few men and naughty neighbours," and pirates had full command of the harbour and would allow no access to the town.⁷ At Cork, English pirates haunted the mouth of the harbour and menacingly lay along the coast; at Wexford, one of the merchants had been robbed on the high seas by pirates from Fecamp; at Waterford, foreigners were afraid to trade with the port because of the pirates who infested the coasts; and at Galway, where they were similarly threatened, they had to report to the Deputy that they could make no fortifications, they were so poor. Nor was this all. A report was current, and caused no little alarm to the friends of England, that young Gerald Fitzgerald had landed in Ireland, and was to be made king by the aid of French arms. Galway was wasted round the city by Richard Burke, the illegitimate son of the Earl of Clanricarde; the Kavanaghs were restless in Wicklow; the O'Tooles and some of the Fitzgeralds were at war;⁸ an English adventurer named Fay had been invited by O'Mellaghlin to assist him against his neighbour MacCoghlin, and soon was strong enough to fight both MacCoghlin and O'Mellaghlin, acting together; O'Carroll of Ely had entered Ormond and burned the town of Nenagh; Manus O'Donnell and his son Calvagh were at war;⁹ and the Earl of Desmond was reported to have all the

⁷ Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 80.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 87-8.

⁹ *Four Masters*.

lords and gentlemen of Munster obedient to him, and was plotting rebellion.¹⁰ All these things happened in 1548, before Bellingham was more than six months in office.

His measures were prompt and vigorous. He had the seaport towns fortified, built a strong castle at Athlone, freed Magennis, MacMahon, and O'Hanlon from paying tribute to O'Neill of Tyrone; ¹¹ he sent messages to Kavanagh solemnly warning him of the danger of breaking the law, with the result that Kavanagh mended his ways; ¹² cut passes through Offaly and Leix and built fortifications in these districts; and compelled the Burkes, who had harassed the neighbourhood of Limerick, to give the mayor of that city hostages for their good behaviour. Distrustful of the Earl of Desmond, he invited him to Dublin, and when Desmond disregarded his invitation, he took with him a small body of troops, hurriedly made his way south, and seized the astonished Earl as he was seated by his fire, spending the Christmas days, and carried him off a prisoner to Dublin.¹³ And he sent a letter to the Earl of Thomond, advising him as a friend to mind his own business and not to meddle in the quarrels of others, and telling him that whoever shall "with manifest invasion enter, burn and destroy the king's people, I will no more suffer it than to have the heart torn out of my body. When the King's subjects commit such offences, they are traitors and rebels, and so I will use them." ¹⁴ Both O'Connor and O'More he finally crushed. He was specially warned by the English Council to make terms with neither, unless they surrendered unconditionally, and both, expelled and exiled from their ancestral territories, wandered aimlessly about, abandoned by their own countrymen, who feared to aid them. At last, they made their way to Dublin and submitted unconditionally to Bellingham, who sent them to England, where both were granted pensions and where O'More soon died. Brian O'Connor was kept a prisoner until the next reign, when he was

¹⁰ Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 83.

¹¹ Ware's *Annals*, Carew MSS., Vol. I., pp. 215-20.

¹² Hamilton, pp. 89, 94, 102.

¹³ Ware's *Annals*.

¹⁴ Richey, *Lectures on Irish History*, Second Series, p. 194.

set free. His brother Cahir, in the meantime, rose in rebellion, but was defeated with heavy loss.¹⁵ Many of these chieftains' followers in Offaly and Leix were compelled or induced to go to England and join the King's army, for it seems they were not to be trusted as the King's subjects, but might be trusted to fight his battles. Bereft of their chiefs and of their fighting men, Leix and Offaly might be dealt with by Bellingham in whatever way he pleased, and his plan was, that the natives be deprived of the best part of their lands, and these lands given to English colonists, and thus, a beginning was made with the policy of planting Ireland with English settlers.¹⁶ Bellingham was much praised for his activity and for the success which attended his efforts. Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, told the Lord Protector that he had "opened the very gate of the right reformation;" Bodkin, Archbishop of Tuam, wrote that his fame was "divulgated" throughout all Ireland, to the great fear of malefactors and evildoers; and Allen, who had filled the office of Lord-Chancellor, declared, but with reluctance, that Bellingham was the best man of war that he ever saw in Ireland.¹⁷ He appears to have been a just man, strict, impartial, stern and severe. "He paid for all he took and was a true-dealing man, and could not abide the cry of the poor."¹⁸ Even the Earl of Desmond, who might be supposed to resent the rough treatment which he had received, had, on the contrary, the greatest respect for him, became his friend after coming to Dublin, and afterwards spoke of him as the "Good Bellingham."¹⁹

This rough but honest soldier had little in common with the clique of self-seekers and time-servers who made up the Privy Council at Dublin. He soon discovered that their chief concern was for themselves, and that they desired to make the public interests subservient to their own. Intriguing, hatching plots, sending messages to London to blacken the character

¹⁵ Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 87.

¹⁶ *Four Masters*.

¹⁷ Hamilton, pp. 78, 81, 103.

¹⁸ Richey, p. 193.

¹⁹ Ware's *Annals*. Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, Vol. I., pp. 344-5.

of others and to enhance their own services in the eyes of the English Council—such was the work in which they were engaged. Bellingham despised them, treated them with the scantest courtesy, often acted without consulting them. He told them he had not so great an enemy in Ireland as they were, sometimes left them for hours in the Council Chamber without putting in an appearance, threatened to commit them if they interfered with him, and told them bluntly that if they were all hanged, it were a good turn for the king.²⁰ The Council retorted by intriguing against him, and in this work the chief part was taken by Sir Francis Bryan, who felt specially aggrieved. As the husband of the widowed Duchess of Ormond, he expected that his position would be not inferior to that which the Earls of Ormond had held. They had always been the fastest friends of the government at Dublin, and, of all the King's subjects in Ireland they were first in dignity and influence. But Bellingham was not in the humour to tolerate such pretensions, and was determined to govern without the Butlers. He would recognise Bryan as a subject and nothing more, and had just as little respect for his opinion and as little need for his co-operation as for that of any other member of the Council. The result could be easily foreseen. Bryan was influential in England and with the Council there; he was appointed (1549) Marshall of the army in Ireland, and in a short time was able to bring about Bellingham's recall. Pending the arrival of a new Viceroy from England, he was elected Deputy by his colleagues, but almost immediately died. Brabazon was then elected, and in the year 1550 St. Leger returned as Viceroy.

By the Irish chiefs he was well received. The bullying and hectoring of Bellingham they resented; it ill suited the temper of men in whose veins flowed the blood of kings. The conciliatory policy of St. Leger they appreciated, and, when he arrived in Dublin, the Earls of Tyrone, Desmond, Thomond, and Clanricarde hastened to the City, to bid him welcome.²¹ But he had, never-

²⁰ *Carew MSS.*, Vol. II., Introduction.

²¹ Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 113.

theless, many troubles. There were French agents in Tyrconnell who had opened up communications with the Irish chiefs, with the object of landing French troops in Ireland.²² The forts erected by Bellingham were out of repair; the port towns in the south were defenceless; and though he was expected to put forts and port towns in a state of defence, he could get no money from the government at Dublin.²³ Allen, the Lord Chancellor, had just retired from office, but he still lived in Ireland; he was an old enemy of St. Leger, and sent many reports to England which were intended to damage him. The Viceroy's gentle treatment of the Irish chiefs met with little favour from the English Council; he disagreed with Browne, the Archbishop of Dublin, who like Allen plotted his ruin; he had little sympathy with the religious innovations in England, which the English Council wished to have carried out in Ireland as well. These multiplied difficulties he felt unequal to combat; he was anxious to be relieved of office, and in the following year he was recalled, and Sir James Croft was appointed to succeed him.

The new Deputy was instructed by the English Council to propagate the reformed doctrines, to prevent the sale of Church lands, "to execute the laws justly, collect the revenue carefully and muster the army honestly," to get possession of the various seaports, so that the customs might be duly collected, to search for mines, to let the King's lands, especially Leix and Offaly, on leases of 21 years, to induce the Irish nobility to exchange part of their Irish lands for a like amount in England, to allow trade to all foreigners, and lastly to reduce the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles, no doubt, in the same manner as had been already done with O'More and O'Connor.²⁴ Similar instructions had been given to St. Leger in the previous year, but were not and could not be carried out, and when Croft endeavoured to carry out his instructions he was not always successful, and in Ulster his efforts ended in disaster. This was a contest with the MacDonnells of Antrim, in which he

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 106-8.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-112.

²⁴ Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, pp. 290-1.

was defeated both by land and sea.²⁵ These events happened in the year 1551. The same year the O'Neills of Tyrone were at war, and all Ulster was in confusion. In Leix and Offaly, the lands from which the natives had been driven were still unleased, the country for the most part lay waste, and the maintenance of the garrisons there cost £7,000 marks yearly.²⁶ There was great misery on account of bad money being put in circulation, and Croft very naturally complained, in a letter to the Duke of Northumberland, that he could not understand why Ireland should have worse money than England.²⁷ In many other directions, however, Croft's administration was a success. The Ulster chiefs, Magennis, O'Hanlon, and MacMahon, agreed to pay a yearly tribute to the government; both in the Ardes and in Clannaboy English sheriffs were appointed, where hitherto English law was flouted, and these chiefs solemnly promised to cease employing Scots as mercenary soldiers. MacCarthy More in the South had voluntarily made his submission; and O'Neill of Clannaboy, in the humblest fashion, had supplicated pardon for his past misdeeds, and bound himself by agreement that he would forfeit his captaincy and all his lands "if ever he should depart from his faith of obedience," or from such orders as the government at Dublin should prescribe for the government of his territory.²⁸

In a letter sent by the Irish Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Cusack, to the Lord Protector, we have an exhaustive survey of the condition of Ireland in May, 1552, and as Cusack travelled through the various provinces and saw most of the chiefs, and the state of the districts in which they held sway, his report is especially valuable.²⁹ In Leinster, Leix and Offaly were considered part of the Pale, for one of the merits attributed to Bellingham was that he had extended the boundaries of the Pale to that extent. In the country of the MacMurroghs, or Kavanaghs, Croft had established English strongholds and placed English garrisons, and

²⁵ *Four Masters*.

²⁶ Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 122.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 118.

²⁸ *Carew MSS.*, p. 234.

²⁹ *Carew MSS.*, pp. 235-46.

Cusack's hope was that the whole district would soon be conformable to English law. The same amount of progress had not been made with the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles, but they were in salutary dread of English power, and though they paid no rent to the Deputy, they maintained at their own expense a certain number of soldiers, who were to be always at his service in time of war. In Munster, the MacCarthy More, "the most powerful Irishman in Ireland," who on very slight pretext was wont to waste the country, had become obedient to the orders of the English officials at Cork. So also did the Earls of Desmond, and the Lords Barry and Roche and Fitzmaurice, and in their countries, the modern counties of Limerick and Cork and Kerry, English justices rode their circuits and administered English law, and these lords and the Justices were joined together in the same commission. In the country of O'Brien of Ara, eastward of the Shannon, the King's sheriffs were obeyed, as they were in the land of the O'Kennedys, O'Dwyers, and O'Carrolls, "who were wont to be mortal enemies of the English Pale." And Cusack suggested that a President of Munster be appointed, with his residence at Limerick, who would keep these various chiefs in order, and see that English law was impartially administered, and he thinks if this were done the King in a short time would have great revenue where now he has nothing but obedience.

Westward of the Shannon, the O'Briens quarrelled about the succession after the death of Maurice, first Earl of Thomond; but the friendly intervention of the Viceroy effected a settlement. Donogh became recognised Earl of Thomond and head of the O'Briens, and the old Irish order of succession—tanistry—was abandoned. Similar disputes in Clanricarde were similarly appeased. Cusack visited the place in person, terrorised the malefactors and disturbers, had Richard Burke recognised Earl, and a country which was wasted by years of war, and in which neither life nor property was secure, became so quiet and law-abiding, that "people leaveth their plough and irons and cattle in the fields, without fear of stealing." Experience had taught him that there was nothing so good with such people as good order to be observed and kept among them, and for this purpose he

suggested that a President of Connaught be appointed, with his residence either at Galway or Athenry. With MacWilliam Burke, next to Clanricarde the most powerful man in Connaught, he had little difficulty, but in Hy Many, which he also visited, the path to peace and honour was not so easy. Its chief, O'Kelly, had made promises to the Deputy, but had not kept them; there was no man in Ireland of "wilder nature"; and Cusack, unable to win him over by kindness, had recourse to sterner measures. He took his son and put him in irons, and was bringing him to Dublin, when the old chief submitted, and carried out the promises he had formerly made. And he agreed that Hy Many should become shire ground. The O'Connors and the MacDermotts Cusack describes as men of small account, "one of whom continually warreth against others." He had no personal intercourse with them, but, by the aid of Clanricarde, he took possession of O'Connor's castle of Roscommon, which he garrisoned with English troops. He did not visit O'Rorke's country or O'Donnell's, and he lamented that Sligo, which ought to belong to the King and was the best "haven town in all that country," was still kept by the O'Connors. Eastward of the Shannon, he found the country obedient, and for some goods, stolen from the poor people, the English sheriff, with only ten horsemen, distrained to the value of the goods stolen, and had the injured compensated. O'Reilly of Breffni, he also compelled to make atonement for thefts committed by his people. O'Farrell of Annally regularly paid his tribute to the King's government, and so also did the Ulster chiefs, O'Hanlon, Magennis, Macarten, and O'Neill of Clannaboy. The northern districts, the Glynns, ruled by the MacDonnells and the MacQuillans, he had not visited, and could not say that they were reduced to obedience. Only when they were fighting among themselves was the peace of O'Rorke's country or of Tyrconnell broken, but this was often, and the same might be said of many other clans. In 1548, the O'Donnells, father and son, were at war, so were the O'Rorkes, and the O'Connors and the MacDermotts attacked the Fitzgeralds. Three years later, MacDermott, who had been tyrannising over the chiefs of North Connaught, was defeated by Clanricarde and taken prisoner, and no sooner was he released

than he again attacked O'Connor Roe.³⁰ As to the O'Connors, they were mere puppets in Clanricarde's hands, and were set up and pulled down at his pleasure.³¹

During these years, the Reformation was pushed on in England with great vigour; many changes were made in the doctrines and ritual of the State Church, and corresponding changes were sought to be effected in Ireland. The State religion, in the last years of Henry VIII., was that of the King himself, and might be described as the faith of the Catholics, with the Pope left out and Henry substituted for him. In 1545, a Primer or Prayer Book was published by the King's authority, and perhaps was the King's composition, the object of which was to have uniformity established in the form of public prayers.³² But it was not intended as a liturgy, for, by the Six Articles, the Mass was prescribed. Among Henry's Council there were some who, like Norfolk, clung to the ancient faith in its entirety, and there were others who wished for greater changes than had yet taken place. Of this latter class was Seymour, Earl of Hertford, who in the new reign became Lord Protector. He dissembled his opinions while Henry lived; but with Henry's death dissimulation was laid aside, and, armed with the powers of the kingdom, he was determined that sweeping changes should be made. In this work his chief supporter was Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, a supple time-server, who changed with the changing governments, sacrificed everything and everybody to his own interests, and was concerned above all to retain place and power. So early as 1547, it was prohibited to burn lights before any image; at the opening of Parliament in that year, parts of the Mass were said in English, instead of in Latin, and Parliament, under the influence of Somerset and Cranmer, abolished episcopal elections, and in future bishops were to be appointed by the King, in the same way as any other government officials. And the same Parliament, without consulting the members of Convocation, passed an Act prescribing

³⁰ *Carew Papers*, p. 239.

³¹ *Four Masters, Annals of Loch Ce.*

³² Three Primers put forth in the Reign of Henry VIII.

communion in both kinds.³³ Within two years, in addition to the abolition of Papal supremacy, there were many monasteries suppressed which had escaped Henry VIII.; confession was prohibited, and the use of candles and processions; the Act of Uniformity was passed, abolishing the Mass and substituting in its place the liturgy in English, as contained in the Book of Common Prayer, which was the composition of Cranmer and his colleagues. Some resemblance was still left to the Mass; there was at least the same sequence in the prayers of which it was composed; but in the second book of Common Prayer, which was published in 1552, this resemblance disappeared. These changes suited Somerset, but they were not welcomed by the people at large, and Somerset was informed confidentially by his agent that eleven out of every twelve of the people professed the Catholic faith and rejected the new doctrines.³⁴ Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, refused to conform and was deprived of his See, and a like fate befell Bonner, Bishop of London, and Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, and others. Insurrections broke out in various places. North of the Humber, the changes were unpopular; from the Bristol Channel to the west was in a blaze; Devon and Cornwall demanded that the Mass should be restored.³⁵ These revolts were sternly suppressed, and special mention is made of the Oxfordshire Papists who were apprehended, "and some gibbeted and their heads fastened to the walls"; in other places, the dead bodies of priests who had been executed "were seen dangling from the steeples of the parish churches, and the heads of laymen set up in the high places of the towns."³⁶

In Ireland, the Act of Uniformity could not be enforced, as the people did not understand English; but St. Leger and his successors were commanded to propagate the new doctrines. Browne of Dublin and some others were zealous in this direction, but St. Leger himself was not, nor were even the officials. The inhabitants within the Pale in their hearts clung to the ancient faith, but for

³³ Gasquet, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*. p. 70

³⁴ Lingard, *History of England*, Vol. v., p. 151.

³⁵ Gasquet, pp. 251-4.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

the most part remained quiescent. Outside of the Pale the native chiefs, terrorised by Henry VIII., had taken the Oath of Supremacy and in some cases had even shared in the plunder of the monasteries, but they did not go beyond this, and were more attached to the old faith than to the new. The people under them were, without exception, still Catholic ; they did not understand the new doctrines, nor care to understand them , and if we except the officials and the bishops appointed by the King, who were after all but government officials, there were no Protestants in Ireland.³⁷ Such little progress was made that even Browne lost courage ; his zeal abated ; preaching ceased ; and for three years, St. Leger declared, only one sermon was preached within the Pale, and this was preached by Staples, Bishop of Meath.³⁸

Bellingham, who succeeded St. Leger, was a strong reformer, and loyally co-operated with Browne. Determined to succeed where others had failed, he first addressed himself to Dowdall, Archbishop of Armagh. When Cromer died in 1543, Dowdall had been appointed his successor by Henry VIII., it being implied that he accepted the King's spiritual supremacy. A rival, Wauchope, was appointed by the Pope, and in that capacity was present at the Council of Trent ; he also introduced the Jesuits into Ireland.³⁹ He retired to Paris, where he died in 1551, and did not live at Armagh, or in Ireland, for it soon became evident that Dowdall rejected the King's spiritual supremacy and was a zealous and faithful supporter of Papal authority. He was a man of stainless character, of recognised purity of purpose, of strong convictions, and in striking contrast with such a government hireling as Browne. His loyalty to England was undoubted, and in consequence, though his religious views were well known, and were not concealed, he was for years unmolested in his position, and successive Viceroys treated him with consideration and respect. In a letter sent him by Bellingham, in 1549, he tells him that he both loves and esteems him, recognises that God had given him great

³⁷ Richey, p. 156.

³⁸ Richey, p. 200.

³⁹ Stuart's *Historical Memoirs of Armagh* (Coleman's Edition), pp. 141-2.

gifts, begs him to set forth to the people the plain, simple truth, and invites him to come to Dublin, so that he may consult with him.⁴⁰ It does not appear that Dowdall then came, but two years later he did. In the meantime St. Leger had become Viceroy. When he arrived at Dublin, he attended Mass, as in the old times, but the time had come when such conduct could not be tolerated, for the liturgy in English was already prescribed and enforced in England, and in 1551, the English Privy Council directed that the same order of things should be established in Ireland. With no sympathy for these changes, St. Leger told Browne that his "matters of religion would spoil all."⁴¹ He could see that nobody in Ireland wanted the Book of Common Prayer except a few, and that unwelcome innovations would spoil the happy effects of his conciliatory policy. But it was unsafe to disobey his English masters. He had no ambition to be a martyr; he was only a government official, prepared to serve whatever government was in power, to humour their whims, to trim his sails to the shifting winds. And in accordance with the orders he had received, he summoned a meeting of the bishops, and to show his obedience to the English Council and his zeal for their views, he undertook to argue, and if possible to convince Dowdall. But that prelate was not so easily convinced, and he and the bishops of his province left the conference, still unchanged.⁴² In Croft's viceroyalty, a similar conference was held at Dublin (1552), and, like that of the preceding year, it also was abortive. To punish Dowdall for his obstinacy, the government deprived him of the honours of the Primacy, which were given to Browne; and as Dowdall felt that this was but the prelude to sterner measures, which perhaps might involve the sacrifice of his life, he left Ireland altogether. His place was soon filled by the appointment of Hugh Curwen.

At the same time, another reforming bishop was appointed at Ossory, in the person of John Bale. An Englishman and a Carmelite friar, he deserted his vows and got married, and of the religion

⁴⁰ *Carew Papers*, Vol. II., Introduction.

⁴¹ Richey, p. 201.

⁴² Ware's *Annals*.

in which he was born, and of which he was the consecrated minister, he became the bitterest enemy. For these attacks in the reign of Henry VIII. he was for a time imprisoned, and on his release fled to Germany. He came back at the accession of Edward, more embittered than ever against the Church which he had abandoned.⁴³ Whatever savoured of its doctrines or its liturgy he detested and attacked; and he approved of the second Prayer Book of Edward rather than of the first one, because, in what it contained, all resemblance to the Mass was lost. For a similar reason he insisted on being consecrated bishop according to the new rites, though the consecrating prelates favoured the old. Narrow-minded and intolerant, he had nothing but the coarsest abuse for whoever presumed to differ from him. Browne of Dublin he called an epicure and a glutton;⁴⁴ Lockwood, the Dean of Christchurch, was a blockhead and an ass-headed dean; the people were guilty of "murders, thefts, idolatries and abominable whoredoms." At Kilkenny, the people were all Catholics, and amongst the clergy of his diocese he found "no helpers but adversaries a great number." A Christian and a gentleman, such as a bishop might be expected to be, would have spoken with charity, would have argued and tried to convince, but such Christian conduct was ill-suited to the temper and habits of this ferocious bigot. Their religion, he called idolatry, their prayers for the dead, useless; and on all these ceremonies, consecrated as they were by centuries of usage and practised by millions of men, he poured forth a torrent of the vilest blasphemy. For a time the people of Kilkenny, whose feelings he had thus outraged, bore with him, but at last their patience became exhausted and they turned on him with fury, attacked him in his house, and killed five of his servants. Nor would Bale have fared better but that he was rescued by the military commander, at the head of a troop of horse. The Bishop was conveyed to Dublin, whence he escaped to England, disguised as a sailor, and after many hardships arrived at Bale, where he remained until the accession of Elizabeth.⁴⁵

⁴³ Ware's *Bishops*.

⁴⁴ Richey, pp. 210-16.

⁴⁵ *Harleian Miscellany*, Vol. VI., pp. 452-6. (*Vocacyon of John Bale*.)

Staples of Meath was not so violent as Bale, but was little less unpopular, and was told by one of his priests that he had more curses from the people than he had hairs on his head.⁴⁶ In spite of all his and Browne's efforts, the Reformation was at a standstill, and the people, both within and without the Pale, were still Catholics. Such was the state of the country when the Protestant Edward died and the Catholic Mary ascended the throne.

⁴⁶ Richey, p. 218.



CHAPTER II.

The Reign of Mary.

THE life of Queen Mary before she ascended the throne was full of troubles and sorrows. She had seen her mother degraded from her dignity as Queen, divorced from the husband to whom she had been faithful, her liberty and even her life imperilled, because she persisted in believing in that religion in which she was born. The daughter held firmly by the mother's faith, and in consequence was treated with the same disrespect and even harshness. She was declared illegitimate and the child of a mistress preferred before her; her mother's early death left her without a mother's care; her life was in constant jeopardy in her father's reign; and in the reign of her brother, she was with reluctance allowed the privilege of having Mass said privately in her house.¹ When she became Queen her youth and beauty were gone, her health was poor, and the recollection of all she had gone through had hardened her nature and soured her temper. From her mother, she had inherited her strong religious convictions; from her father, his despotic nature, his stubborn will, his impatience of control or opposition. Under her influence the Catholic religion was declared the religion of the State, and the Acts passed against it were repealed; the reforming bishops were thrust out of their Sees, and Bonner and Gardiner and others were released from prison, and, restored to the positions from which they had been driven, became the Queen's confidential advisers. These things were done by

¹ Lingard, Vol. v., p. 157.

the advice of her Council and with the almost unanimous consent of her Parliament.² But Mary was not satisfied with restoring the ancient faith. She lived in an age of religious intolerance ; she would have no religion in the State but one, and those who attacked it, or publicly held the new doctrines, she regarded as public enemies, against whom severe laws were passed and were cruelly enforced. To punish rebels such as Northumberland and Wyatt, who had sought to deprive her of her throne, was legitimate ;³ to deprive the reforming bishops of their Sees could not be found fault with, as long as they persisted in their beliefs, and as long as the religion of the State was Catholic. But to cast them into prison and burn them at the stake was neither necessary nor just ; and the burning of 200 persons during her reign,⁴ most, if not all, of whom conscientiously held the religious opinions to which they had given utterance, was a measure cruel and barbarous ; and the constancy displayed by such men as Ridley and Latimer did more to the injury of Catholicism, and the advancement of the Reformation, than all the preaching of the Reformers could have done.⁵

In Ireland there were no similar scenes. The bishops appointed by Henry and Edward were ready to adopt the creed of their sovereign, and to change it as the sovereign changed ; and to make such sacrifices for the faith as so many of the Reformers did in England, was the last thing they were prepared to do. Even Bale had no ambition to shed his blood. He showed every readiness to abuse the ancient church, and was as coarse and vulgar after Mary's accession as before it ; but when he found that the anger of the people at Kilkenny was turned against him and that his life was in danger he sought safety in flight. Browne of Dublin had done much harm to the Catholic Church, but he was more cautious, perhaps less sincere, than Bale ; like Cranmer, his main purpose was to maintain his position ; and when Bale in his flight reached Dublin, Browne refused to meet

² Lingard, Vol. v., p. 199.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 212-13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

⁵ Green's *Short History*, Vol. II., pp. 256-60.

him, or be in any way identified with him. If he thought that by doing so his past conduct would be condoned, he erred. He was deprived of the Primacy, in 1553, and in the next year, he was expelled from the See of Dublin, as being a married man, and it is thought, adds Ware "had he not been married he had been expelled, having appeared so much for the Reformation."⁶ Nor was much sympathy felt for him anywhere. His arrogance, his insolence, his intolerance, his vanity and ambition, his grasping avarice, his cringing to those in power, had alienated the sympathy and respect of all; after twenty years in Dublin he had made no friends and many enemies, and from the Viceroy down, none felt for him in his misfortune, or pitied him in his fall. His death is referred to the year 1556, but the exact place and time are not known. The fate of Staples of Meath and Lancaster of Kildare was similar to that of Browne, and for a similar reason, for they, like Browne, were married. The other prominent apostate was Casey of Limerick, who had been appointed by the Earl of Thomond, and who, on Mary's accession, imitated the example of Bale and fled the country.⁷ It does not appear that any others were deprived of their Sees, the reason being that they did not identify themselves with the progress of the Reformation, and their recognition of the spiritual supremacy was only outward and nominal. In their hearts they held the ancient faith, and were glad that they were free to openly profess it under the protection of a Catholic monarch.

The places vacated were filled, at Dublin by Curwen, an Englishman, in Meath by William Walsh; Thonory became Bishop of Ossory, Lacy Bishop of Limerick, Foley Bishop of Leighlin, Leverous Bishop of Kildare, Skyddy Bishop of Cork, Fitzgerald, Archbishop of Cashel; and these are the only changes of any importance affecting the Church as recorded in the Rolls and State Papers of Mary's reign.⁸ Included in this list ought to be Dowdall, who was restored to the See of Armagh and to the Primacy; his goods and chattels which were taken away in his absence were to be recovered for him by the Deputy, if possible;

⁶ D'Alton, *Archbishops of Dublin*, pp. 234-5.

⁷ Ware's *Bishops*.

⁸ *Carew Papers*, Vol. III., Introduction

he was to be compensated for losses sustained, and to be given the Priory of Ardee for the term of his life, without paying any rent.⁹ These appointments indicate that Mary, like her father and brother, assumed to be head of the Church as well as of the State, but she did not exclude the Pope, nor deny his supremacy, nor did she claim to have spiritual jurisdiction. She insisted that no episcopal elections should take place without her licence being first issued to the diocesan chapter, and she assumed the right to confer the temporalities of the See, but beyond this she did not go. She recognised the Pope's right to issue bulls in her dominions; she received his legate and respected him, and she accepted with pleasure his recognition that she was Queen of Ireland.¹⁰

In effecting these sweeping changes the Queen got no opposition from the government officials at Dublin, but, on the contrary, all, from the Deputy down, hastened to carry out her decrees. These officials were a strange race. They did not feel the necessity of clinging to any creed. They knew no religion but interest; they looked always to temporal concerns and personal convenience; accommodated themselves to whatever party was in power; and changed their creed as they cast off their clothes. What they affirmed to-day they denied to-morrow; accepted without question the claim of the reigning sovereign to regulate the people's faith, and believed, or pretended to believe, that in spiritual matters, as well as in others, it was the right of the sovereign to command and the duty of the subject to obey. And the very men who in the reigns of Henry and Edward called the Catholics Papists and idolaters, became, in Mary's reign, Papists and idolaters themselves. In 1551, St. Leger had endeavoured to convert Dowdall to Protestantism,¹¹ and the same year, had assumed the air of a deeply injured man, because he had been called a Papist.¹² Before three years had expired, he held office under a Papist Queen, was a full-blown Papist, and helped to deprive Browne of the See of Dublin, because he was

⁹ Morrin, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, p. 302.

¹⁰ Morrin, pp. 306-7, 339.

¹¹ Richey, pp. 205-6.

¹² *Carew Papers*, Vol. II., Introduction.

an enemy of the Papist creed. At Dublin he attended Mass, and so did his successor, the Earl of Sussex, who received the sword of state from St. Leger in Christ Church after both had attended Mass there in state.¹³

But while the Reformation, for a time at least, was thus ended in Ireland, the damage done to the Catholic Church was not so easily repaired. Fifteen years had elapsed since Browne and his fellow-commissioners were assigned the task of effectually suppressing the monasteries, and ever since the alienation of church lands and the destruction of church property had been carried on until little remained in the hands of their ancient owners. Browne himself and influential members of the Council at Dublin were thus enriched. The monastery of Clonard, with the lands and buildings attached, went to the Chancellor, Sir Thomas Cusack, the Abbey of Fore to Sir William Seyntlowe, and Tintern Abbey and Bective also passed into the hands of laymen.¹⁴ The soldiers who fought for the government at Dublin imitated the conduct of their masters, and as they could not in every case, or in many cases, get grants of lands, they attacked and robbed the churches. Everything of value was thus carried off—crosses, croziers, bells, chalices; even the ciborium which contained the Blessed Sacrament was neither revered nor spared.¹⁵ And the Four Masters record that the English of Athlone plundered Clonmacnoise and that there was not left a bell, small or large, an image, or an altar, or a book, or a gem, or even glass in a window from the wall of the church out which was not carried off; and thus was plundered the “city of Kieran.”¹⁶

A feeble attempt was made by Queen Mary to recover these stolen goods, and commissions were appointed through the various counties to inquire concerning the chalices, crosses, bells, and other property belonging to the parish churches or chapels, of sales made of such property and of the prices received, and also in whose possession were the houses and lands belonging

¹³ *Carew Papers*, Vol. I., p. 258.

¹⁴ *Morrin*, pp. 252-5, 267, 280.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

¹⁶ *Four Masters*, at 1552.

to these churches.¹⁷ But some of these commissioners were themselves in possession of church property, which they had appropriated in the scramble of the last few years, and in such an inquiry, they could scarcely be expected to show much zeal, and so the church property was not restored.

Unity of faith was now established between the English and the native Irish ; but it was the only unity that existed ; and in other respects, Mary's policy did not differ from that of her predecessors. Left to herself, she was disposed to a policy of leniency, and apart altogether from her restoration of the Catholic faith, there were other acts of hers which met with popular applause. After passing through events which might take rank with the wanderings of Ulysses, young Gerald Fitzgerald had escaped the vengeance of Henry VIII. and finally reached Rome. During the short reign of Edward VI., he had resided with, and had been educated and protected by his kinsman, Cardinal Pole.¹⁸ When Mary became Queen, Pole, as Papal Legate, became a man of enormous influence, and his pupil and friend became Earl of Kildare, was restored to his father's estates, and allowed to return to Ireland.¹⁹ The same year (1554) saw the return of another Irish exile in the person of Brian O'Connor. For years he had resided in London, but was ill at ease in the land of the stranger ; he pined for his native land and made many efforts to escape. And when his daughter Margaret heard that a woman sat on the English throne, she made her way to England to plead for her father. She could speak English, and was thus able to appeal to the Queen in her native tongue ; and a woman pleading for her father, now grown old, and pining for his native home, was hard to resist. Mary had known what sorrow was, and had the sympathy which springs from such experience, and, touched by Margaret O'Connor's eloquence and tears, she let the old man go free. And when these two exiles, Fitzgerald and O'Connor, came back to Ireland, there was great rejoicing throughout Munster, for the people had lost all hope that either of them

¹⁷ Morrin, p. 369.

¹⁸ *The Earls of Kildare*, pp. 204-6.

¹⁹ Ware's *Annals*.

would ever return.²⁰ Two other Irishmen who had long been kept in England also returned at the same time, Fitzpatrick of Ossory and Thomas Butler, the young Earl of Ormond.

What the Irish Council thought of these exiles, or of the policy of allowing them back to Ireland, does not appear. Kildare and Ormond were both sworn of the Privy Council and were too influential to be attacked. Fitzpatrick had been the special friend of Edward VI. and was closely identified with Ormond ;²¹ but O'Connor was a mere Irishman, and a mere Irishman in their estimation was entitled neither to mercy nor justice. One of the charges made against St. Leger was that he was friendly to the native Irish, and he had to proceed to England (1555) to answer that as well as other charges.²² His successor, the Earl of Sussex, on the contrary, regarded the natives as enemies, and even Dowdall, the Primate, spoke of them as the wild Irish, told the Queen that they did not answer either writ or bill, and begged that he might be allowed to visit them with the censures of the Church, as this was the only remedy or redress against them.²³ Distrustful of Brian O'Connor, the Council insisted that he should leave his son, Rory, as a hostage for his good behaviour ;²⁴ and the Queen was reminded, a little later, that the O'Mores and O'Connors had cost Henry and Edward the sum of £100,000 ; that they had, on Mary's accession, attacked the English planters in Leix and Offaly ; put man, woman, and child to the sword ; razed the castles erected in their midst ; and burned everything even to the gates of Dublin.²⁵

These accounts had the effect of poisoning the Queen's mind against the native Irish ; she became ready to sanction the sternest measures against them ; and she directed her Privy Council to convey her thanks to the Deputy (1556), because he had been active against the O'Mores and O'Connors and O'Tooles

²⁰ *Four Masters*.

²¹ Ware's *Annals*.

²² Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 133.

²³ *Carew Papers*, Vol. III., Introduction.

²⁴ Ware's *Annals*.

²⁵ Hamilton, p. 136.

and had compelled them to submit.²⁶ At a Parliament held in Dublin, in 1556, it was enacted that Leix and Offaly be replanted and made shire ground,²⁷ and this was soon done. The greater part of Offaly, with the country of the O'Mulloys and the O'Caharneys, and part of Ely O'Carroll, as well as Delvin, were all joined together into one county named the King's County, with its capital called Philipstown, the name being in honour of Queen Mary's husband. The other new county was the Queen's County, which was formed out of Leix and part of Offaly.²⁸ The fort at Leix which, in Edward's reign, was called Fort Protector, was made the capital of the new county thus formed, and was named Maryborough.²⁹ The lands were to be divided between English and Irish, and both were to be subject to English law. Among the Irish, the chief of each sept was to be answerable for a certain number of his people; the freeholders should have their children taught English; they were to cut passes and keep the fords open; they could not marry or foster among themselves, without a special licence in writing from the Deputy, and if they did, they forfeited their estates. The O'Mores were to get all the country beyond the bog, and all around them was planted by English; and Browne and Shute and Girton, and Masterson and Jones, and many others whose names indicate their nationality, were to be settled on lands from which Irishmen were driven, and were to live in peace, side by side with MacShane and O'Dowlyn and O'Fahy, and MacNeill Boy and the O'Mores.³⁰

In these arrangements and in the carrying out of them, there was matter for endless turmoil. The lands handed over to English settlers were in the hands of Irishmen; it would be necessary to dispossess them, and they would not leave without a struggle. Between the two races thus planted side by side, there was certain to be antagonism; for the English planter would look down upon the Irishmen around him as belonging to an inferior race, and the

²⁶ Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 134.

²⁷ Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, p. 304.

²⁸ *Book of Rights*, p. 216.

²⁹ Ware's *Annals*.

³⁰ Hamilton, pp. 134-5.

Irishman would regard his English neighbour as a plunderer, in possession of lands from which either himself or his kindred had been driven; and thus pride of race on the one hand would be met on the other by the bitter recollection of wrong. A dispute about boundaries, an injury to crops, the trespass of cattle, a jest or sneer, any one of these things would arouse passions which slumbered, but were not dead, and the result would be disorder and crime. The proscription of fosterage and inter-marriage among themselves was specially vexatious to the native-born. They would not, in some cases, perhaps, could not, contract alliances with the foreigners in their midst; and they would continue to marry and foster among themselves, and thus, breaking the law, they would be in conflict with the executive government. The provision by which one member of a sept was liable for the acts of another was specially inequitable; it was not to give the English and Irish equal but unequal laws; it was to make the innocent suffer for the guilty. Lastly, the chiefs, so long independent, would chafe under the restraints imposed on them, and resent the inferior position in which they found themselves.

Where there was so much smouldering discontent, it was certain to find an outlet in violence. And troubles soon arose. The O'Connors, Rory and Donogh, came to the Deputy (1556), surrendered all their lands and submitted in all things to the Queen, and the Earls of Kildare and Ormond went security for their good behaviour, yet in defiance of both these Earls' protests, the two O'Connors, as well as O'More of Leix, were thrown into prison, and were not released until both Earls had sent a protest to the Queen.³¹ No sooner were they released than the Deputy and Council declared they had broken their promises; both were proclaimed rebels and outlaws and their country laid waste.³² The O'Carrolls and the O'Mulloys showed some sympathy with the outlawed chiefs, with the result that they also were attacked; and the Deputy, with all the forces he could muster, swept over

³¹ *Four Masters.*

³² *Ware's Annals.*

their territories, as well as over Offaly and Leix, until from the borders of Wicklow to the Shannon, from Slieve Bloom and the Nore to Cliana's wave the land was desolated by plunder and war.³³ Nor was this all. The Kavanaghs rose in rebellion, in 1556; Sussex attacked and defeated them, brought 100 of them prisoners to Dublin, released but 24 of them and had the remaining 76 hanged; and, in the next year, a similar fate befel their chief Murrough Kavanagh, who was hanged at Leighlinbridge.³⁴

As if anxious to accelerate their own ruin, the native chiefs, even those of Leinster and Munster, who had most need for unity, were constantly at war with one another. When Donogh O'Connor was struck down, it was an Irishman, O'Dempsey, who struck the fatal blow. The MacCoghlins quarrelled in Delvin, the O'Farrells in Annally, the O'Maddens in their small principality by the Shannon. The O'Neills of Clannaboy, menaced by the Scots on the one hand, and by the English on the other, instead of uniting, wasted their strength in domestic quarrels, and gave Sussex an opportunity to effectually interfere by dividing the territory, so that two O'Neills ruled in Clannaboy.³⁵

More protracted than any of these contests was the long-continued dispute among the O'Briens of Thomond. The first Earl of Thomond died in 1551. His English title was only for life, and his successor as Earl of Thomond was to be his nephew Donogh, whose treachery towards his own countrymen and subserviency to the English, were thus rewarded. At his uncle's death, Donogh assumed the title of Earl of Thomond, and in such favour was he held by the English that the earldom was not to die with himself, but was to be transmitted to his descendants in the male line. But this was to abolish the ancient custom of tanistry in Thomond, it was to regulate the headship of the province by descent and not by popular favour, and was an arrangement to which the O'Briens would not submit. The new Earl's brother, Donal, being selected as tanist, assumed the name and dignity of "The O'Brien." The dispute between them was

³³ *Four Masters*, at 1557.

³⁴ Ware's *Annals*.

³⁵ *Four Masters*. *Carew Papers*, Vol. III., Introduction.

referred to the Viceroy, Croft, and settled on the basis of Donogh being recognised as Earl and head of the family by all the O'Briens, Donal on his side getting a grant of land to be held from the Earl by knight's service.³⁶ At Donogh's death, in 1553, disputes again arose. Ultimately it was agreed by the contending parties, that the matter be left to arbitration; but the arbitration proved abortive and the new Earl, Connor, and Donal went to war. As the contest still continued, the Viceroy, Sussex, at the head of a strong force, entered Thomond (1558), captured the castles of Bunratty and Clonroad, expelled Donal from Thomond and proclaimed him a traitor, and proclaimed Connor anew as the Earl, with full feudal rights over all Thomond. Connor, on his side, swore fealty to the English Queen in the Cathedral of Limerick, and renounced for ever the Dalcassian title of The O'Brien. Yet this did not end the quarrel, into which the Earls of Clanricarde and Desmond were drawn. After Mary's death, the contest was still waged, and in 1559, with the Earls of Thomond and Clanricarde on one side and the Earl of Desmond on the other, a battle was fought near Ennis, at Spaniel Hill.³⁷

Towards the close of 1557, Dowdall, the Primate, wrote to the English Privy Council describing the condition of Ireland at that date. It was never, in his remembrance, in a worse condition, except only in the time when O'Neill and O'Donnell invaded the Pale and burned much of it. The North was as far out of frame as ever, and the Scots were as powerful; the O'Mores and O'Connors had destroyed and burnt Leix and Offaly; and he complains that the Deputy, Sussex, and his army had lately burned Armagh.³⁸ Dowdall does not, however, give a complete list of the disturbed districts. He says nothing of the wars of the O'Carrolls, the O'Mulloys and the MacCoghlins, nor of the hanging of Kavanagh and 76 of his followers; and he makes no mention of Thomond, where the contests of the O'Briens had lasted so long. Finally he might have added that the state of Connaught was not one of repose. The head of the Burkes was an English Earl; but he was

³⁶ *Carew Papers*, pp. 249-51.

³⁷ White's *History of Clare*, pp. 180-2.

³⁸ Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 140.

little like an English subject, and more like an independent prince, with a formidable body of troops, and making peace and war as he pleased. MacDermott of Moylurg, lifted over the heads of the native chiefs to temporary pre-eminence, was as quarrelsome and restless as ever the O'Connors were. He had Scotch mercenaries in his pay, and at the head of these swept over the province, plundered the MacRannels, burned the Abbey of Boyle, and desolated the land of the O'Kellys.³⁹

The policy of conciliation, so long and so successfully pursued by St. Leger, was, after St. Leger's last term of office, completely abandoned in Mary's reign. Experience had taught so keen an observer as Cusack, that nothing was so good with the natives as good order to be observed and kept amongst them.⁴⁰ The turbulent chief and a few turbulent retainers, who scorned to work and preferred a life of plunder and war, would, no doubt, submit to any law with reluctance; but the mass of the people were not so disposed; and if the English law protected their lives and properties, they were quite willing to till their fields and herd their flocks in peace. And they would do this even if the law were severe. But it should be administered with impartiality; and if they were to live side by side with those of English descent, as English subjects, they would expect to be bound by the same law in the same measure. And a statesman, such as St. Leger was, would be willing to give the Irish some time to abandon their ancient ways, until they gradually got accustomed to institutions which were new and strange. But these were not the views of Sussex. He despised the Irish as a rude people and an inferior race; he would not take the pains to conciliate them; he would terrorise them into quiescence and establish peace by confiscations and executions and military raids. And the latter differed in no respect from the forays of the most violent native chiefs, except that such raids were done in the Queen's name, and with the assistance of her troops. Yet his success was little. The whole country was more disturbed at the end of Mary's

³⁹ *Annals of Loch Ce.*

⁴⁰ *Carew Papers*, p. 238.

reign than at the beginning, and if the limits of the Pale were enlarged, as they were, over its whole area there was confusion. The English planters had no security of tenure in their newly acquired lands, and the Irish, driven from the fields they loved and from the homes in which they were born, bided their time and waited patiently for revenge.



CHAPTER III.

The O'Neills of Tyrone.

IN making his submission to Henry VIII., Conn O'Neill bound himself to forsake for ever the name of O'Neill, to use the English dress and language, to answer the King's writs, to assist the King's Deputy in his wars. He was not to have more soldiers than was agreed to by the Deputy, nor to aid any of the King's enemies. The lands of Tyrone which he surrendered he got back to be held from the King by knight's service ; his son Matthew was created Baron of Dungannon, and was, on his father's death, to succeed him and to have for himself and his descendants the Earldom of Tyrone.¹ The next year (1543) Conn O'Neill and Manus O'Donnell referred their disputes to the Deputy, and in the award made, Inishowen, which was claimed by O'Neill, was assigned to O'Donnell, who was also freed from all obligation to pay tribute or render allegiance to O'Neill. A little later, similar exemptions were made in favour of Maguire of Fermanagh and O'Neill of Clannaboy.²

This loss of prestige and position, this abandonment of ancient rights, was viewed with disfavour by the chieftains of Tyrone, and in such arrangements they were not willing to acquiesce. For Conn O'Neill had not absolute dominion over the lands of Tyrone, but only a life interest. He could not even

¹ *Carew Papers*. pp. 198-9.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 217-19.

transmit them to his own son. He was merely the elected chief of that principality, elected by the Tyrone chiefs, and his successor should be elected by the same body. When asked therefore to submit to Henry, he ought to have answered, as did O'Brien of Thomond, that he was only one man and should consult the chiefs of his clan; and if they were willing that he should become a vassal of Henry and hold Tyrone from him by knight's service, and at the same time renounce for ever the name of O'Neill, he would not have exceeded his powers, and the chiefs of his own family would have no reason to complain. But he acted without any such consultation, and the provision that the Earldom was to descend to his son Matthew, and that he should be recognised as the head of the O'Neills, was specially unjust. It is doubtful if Matthew was Conn's son at all; it is certain he was not his legitimate son. His mother was one Alyson Kelly, his reputed father was a blacksmith, and only when the blacksmith was dead, did his mother present him to Conn O'Neill as his son.³ Like his contemporary the Earl of Clanricarde, who had two wives,⁴ Conn was not a faithful husband. He had more than one bastard child, and his son declared that he was quite willing to recognise his illegitimate children, and "never refused no child that any woman named to be his."⁵

Such a readiness to acknowledge his offspring and to provide for them did him credit; but it was otherwise when he sought to put his spurious son in the place of honour and power which by right belonged to his legitimate son. Four of these sons are mentioned in the State papers of the time, but the lives and acts of three of them are obscure, and Shane alone was destined to play a leading part in Irish history for years, and to give more trouble to the English government than any Irish chief had yet done. He was but a boy when his father became Earl of Tyrone and Matthew Baron of Dungannon, and was too young to effectually show his resentment. But when he arrived at man's estate, he soon showed a determination that he, and not the son of the

³ *Carew Papers*, p. 306.

⁴ *Morrin*, pp. 170, 504.

⁵ *Hamilton's Calendar*, p. 165.

blacksmith, should inherit the name and power of the O'Neills. In the year 1551, there were disputes between the Earl of Tyrone and his sons, which resulted in the whole district being laid waste.⁶ The Baron of Dungannon, who in these disputes had the support of the English, complained of his father, and the Earl was taken to Dublin, and though not imprisoned was kept there, lest he might rebel.⁷ His urgent pleas for liberty, addressed to the Duke of Northumberland and to King Edward, were unheeded; he was detained on mere suspicion, nor was he allowed to return home for more than a year, nor until he had given hostages for his good behaviour.⁸

In the meantime Ulster was filled with strife. The combatants were, on one side Shane O'Neill, aided by the O'Neills of Clannaboy and the Scots of Antrim, and on the other, the Baron of Dungannon, aided by the English. The Scots had long been a menace to the peace of Ulster. Descended from the Scots of Ireland, they had extended their sway over all modern Scotland; and in their new home, those who dwelt on the east coast and in the lowlands were contented with their lot. Those who dwelt on the western coast were of a more restless and adventurous disposition. The land they inhabited, from the Mull of Cantire to the Point of Aird in Skye, and westward to the outer Hebrides, was bleak and barren and desolate. The sea rushed into many a creek and raged round many an island, and on island and mainland, crag and rock and deep ravine, and hill and mountain, and roaring torrent, and picturesque lake were abundant. But vegetation was scanty; few places were suited for the production of corn; the people's wealth consisted almost entirely of their flocks and herds; while many who had no flocks and herds were compelled to fish in the neighbouring waters, and expended their time and energies on the sea. Such a life was ill-suited to foster settled or industrious habits, and these island Scots were as daring and adventurous as were the Danes in former days. Like the Irish, they owed allegiance to their chiefs. These chiefs paid homage to the Scotch king and

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 117-18.

⁷ Cox, p. 292.

⁸ Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 122-9.

aided him in his wars, but in other respects they resembled independent princes rather than subjects, and they fought and plundered, and made peace and war, without consultation with their king. Under their chiefs, the MacDonnells of the Isles, these Scots made many descents on the neighbouring Irish coasts. It was calculated, in 1539, that at least 2,000 of them were in Ireland; St. Leger reported (1545), that he feared an invasion from them in force, and before the end of the year the Lord of the Isles did come, and was at Carrickfergus with 4,000 troops; and the English Privy Council specially directed Bellingham to assist the Earl of Tyrone against them.⁹ Often they hired themselves out to the Ulster chiefs as mercenaries. But they effected permanent settlements as well, and by the middle of the 16th century, Rathlin Island was their exclusive possession; they had planted the whole line of coast from Carrickfergus to Dunluce; had pushed the MacQuillans beyond the Bann; menaced the very existence of the O'Neills of Clannaboy; and whether in making war themselves, or in aiding the Irish chiefs to make war, they kept Ulster in constant unrest, and the government at Dublin in constant fear.¹⁰

When Croft was Viceroy, a determined effort was made to crush them. With four ships the English attacked Rathlin Island, but were beaten with the loss of three ships, their commander being taken prisoner. A further attack made on land was also unsuccessful, for though the English were aided by the Baron of Dungannon, the Scots were aided by Shane O'Neill and O'Neill of Clannaboy, and the English and their ally lost heavily in the battle. The English again attacked them in the next year (1552) and placed a garrison in Belfast, but this was the extent of their success, and their ally Dungannon, while hastening to their assistance, was set upon at night by Shane O'Neill and defeated with great slaughter; nor did the Viceroy effect anything by a further incursion into Ulster that same year, except the destruction of some cornfields.¹¹ Nor was the power or the activity of the

⁹ Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 70, 72, 99.

¹⁰ Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*, Vol. 6, pp. 295-8.

¹¹ *Four Masters*, Cox, p. 292.

Scots in any way curtailed. When Calvagh O'Donnell triumphed over his father, his victory was achieved by their aid;¹² they wasted and spoiled Clannaboy; and Sussex declared in a letter to the King and Queen, that the Scots, or Redshanks as he calls them, had been for years permitted to overrun Ulster, and that their leader James MacDonnell had no less than 7,000 under his command.¹³ In 1556, Sussex had defeated them at sea and the next year on land. James MacDonnell had prayed for peace and pardon, and that lands should be assigned him, but Queen Mary disapproved of this arrangement, and wished that no Scots should be allowed to settle in Ireland.¹⁴ Instead of pardon or peace there was war, and Sussex, in 1558, attacked them at Rathlin Island and wasted the island, and then pursued them into Scotland and attacked them there.¹⁵ Yet they were not all driven out of Ireland, and that same year a party of them had penetrated into Connaught, and fought with Clanricarde on the banks of the Moy.

More dangerous than the Scots was Shane O'Neill. In revenge for his father's detention at Dublin, he entered Louth (1553) and laid it waste, but the English mustered an army and defeated him near Dundalk; the next year he was at war with O'Neill of Clannaboy.¹⁶ In 1556, he came to Dublin and submitted to the Deputy, receiving a pardon for any offences he had committed.¹⁷ But these good relations did not last, and the next year Sussex went to Dundalk, and entering Shane's territory, encamped at Armagh. Shane retreated, but hovered near the English and annoyed them; nor did Sussex accomplish anything except to plunder and burn Armagh, and then he returned to Dublin.¹⁸ The same year, Shane led a formidable expedition against Tyrconnell. He had evidently made up his mind to become master of Ulster, and to do this it was necessary to crush the O'Donnells.

¹² Ware's *Annals*.

¹³ Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 136.

¹⁴ Morrin, p. 361.

¹⁵ Ware's *Annals*.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Morrin, p. 366.

¹⁸ *Carew Papers* p. 268.

The forces at his disposal were considerable, for besides his own people of Tyrone, all the native chiefs from Dundalk to Lough Foyle were with him ; he had some English also and many Scots. At the head of these troops he crossed the Mourne and Finn, turned northwards through Raphoe, and encamped at Balleghan on the eastern shores of Lough Swilly. Confident in his strength, when he was told that O'Donnell had sent off all his cattle and sheep into the fastnesses of the country, to avoid being captured, Shane declared that not one cow of them was beyond his reach, and that he would pursue and capture them if they fled even into Leinster or Munster ; that Tyrconnell should submit to him, and that, for the future, there should be but one king in Ulster.

Calvagh O'Donnell was in sore straits, nor did he deserve much sympathy. Impatient to be chief of Tyrconnell, he had deposed his father Manus and thrown him into prison, where he had already remained for two years. With his brother Hugh he had also quarrelled, and Hugh, indignant at his father's treatment and his own, had gone over to Shane O'Neill and was then in O'Neill's camp. All that Calvagh could rely on was his own clansmen of Tyrconnell, and these were utterly insufficient to meet O'Neill in battle. Calvagh took counsel with his father, Manus, whom he had so outraged and ill-treated, and the old man's advice was to avoid meeting the invader in the open, but to watch when he was in camp and unsuspecting, and then to secretly attack. With a small force, Calvagh hovered some distance from O'Neill's camp, near enough to attack if an opportunity arose, but far enough to be out of sight. At night two of his men went as spies into the enemy's camp. Escaping recognition, they mixed with the soldiers, partook of the meal and butter served out, took note of the position and arms of the different forces, and at the entrance to Shane's own tent they saw by the light of burning torches, that guard was kept by 60 gallowglasses armed with battle-axes, and 60 Scots with heavy striking swords in their hands. It was clear that the number and strength of Shane's forces was considerable, and equally clear that they were off their guard. The two spies returned to O'Donnell, preparations were at once made for attack, and while O'Neill's soldiers laughed and joked,

and told tales round the burning torches, the enemy stealthily entered the camp. The surprise and victory were complete. O'Donnell's men knew where to strike with effect; the enemy, many of whom had laid their arms aside, could make no resistance, and were easily cut down. But few of them escaped, among them being Shane O'Neill himself. He passed out of his tent at one side, while the enemy entered at the other. The night was dark; the rain fell heavily; the rivers were swollen and dangerous to cross; and he had no horse, and was accompanied only by two of his followers. Fearing to meet an enemy, they had to travel by unfrequented paths, had to swim the rivers Deal and Finn, and finally, after many hardships, they arrived safely in Tyrone. Arms, dresses, coats of mail, and Shane's famous horse, named "the Son of the Eagle," fell into the enemy's hands.¹⁹

Such a crushing disaster would have broken the spirit of most men, but Shane's spirit was still unbroken, and he postponed, but did not abandon, his attack on Tyrconnell. One enemy was soon removed from his path, for in some obscure quarrel between Shane's people and the Baron of Dungannon, the Baron was killed. The next year (1559) old Conn, Earl of Tyrone, died. These deaths strengthened the position of Shane, and of all the Irish chiefs he was now the most powerful, and the most feared by the Queen and her ministers. Their ideal state for Ulster would be a population, if not of English birth, at least English in habits and dress and language, Protestant in religion, and loyal to the English crown. Failing this, they would have wished to see all the chiefs quarrelling, so that by thus weakening their forces their final conquest would be rendered easier. The last thing they wished was to have all Ulster in the hands of one chief, under whose rule the Irish language was exclusively spoken, the Irish dress worn, the minstrel and bard still flourishing, the Catholic bishop and priest still exercising their functions, and the monasteries still maintained. It was necessary that Shane should be pulled down, or perhaps all Ireland, as well as all Ulster, might slip from their grasp. The Queen's own position on the throne was not

¹⁹ *Four Masters.*

secure ; her government was weak ; to send a large army to crush O'Neill was not possible, but Sir Henry Sidney, who was Deputy for Sussex, went to Dundalk to defend the Pale against a possible attack. Shane O'Neill was then near Dundalk, and Sidney invited him to come and have a talk with him over the matters in dispute. The Irishman was wary and distrustful of his antagonist ; he thought treachery was intended ; and he replied by inviting Sidney to meet him and stand sponsor for his child. It seemed to the Deputy "dishonourable that he should be gossip to a rebel before submission, yet the necessity of the Queen's affairs required it, and therefore he consented, and on the last day of January, he and James Wingfield christened the child." In answer to the charge of rebellion preferred against him, Shane reminded Sidney that Matthew O'Neill was a bastard ; that Conn O'Neill's surrender of Tyrone was void, as he had only a life interest in the principality ; that, even by English law, the letters patent by which he received his earldom were void, as there was no previous inquisition, nor could there be until Tyrone was made shire ground. Sidney acknowledged there was much matter for consideration in these arguments, promised to lay the question at once before the Queen, who would act justly, and advised Shane to await patiently the Queen's decision ; an advice which was taken in a friendly spirit and acted upon. Nor was the Queen less impressed than Sidney, and after going into the question, she declared that the Earl of Tyrone should be succeeded by his eldest legitimate son John, and not by his bastard son Matthew, and this especially for two reasons ; first, because he was the eldest legitimate son, and secondly, because he was in quiet possession of all that his father had, so that justice, as well as expediency, would suggest that the Deputy should allow him to succeed his father.²⁰

In less than a year, the Queen had changed her mind. Her minister Cecil, in a series of questions "to be considered against Shane O'Neill," had debated the points raised. And he proved, to his own satisfaction at least, that Henry VIII., being King of Ireland and Earl of Ulster, and inheriting from Henry II., who had

²⁰ Richey, pp. 282-6.

conquered all Ireland, had supreme dominion over the province, and could give the lands of Tyrone to whomsoever he pleased ; that though Conn O'Neill had but a life interest in these lands, he had rebelled, and had been joined by the people, and thus his rights, and the rights of the people, were forfeited to the crown. From which it followed that Henry was justified in making Matthew Conn's heir. And he disposed of the objection that there was no previous inquisition, by answering that this form was required only when the land was ruled by such officers as escheators and sheriffs, and none such existed in Tyrone. This reasoning was neither plausible nor convincing ; for Henry II. never did conquer Ulster, and never got any submission from its chiefs, and the Earldom of Ulster, which Henry VIII inherited, was but an empty name, as the lands of Ulster were for ages in the hands of the O'Neills. Yet this reasoning was enough for Cecil, and it afforded a pretext for the Queen to change her mind ;²¹ and early in the next year (1560), she directed Sussex to compel Shane O'Neill to be an obedient subject ; and she declared that the young Baron of Dungannon (Brian, Son of Matthew), was the heir in right, and was to be restored to those lands of which Shane had dispossessed him.

To crush Shane the utmost efforts of the government were put forth. O'Reilly and O'Donnell were to be made earls, and thus were induced to lend their aid ; O'Donnell's wife was to receive presents from the Queen ; Sorley Boy MacDonnell and the Scots were persuaded to join ; and Maguire and Magennis, though they could not be induced to attack Shane, were induced to desert him. The Queen herself wrote to the Irish nobles asking their assistance against the common enemy ; and even to such small chiefs as O'Madden and O'Shaughnessy she made a personal appeal. Knowing that he was powerless against such a formidable combination, Shane informed Sussex that he wished to have a personal interview with the Queen ; his request was forwarded to England, and Elizabeth wrote to him to send her an accredited agent " fully instructed in his petitions." ²² By his messenger, Shane sent the

²¹ Richey, p. 286.

²² Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 161, 171, 164.

Queen an account of his grievances. He repeated that Matthew, Baron of Dungannon, was illegitimate, and therefore, ought to have no rights of inheritance in Tyrone; he told the Queen that he himself was in the usual way elected to succeed his father; that he had kept the country under his rule quiet, and that his prosperous government had caused the waste places to be inhabited; he asked the Queen to get him an English gentlewoman for his wife. At the same time, he promised Cecil that, if he were taken into favour, and recognised in his position, instead of the heavy charges Her Majesty was now under, he would within three years have a revenue paid to her out of Ulster.²³ Shane's letters at this period to the Council at Dublin, and to the Queen, were many; his wish to go to London was often expressed, but his actual going was as often postponed. Wary and distrustful, and fearful of treachery, he sought for guarantees which were not given; and so little did either side in these negotiations believe in the sincerity of the other, that on both sides preparations for war were continued.

Shane had no intention of waiting until the plans of the government had matured. Already, in 1560, he had hired 1500 Scots, and he had written to the Earl of Argyle asking his sister in marriage, and proposing an alliance with him for mutual defence.²⁴ Early in the next year, he invaded the Pale itself, and the following May he attacked and defeated O'Reilly. Nor was this all. The O'Donnell brothers, Calvagh and Caffir, were quarrelling. Caffir had taken refuge in a Cranogue in Lough Gartin, and Calvagh had ordered his son Conn to besiege him there; and while Conn was absent on this expedition, Calvagh and his wife were spending the time at the monastery of Kilodonnell, on the western shore of Lough Swilly. Of his place of residence and his unprotected condition, information was brought to Shane, and, hastily getting together some forces, he surrounded the monastery and carried off O'Donnell and his wife. O'Donnell he threw into prison and swore he would keep him there. His wife, who was the daughter of MacLean of Scotland, he induced to forget her husband, and her vows, and for many years she and Shane lived together as man

²³ Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 165.

²⁴ Bagwell, Vol II., p. 11.

and wife, and had children born to them. The conduct of both was specially reprehensible, for Shane was already a married man, and his wife was, moreover, a daughter of Calvagh O'Donnell by a former marriage. The *Four Masters* add that she died of horror, loathing, grief and anguish, because of the treatment her father had received from her husband, and still more at his conduct in co-habiting with her step-mother.

The moral character of Queen Elizabeth was certainly not above reproach, and neither she nor her ministers concerned themselves with Shane O'Neill's moral delinquencies. But there were political issues at stake; for both O'Reilly and O'Donnell were in alliance with the Queen's Government, and whoever attacked them became the Queen's enemy. In retaliation, the Viceroy entered Armagh, and left a garrison there. Against thus placing English troops in his territory Shane O'Neill protested. He was publicly denounced as a traitor and a rebel, and Sussex, with all his forces, attacked him near Armagh. The result was disastrous for the English. "Never before," said Sussex, "durst Scot or Irishman look an Englishman in the face in plain or wood, and now Shane, in a plain three miles away from any wood, hath with 120 horse, and a few Scots and gallowglasses, scarce half in numbers, charged our whole army, and by the cowardice of one wretch (Wingfield) was like, in one hour, to have left not one man of that army alive, and after to have taken me and the rest at Armagh."²⁵ A further effort made by Sussex in the next year, resulted in nothing except the capture of some cattle from Shane, who on his side effectually retorted by entering the Pale and wasting it.²⁶ It was evident that the Viceroy's army was not an effective fighting force, nor was Shane to be so easily crushed. Irritated at his failure, and despairing of his success by fair or open means, Sussex bargained with one of Shane's servants, Neal Grey, to assassinate him; but the plot miscarried. The Viceroy openly avowed to the Queen what he had tried to do, nor did he receive any reprimand.²⁷

It seems strange that Shane O'Neill still wished to go to England,

²⁵ Richey, p. 291.

²⁶ Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 180.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

especially after hearing of Neal Grey's intended treachery. But he was chary of having any dealings with the Viceroy, not thinking it safe to trust himself to a man who had stooped to be an assassin. In the Earl of Kildare, however, he had confidence, and was ready to trust him ; and by the Queen's special command the Earl, who was then in England, was sent to Ireland, and after a time, he was able to induce the Northern Chief to cross the sea. In his absence, Turlogh Lynnagh O'Neill was to be in charge of Tyrone ; the English troops were to be removed from Armagh ; no attack was to be made on his territory by the English, neither were they to maintain any of his tributary chiefs against him or his representative ; his personal safety was guaranteed going to England and coming back ; and on these conditions Shane made peace with Kildare in the last days of the year 1561. On the 6th of January following, he made his submission in person to the Queen, in the presence of the ambassadors of the King of Sweden and the Duke of Savoy, and of the high officials of the Court.²⁸ The courtiers marvelled at the appearance of himself and his gallowglasses, their hair worn long after the manner of their country, and their whole appearance creating as much surprise as if they had been Chinese or Americans.²⁹ Shane comported himself with great dignity, and noting his haughty bearing, one of the courtiers described him as " O'Neill the Great, cousin of St. Patrick, friend to the Queen of England, enemy to all the world besides." ³⁰

In making his journey to England, Shane O'Neill was moved, partly by curiosity to see the country and its sovereign, but much more to secure favourable terms for himself, and to safeguard his position in Ulster. He expected that the Queen did not know or approve of the treachery of the Irish officials towards himself ; he felt that he had a good case ; that it was highly unjust to dispossess him of the territory of his ancestors, and to hand it over, against the wishes of the people and chiefs, to a bastard, or a bastard's son. He was wary, supple, adroit ; the personal attractions

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

²⁹ Camden's *Annals*.

³⁰ Campion's *History*.

which seduced from her duty, and her vows, Calvagh O'Donnell's wife must have been considerable, and they might, he thought, have some potency with the Queen. But he little knew Queen Elizabeth, and had yet to learn that, if she had inherited the strong will, the instinct and spirit to command, which characterised her father, she had also inherited his bad qualities. Cold, cruel, callous to suffering, without kindness, or sympathy, or pity, without gratitude to a friend, or mercy to a foe, she was a strange compound of vice and virtue, in whom it was impossible to discover those qualities, which are the strength, and weakness, and charm of woman. Naturally suspicious and distrustful, the necessities of her position, the insecure tenure by which she held the throne, had the effect of emphasising these natural defects. She was sparing of the truth, loved equivocation and duplicity, cleverly played off one enemy against the other, and in negotiation was never open, or frank, or candid, or sincere.

The assurances given to Shane were soon violated, and the bad faith of his opponents appeared. The English soldiers were taken away from Armagh, but were at once replaced by others; the young Earl of Tyrone was maintained against him, and both he and the Scots invaded Shane's territory, and when Shane complained to the English Council, he was given no satisfaction. The young Earl was commanded to repair to England, but the order was privately countermanded, so that a pretext might be furnished for keeping Shane in London; and when Shane expressed a wish to return home, he was reminded that he was guaranteed a safe-conduct to England and back, but that the time of his return was not specified. The object of this quibbling and evasion he soon understood; and it seemed as if he was in his enemies' hands, and had no means of escape. But he was a man of resource. He had studied the Queen's character, and saw that, if she was inaccessible to pity, she was not inaccessible to flattery, and loved to assume virtues which she did not possess. And Shane flattered her, declared that, in his dealings with the Council, she was his only resource, asked her advice as to what he should do, asked her permission to attend her favourite, Lord Robert Dudley, so that he might learn to ride after the English fashion, and begged that

she should kindly select some English gentlewoman for his wife.³¹

This appeal was not without effect ; but, in addition, in a foray into Tyrone, the young Earl had been killed by Turlogh Lynnagh ;³² and if Shane were detained in England, Turlogh would at once be proclaimed " The O'Neill," and might be as dangerous an antagonist as Shane ; and the detention of the latter would prove the treachery of the Queen's government, and drive the native chiefs to Turlogh's side. It seemed, then, the lesser of two evils to keep faith with Shane, and allow him to return to Ireland. Before going, however, he was compelled to sign an agreement by which he was to be an obedient subject of the Queen, and in return was recognised as chief in Tyrone, but only until the matters in dispute with the Earl of Tyrone were settled. He was to reduce to obedience the Scots, the O'Neills of Clannaboy, the MacQuillans, and the O'Cahans, and to see that these chiefs took the Oath of Allegiance to the Queen. He was to aid the Deputy in his wars, and to permit the Queen's garrison to remain at Armagh. He was to levy no tribute, or take pledges outside Tyrone, nor to have in Tyrone itself any mercenary troops, and he was to leave all matters of dispute with Maguire and O'Donnell to a court of arbitration, of which the Earls of Kildare, Ormond, Thomond, and Clanricarde, were members ; and all other controversies he was to refer to the Council at Dublin.³³ When he had subscribed to these conditions, the Queen issued a proclamation that his submission was accepted, that he was in future to be reputed " a good natural subject " ;³⁴ and Shane (in May, 1562) returned to Ireland, passed through Dublin, where he was careful not to delay, and safely reached his own territory of Tyrone.³⁵

Shane, however, had no intention of observing the terms of the agreement which he had signed. Neither the Queen nor her ministers had dealt fairly with him. They had imposed conditions which

³¹ Richey, p. 295.

³² Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 191.

³³ *Carew Papers*, pp. 312-14.

³⁴ Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 194.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

necessity alone made him accept—he had no other alternative, no other means of escape—but such an agreement, entered into under compulsion, had no binding force; and in Ireland he proceeded to act as if it had no existence. He plundered Maguire, continued to employ the Scots, and overran Tyrconnell.³⁶ Sussex advanced to Dundalk, and invited him to an interview, guaranteeing his safety, although he privately informed the Queen that he meant to put Shane under arrest, and for that purpose had designedly worded the letter of safe-conduct in ambiguous terms. Taught by experience, the Irish chief was not to be caught, and declined the interview; nor did he respond to a more artful invitation of Sussex, whose sister Shane had asked in marriage. The lady was brought over from England, and the Viceroy sent a letter to Shane to come and see her, and that, if she liked him, they should have his good will. The offer was tempting, but again Shane was too wary. He was informed “out of the English Pale,” that the sister of Sussex was brought over to trap him; and, when his former experiences are remembered, he should have had no difficulty in believing that this was no idle tale.³⁷

In the meantime he was not idle. He attacked O'Donnell and O'Reilly, burned Maguire's corn and houses, killed 300 of his people, took beeves from the garrison at Armagh, and terrorised into submission every chief from Clannaboy to Tyrconnell.³⁸ Determined to crush the audacious chief, Sussex joined hands with O'Donnell, O'Reilly and Maguire; he even induced Turlogh Lynnagh to turn against Shane; sought help from the Earls of Kildare, Ormond, Thomond and Clanricarde; and made a levy of two months provisions for the army on the inhabitants of the Pale.³⁹ But he accomplished little. He was unable to co-operate effectually with the Ulster chiefs; the inhabitants of the Pale cried out against supplying the necessary provisions, and protested that they had not been paid for such provisions for three years. For an equal length of time the soldiers' pay was in

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 200-202.

³⁷ Froude's *History of England*, Vol. VII., p. 144.

³⁸ Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 207-8.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 212.

arrear, and in consequence they were ready to mutiny; the nobility did not give the help expected or promised; some of the soldiers were sick; and with such an army, ill-provisioned, unpaid, mutinous, and sickly, all he could do was to enter Tyrone and drive away some cattle.⁴⁰ Again negotiations were opened, and, in September, 1563, peace was signed. Shane was confirmed in the title of The O'Neill, until the Queen decorated him by another honourable name; he was to have all jurisdiction and pre-eminence which his predecessors had enjoyed; his right to levy tribute from the subordinate chiefs was recognised; the peace he had concluded with O'Donnell approved; his disputes with O'Reilly and Maguire were to be settled by arbitration, the arbitrators to be appointed by the disputants themselves, and without any interference from the Viceroy or Council. Shane was excused from coming personally to Dublin, but could transact his business through an agent; after a short interval the garrison was to be withdrawn from Armagh; and, finally, this agreement annulled all preceding ones.⁴¹ The Viceroy, in answer to one of Shane's letters, was unusually amiable, and rejoiced that the war was ended, and that their former friendship was renewed.

That the war was ended ought to have been for both sides a relief. On the English Exchequer it had been an exhausting drain; it had brought England no honour or glory, and in the midst of foreign complications, it ill-suited the Queen to have such a war on her hands. Nor did it suit Shane. The chiefs around him were cowed, but not crushed, and a confederacy might at any time be formed, which would be a menace to his supremacy. The Scots might withdraw their support; a Viceroy might come, abler than Sussex, and who would lay his plans better; and one crushing victory would bring the whole edifice which Shane had built tumbling about his ears. And, besides, he had got all he was contending for. His power in Ulster was unquestioned. He was supreme under the rule of the Queen, and, on these conditions, he was quite content to be her loyal subject. In these circumstances,

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 216-18.

⁴¹ *Carew Papers*, pp. 352-4.

both the Queen's government and Shane seemed to be satisfied. Ancient feuds were forgotten, ancient enmity laid aside; and to show that no bitterness existed between them, and that he wished the friendship to be enduring, Sussex sent Shane a present of wine. And he sent it through John Smith, with whom Shane was on friendly terms.⁴² The wine was received with gratitude, and consumed, a little later, by the Ulster Chief and a number of his guests, but it nearly proved a fatal draught, for the wine had been poisoned in Dublin, and the object of sending it was that Shane might be thus removed. He complained to the Queen of this new treachery; Smith was thrown into prison, and the Queen spoke of his awful crime. But he was quite safe, and was soon after set at liberty, and it may be assumed with certainty that the regret of the Queen, as well as of Sussex, was that the poison had failed to do its work.⁴³

Shane seemed to be appeased and to forget. He corresponded with Sussex, and again solicited his sister in marriage; he wrote to the Queen, professing his loyalty, and his gratitude to her for having pardoned all his offences, and desired that she might make him an Earl. But these professions of loyalty and affection were on the surface; in his heart there was bitterness, and he hated the English and all their ways. On the shores of Lough Neagh he built a castle which he called "Fuath-na-Gaill," or Hatred of the English; he prohibited anyone in his presence speaking the English language, and he summarily hanged a man whom he had seen eating an English biscuit.⁴⁴ Those chiefs who had sided with England he drove from their territories; and O'Donnell complained that in these wars 4,500 of his people had perished.⁴⁵ In the meantime Shane also attacked the Scots, and at Glenflesk in Antrim defeated them with the loss of 700 men. To this latter war he had been advised by Lord Robert Dudley, who told him that such an exploit would purchase him the Queen's favour; and he was

⁴² Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 209.

⁴³ Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 233. Froude's *History of England*, Vol. VII., pp. 156-8.

⁴⁴ Campion.

⁴⁵ Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 247.

specially thanked by the English Privy Council. He was not, however, thanked, but rather censured, when he attacked Dundalk, and captured Newry from Bagenal, and Dundrum from the Earl of Kildare, nor when he wasted Clannaboy and the Glynnnes of Antrim, and the country of the MacQuillans.⁴⁶ He was also severely reprehended when, not satisfied with being master of Ulster, he entered Connaught, attacked the Earl of Clanricarde, and demanded the tribute which was formerly paid to the Irish Kings.⁴⁷ Nor was his government one of disorder in Ulster. On the contrary, the Brehon Law was executed with vigour ; whoever robbed or spoiled was compelled to make speedy restitution when his guilt was proved ; the land which disorder and turmoil had caused to remain untilled became cultivated and inhabited ; and such was the security within Shane's territory, that many left the Pale to live under his rule. Nor was he without some sparks of grace. As he sat at table, before he tasted a morsel, " he used to slice a portion above the daily alms, and send it to some beggar at his gate, saying it was meet to serve Christ first." ⁴⁸

Towards the close of 1565, Sir Henry Sidney came to Ireland as Deputy, and his first care was with Shane, who was rapidly passing beyond the position of a subject. Sidney wrote asking him to Dundalk to an interview, but Shane declined, giving in detail the reasons why he refused. He recalled how his father had been treated ; how faith had not been kept with himself ; how an assassin had been hired to stab him with a dagger, and, when this failed, how he had been sent poisoned wine. For these reasons his people and himself were mistrustful.⁴⁹ A few months later, in 1566, the Deputy sent two Commissioners, who had a personal interview with him. He was no longer ambitious to be an earl ; he was, he told them, better than the best of them ; he sneered at MacCarthy, who had lately been made Earl of Clancarty, telling them that he kept as good a man as his servant ; he had never made peace with the Queen, but it was of her seeking, and not his ; his ancestors

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

⁴⁸ *Campion.*

⁴⁹ *Carew Papers*, p. 366, Richey, p. 309.

were Kings of Ulster, and Ulster was his ; by the sword he had won it, and by the sword he would keep it.⁵⁰ Further negotiations were seen to be useless, and Sidney immediately resolved on war.

His measures were much more effective than the aimless and desultory activity of Sussex. The chiefs whom Shane had expelled from their territories he restored to them, and encouraged to attack him—O'Donnell in the north, and O'Reilly and Maguire, also the Scots from the east—while the whole forces of the Pale were to be mustered under Sidney, and to attack him from the south. Shane's position was critical. Instead of conciliating the native chiefs, he had harassed and crushed them ; the Scots he had mortally offended ; and whithersoever he turned he was confronted with enemies. In his distress he had sought to give the war the character of a religious struggle, and to pose as the champion of the ancient faith ; and in that capacity he had appealed to the Earl of Desmond, to the King of France, and to the Cardinal of Lorraine. These appeals were fruitless, and he had to rely only on his own clansmen of Tyrone. But they at least did not fail him, nor was he a man to yield without a struggle ; and when O'Donnell attacked him, he quickly retaliated by entering Tyrconnell. The battle was fought (1567) on the shores of Lough Swilly, and ended in the ruinous defeat of Shane, whose losses are put as high as 3,000. So overwhelming was this disaster, that it was said Shane was temporarily bereft of reason. He had thought of going to the Deputy with a halter round his neck, and thus craving mercy, but his friends dissuaded him, and advised instead that he should seek aid from the Scots. He liberated their leader, Sorley Boy MacDonnell, whom he had imprisoned ; and, when Shane with his mistress and a few followers visited the Scots, they were received with apparent cordiality. But the defeat of two years before was not forgotten ; the recollection of it was still bitter ; reproaches and insults were flung at him ; a brawl arose ; and the Scots fell upon him and murdered him. His body, hacked to pieces, was wrapped in an old shirt, and thrown into a pit. It was afterwards dug up by one Captain Piers, and the head cut off and brought to Dublin, where it

⁵⁰ Richey, p. 308.

was "boded with a stake and standeth on the top of Your Majesty's castle." ⁵¹ Captain Piers was paid the reward of 1,000 marks which had been offered for Shane's head, and the government at Dublin rejoiced. The strongest Irishman in Ireland was no more; the most resolute opponent of England had disappeared; and this had been effected by the Scots, the enemies of England, and by the Irish themselves, and without the Deputy having to strike a single blow.⁵²

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

⁵² Froude's *History of England*, Vol. vii., pp. 575-80. Camden's *Annals*, at the year 1567. O'Sullivan's *Catholic History*, (Byrne's Translation, pp. 3-4).





CHAPTER IV.

Rebellion and Attempted Plantation.

IN the year 1658, James Earl of Desmond died, and the *Four Masters* lament his loss by saying that it was woful to his country, and that in his time there was no need to watch cattle or close doors over the wide extent of territory which he ruled. His family, long settled in Munster, had prospered and grown great. The descendants of the Cogans and FitzStephens had decayed; the minor chiefs had been overborne; the MacCarthys were still strong, but had dwindled into insignificance since the time when they were Kings of South Munster, and now they were compelled to pay a yearly tribute to the Earl of Desmond, called "Earl's Beeves." Scattered over Munster, especially in Kerry and Limerick and Cork, were various families of the Fitzgeralds, who claimed their descent from the same source as the Earl himself, and who recognised him as their chief; the Barrets, and Barrys, and Roches were compelled to give similar recognition; and except the district subject to the Earl of Ormond, and Cork, and Waterford, which were immediately subject to England, all Munster belonged to Desmond, from the west of Kerry to the east coast of Waterford.¹ Nominally he was a subject of England, but as yet English law was not allowed in his territory, and from the vast possessions he held it does not appear that any revenue was paid to the English Queen.

The rights and privileges of the Earldom descended, on the death of James, to his son Garrett, who thus became Earl of Desmond. His neighbours beyond the Shannon, the O'Briens,

¹ *Four Masters.*

were quarrelling among themselves, and from them he had nothing to fear. Neither were his rights and privileges questioned by the chiefs and nobles of South and West Munster; and except two minor attacks upon the MacCarthys, one upon MacCarthy of Carbury by some of the Fitzgeralds (1560), and the other on MacCarthy of Muskerry (1564), by Maurice Fitzgerald, each of which proved disastrous for the assailants, for many years the peace of that portion of Munster was unbroken. A more formidable foe was the Earl of Ormond. Like his neighbour of Desmond, he was also a Palatine lord, with his own army, and his own ministers, and in everything but in name, less like a subject than an independent prince. The family had been careful to keep on good terms with the English monarchs, and were more under English influence, and looked more to England for inspiration, than any of the great Anglo-Irish lords; and outside of Dublin, there was no town in which English customs prevailed more than in their capital of Kilkenny. The Desmonds were little susceptible to English influences. As the ages passed they had become more like Irish chiefs, and in the districts under their sway, it was Irish customs rather than English that prevailed. The consequence was that, while the Geraldines were very dear to the native Irish—and Desmond especially commanded the passionate attachment of those among whom he lived—the Butlers, on the contrary, were less popular with the natives, but could count on being trusted by the English monarchs, and on receiving favours at their hands. And recently their power and influence had been much augmented from this source. The readiness with which Piers, Earl of Ormond, had resigned his Earldom in favour of Sir Thomas Boleyn, the eagerness with which he followed Henry's example in his change of faith, the vigour with which he renounced the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, the zeal with which both himself and his son had combated Silken Thomas, had won for both father and son the enthusiastic approbation of the King. Nor was he slow to reward them, or niggardly in what he gave. To Piers, and his heirs male, he gave five manors and castles in Kilkenny, and two in Tipperary, and to Piers and James, as a special reward for their services against Silken Thomas, he gave six "manors, castles and towns" in Kil-

kenny, and many others in Tipperary, Carlow, Kildare, Dublin, and Meath, the Great Island in the County of Wexford, and the Little Island in the County of Waterford.² The son and successor of James was Thomas, who was but a boy at his father's death, in 1546. As his father had adopted the King's religion, the young man was careful to profess the Catholic religion under the Catholic Queen Mary, and by his services against Wyatt in England, and against the Scots in Ireland, he received as his reward the lands and possessions of Athassel in Tipperary, of Jerpoint and Callan in Kilkenny, and the late houses of Friars at Thurles and Carrick, and the lands of some other suppressed houses in Kildare and Carlow. By Elizabeth he was held in still greater esteem. She recognised him as her relative, sometimes playfully called him her "Black Husband," and in the first year of her reign appointed him Lord Treasurer of Ireland.³

It was this nobleman, high in the royal favour, who was the ruling Earl of Ormond, when Garrett Fitzgerald became Earl of Desmond. The two nobles were nearly related, for the wife of Desmond was dowager Countess of Ormond, and it might be supposed that this tie would bind them together in peace.⁴ But against this there were many disturbing influences, many causes from which quarrels might arise—longstanding jealousies, conflicting interests of their subjects, disputes about privileges or rights, or about boundaries. And such a quarrel did arise in 1560. Both Earls laid claim to lands on the banks of the river Suir, and as negotiation was unavailing, both sides had recourse to arms. The place of combat was decided on, and from all parts of Munster the followers of these two Earls hastened to the appointed place at Bohermore, between Cashel and Tipperary.⁴ But, though the two armies stood facing each other, there was no battle. The Great God, says the *Four Masters*, sent the Angel of Peace; they gave themselves time for reflection, and parted without striking a single blow. But these peaceful dispositions did not last, and though both Earls helped Sussex in his attack on Shane O'Neill

² Carte's *Life of the Duke of Ormond*, Vol. I., Introduction.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁴ *Four Masters*.

(1561) they had no sooner returned to their own territories than their quarrels were renewed. Desmond complained to the Viceroy that, on his return from serving the Queen, Ormond lay in wait to attack him, and the Irish Council in letters to the English Council, and to the Queen, emphasized the necessity of calling both Earls to England, and of insisting that they should cease their contests.⁵ The following year (1562), Ormond complained that Desmond had burned a town, that he had fallen out with all the lords and gentlemen of the west, that he was quarrelling with his uncle, that some of his men had robbed and waylaid one of Ormond's own servants, and that he refused to surrender some pirates he had captured.⁶

To inquire into these charges and countercharges, the Queen summoned both Earls to London. Knowing the Queen's partiality for him, Ormond readily obeyed the summons, but Desmond was distrustful of receiving fair-play, and delayed for some time. And it soon appeared that he had reason for his distrust. Ormond's answers to the charges were considered ample, and he was allowed immediately to return home, with all his privileges granted to him anew. The treatment of Desmond was very different. He acknowledged his many faults, made humble submission, promised to be a faithful subject to the Queen, to be answerable to the laws, to attend the Queen's parliaments.⁷ He was pardoned all the "murders, manslaughter, and felonies" he had committed, and a soothing letter was sent by the Queen to his Countess; but he was still kept in London; and to all his appeals for liberty to go home, to Cecil, to Sir Thomas Cusack, to the Council, to the Queen herself, a deaf ear was turned.⁸ He made all sorts of promises; he was ready to enter into any engagement; he protested that his country in Ireland was in disorder because of his absence; that the English climate disagreed with him; that he was brought very low by sickness; that his money was spent. Yet he was still detained in London, nor was it till the closing days of 1563 that he was allowed to return home.

⁵ Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 181-2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-6, 190.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 198-9.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 204, 219.

When leaving London he was commanded by the Queen to remain at Dublin until Cusack should examine into the further complaints made by Ormond; and he was specially admonished that, in any future disputes, the Queen herself was to be the umpire; that only her sword was to be drawn; and that its sharpened edge would fall upon the guilty.⁹ This warning was unheeded, and when Desmond felt aggrieved by Ormond, he gathered together his force and attacked him. Ormond complained to Cecil that the subjects under his rule were daily despoiled by the Earl of Desmond, and he asked that the Deputy should curb the spoiler, and see that the spoils were restored.¹⁰ A further encounter between the Earls ended disastrously for Desmond. He demanded his rents from Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, who replied that he owed none, as he held his lands direct from the Queen, and as Desmond threatened force, Fitzgerald asked and obtained the assistance of the Earl of Ormond. The rival Earls met at Affane near Cappoquin (1565), where Desmond was defeated with the loss of 300 of his followers. Himself received a gunshot wound, and was taken prisoner; and as he was carried off by Ormond's followers, his enemies tauntingly asked him, "Where now is the great Earl of Desmond,"? to which he quickly retorted: "Where but on the necks of the Butlers."¹¹ Taken to Clonmel, he remained there until his wounds were healed, and then, the Queen, highly incensed against both Earls, summoned them to London, so that their disputes might be investigated anew. And Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, MacCarthy More and O'Sullivan were summoned over to give evidence.¹²

It was well known that time had not lessened the Queen's partiality for Ormond, nor her distrust and suspicion of Desmond. Whomsoever she suspected was safe to attack, and so the enemies and false friends of Desmond were encouraged, and their charges against him fell thick and fast. Sir Maurice Fitzgerald complained that the Earl had wasted his land of Decies with fire and sword,

⁹ Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 229.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 248-9.

¹¹ *Four Masters*. Meehan's *Geraldines*, p. 64.

¹² Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 253-4.

and that, to save his people and himself from destruction, he had invoked the aid of Ormond. The MacSheehys were mercenary soldiers, and had been employed by the O'Briens against their kinsman the Earl of Thomond, and they declared that they had also been employed by Desmond, and the charge was sustained by the Earl of Clanricarde. The Dean of Lismore accused him of having maintained a proclaimed traitor, and the Earl of Ormond of having robbed his own tenants, and of having protected the Burkes and Ryans, who were rebels and traitors.¹³ When the views of the late Deputy, Sussex, were asked, he declared that this formidable indictment was true in every particular. As a courtier, he wished to stand well with the Queen; and while he characterised the acts of Ormond as justifiable offences, he described Desmond's acts as those of treason and murder.¹⁴

Both Earls were bound in the sum of £20,000 to abide by the Queen's decision, and in the last days of 1565 it was decreed that all their disputes were to be brought before Chancery, and there decided. Desmond was to put in pledges, and was then allowed to depart for Ireland; but the Deputy was directed to detain him at Dublin, until he paid whatever he owed, either to the Queen or to her subjects.¹⁵ No such conditions were imposed on Ormond, who, the Queen thought, was treated unjustly by the late Deputy, Arnold. And Cecil spoke of that Earl's great loyalty and zeal in the Queen's service: and he told Sidney that Her Majesty's high opinion of him was thought to grow from the memory of his education with that "holy young Solomon, King Edward." Further, Cecil directed the Deputy Sidney, and by the Queen's orders, that Ormond was to be compensated for his services against the O'Mores and O'Connors; his brother, Sir Edmond Butler, was expressly allowed to levy coyne and livery, and Sidney, who had indicted him for having done so as against the law, was censured; and Sir W. St. Leger was also censured for having held the scales evenly between the contending Earls, and was accused

¹³ Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 257-9, 262.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 269, 273. *Carew Papers*, 370-2.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 280, 285.

of being partial to Desmond.¹⁶ That Earl had been appealed to by Shane O'Neill for assistance, and had refused, and yet he was distrusted ; he had aided St. Leger against the Queen's enemy O'Reilly, and yet he was not thanked ; and the Butlers, who had spoiled his lands in his absence, were not punished.¹⁷ Finally, she chose to believe, without any fresh evidence being adduced, that he had harboured the rebels, O'More and O'Connor ; and she directed the Deputy to arrest him, so that fresh accusations might be laid to his charge. From the Queen's letters to Ireland at this period, and from the letters of Cecil, it was quite evident that, if the Geraldine broke the law, or was even charged with breaking it, then the law was to be rigorously enforced, but if the law-breaker was the Earl of Ormond, the Queen's affection intervened, and covered him as a shield from its assaults.

After maturing his plans for the destruction of Shane O'Neill, Sidney, leaving to the Ulster chiefs and the Scots the work of Shane's overthrow, proceeded, in April 1567, to Munster, to carry out the Queen's orders and arrest the Earl of Desmond. He travelled from Youghal to Cork and Kinsale, and thence to Limerick, and the picture he gave to the Queen of the state of the country, and of what the inhabitants suffered, was calculated to still further embitter her mind against Desmond. Knowing her prejudices, he was careful not to blame Ormond, and the terms in which he speaks of Desmond show that he was quite cured of his affection for him, if indeed he had ever felt such. The land through which he passed was as fertile as any land could be, but war had rendered it waste and desolate ; fire and famine had reduced the numbers of the inhabitants ; and from the miserable remnant that was left he heard the most doleful complaints. Villages were burned, churches laid in ruins, towns and castles destroyed ; and the skulls and bones of men strewn through the fields and unburied were so many that "hardly any Christian with dry eyes could behold." And he was told that a certain village had been burned by a servant of Desmond and some women rescued from the flames were found to be just

¹⁶ Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 301, 305.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 319, 323.

dead, but the children were noticed to stir in their dead bodies, and yet, in the house of this murderer, Desmond soon after lodged and banqueted.¹⁸ Amongst the people, matrimony was not observed; perjury, and robbery, and murder were allowed; they were not baptised; they had no conscience of sin, and made no account of the world to come.¹⁹ If all this be true, it is strange that the people rose in rebellion to defend the ancient faith, and suffered death rather than embrace the new doctrines. However that may be, Desmond and his brother John were arrested and sent to London, where they were detained prisoners for years.

They were not brought to trial at once, though the charges preferred against them were many, and the Queen believed Desmond guilty, called his acts those of a traitor, and even reproved Sidney for making some excuses for him.²⁰ But if he was guilty he ought in justice to have been punished; if he was not guilty, he ought to have been set free. This, however, was not done. Everyone who had a charge to make against him and his brother was welcome to make it, and was readily believed. Yet the Queen and her Council would neither convict nor acquit the accused. He was thrown into the Tower; he was left without money, and was told by the Queen to get it from Ireland; he was at times so destitute that he had not as much as would buy him shoes.²¹ He would not be allowed back to Ireland, though his submissive and pleading tone ought to have obtained mercy, if not justice. He left himself entirely in the Queen's hands, lamented his want of education to defend himself, and was willing to give up part of his lands and privileges; he even offered to serve Her Majesty in Ireland against those who were in rebellion.²² Still he was detained. The Geraldines were indignant; the native chiefs were alarmed. It was easy to make charges, easy to poison the Queen's mind; and if they were suspected by her or by her ministers, they would not be saved from her wrath by a submissive or whining tone. And if they

¹⁸ Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 330.

¹⁹ *Carew Papers*, Vol. III., Introduction.

²⁰ Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 336.

²¹ Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 434.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 346, 462.

did submit entirely to her demands, and in consequence were regarded as good subjects, it meant that they should sacrifice much. They should abandon their old Irish privileges; the bard, and minstrel, and brehon should disappear; and they would be at the mercy of corrupt, grasping officials. Finally, they should abandon their faith. Elizabeth was a Protestant rather from policy than from conviction. She was a Catholic in Mary's reign, and after twenty years on the throne, she was ready to marry the Catholic Duke of Anjou.²³ But she was much under the influence of Cecil, Throgmorton, and others, who were zealous Protestants, and who caused her to believe that her safety on the throne required that she also should be one. Under their guidance she renounced the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, established the Book of Common Prayer, abolished the Mass,²⁴ aided the Huguenots of France, and the Reformers of Scotland, and the insurgent subjects of Spain in the Netherlands, and was, in 1569, excommunicated by Pius V., as a heretic Queen, and her subjects absolved from their allegiance.²⁵ So far the old faith was tolerated in Ireland, even within the Pale. But the time had now come when this toleration was to cease, when sides were to be taken, when the Queen was to declare that he that was not with her was against her, that to be a good subject it was necessary to be a good Protestant, and that it was the Queen's religion, and none other, that was to be allowed.

To protect their rights, especially their religious rights, a confederacy of leading Irishmen was formed. The Earl of Desmond's cousin, James Fitzmaurice, was at the head of all the Geraldines. MacCarthy More renounced his lately acquired title of Earl of Clancarty, and became once again The MacCarthy. The Seneschal of Imokilly lent his aid. The O'Briens revolted in Thomond, and the sons of Clanricarde in Connaught. And Sir Edmond Butler, brother of Ormond, joined with these, forgetting his ancient enmity to the Geraldines.²⁶ This latter, however, was not, like Fitzmaurice, fired by religious zeal, but was rather fighting against the attempted

²³ Lingard, Vol. v., p. 153.

²⁴ Mant's *History of the Church of Ireland*, Vol. I., p. 264.

²⁵ Lingard, Vol. VI., p. 111.

²⁶ Ware's *Annals*.

confiscation of his lands by an English adventurer named Carew. Descended from that Carew, who had been driven out of Idrone, in the 14th century, by Art MacMurrough, his career had been hitherto full of adventure. First a page, then a muleteer to a French gentleman, and afterwards admitted to the French Court, he was with the French army at Pavia, and deserting after the battle to the Emperor's side, he became the special friend of the Prince of Orange. Next he is found at the court of Henry VIII., where his courtly manners, his knowledge of French, his skill as a knight, the sweetness with which he sang, the interest with which he recounted his travels and adventures, attracted the King's notice, who kept him much about his person, employed him in embassies to France and Scotland, and gave him both naval and military commands. Still unsatisfied with all he had seen, Carew again passed over to France, and thence to Constantinople was present with the King of Hungary at the siege of Buda, visited Vienna and Venice, and finally reached England, and related all he had gone through. He was present at the coronation of Edward VI., and during that King's short reign, and the reign of Mary, his life was uneventful, but in the reign of Elizabeth he was again a prominent figure. His passion for rambling was not chilled by advancing years. He had not yet seen Ireland, and in the hope of bettering his fortune there, he left England with the hearty approval of the Queen. He remembered that his ancestors had, in the 14th century, got large grants of land, and he found some old papers in which these grants were recorded. The papers were difficult to decipher, perhaps they were forged, but an obliging friend pretended to decipher them, and read out of them, or perhaps into them, what was required. Strange as it may seem, the Irish courts accepted such evidence, and one Cheevers was dispossessed of lands in Meath, as were the Kavanaghs in Idrone.²⁷ With the Butlers it was more difficult to deal. Carew contended that prescriptive rights were futile in Ireland; Sir Edmond Butler held an opposite view, and when

²⁷ *Carew Papers*, Vol. 1., Introduction—Life of Carew. Morrin, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, pp. 520-1.

Carew, backed by the Deputy, endeavoured to sieze that portion of Idrone west of the Barrow, Butler, to whom it belonged, resisted, and in retaliation spoiled the whole district.²⁸ In the meantime, Fitzmaurice and MacCarthy had wrung tribute from Kinsale, sent orders to Cork "to abolish out of that city that old heresy newly raised and invented"; spoiled the country round Waterford; and if the Mayor of that city is to be believed, were treating the people more cruelly than "either Phalaris or any of the old Tyrants."²⁹

But this confederacy, which seemed so formidable, had no element of stability, and the bond which kept its members together was nothing better than a rope of sand. Sidney with his forces went south, and passed from Cork to Limerick, without meeting anything more dangerous than threats, nor did he as he passed through Thomond to Galway. From England Ormond hastily came, and induced his brother Edmond to make his submission; and he told Cecil that the chief author of all these troubles was Sir Peter Carew. MacCarthy of Carbury followed Butler's example, and acknowledged that he was a cursed creature, and had been seduced by that pernicious rebel, James Fitzmaurice.³⁰ O'Brien of Ara also became an English subject, and got back his lands by English tenure. The Burkes continued fighting, but it was only amongst themselves; and the Earl of Thomond, who had revolted against Sir Edmond Fitton, the new President of Connaught, was reduced to obedience by the Earl of Ormond, and was glad to make his submission, and be received as an obedient subject of the Queen.³¹

With the expectation of crushing Fitzmaurice, and reducing all Munster, Sir John Perrott was appointed President of Munster, early in 1570, and took up his residence at Limerick. He was reputed to be an illegitimate son of Henry VIII., was a man of considerable ability, and was invested with extraordinary powers. He had the appointment of all government officers throughout Munster; he could rule by martial law; could parley with rebels,

²⁸ Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 410, 412.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 412-13.

³⁰ Morrin, pp. 542-3.

³¹ White's *History of Clare*, pp. 186-9.

and make peace or war ; could proclaim all assemblies unlawful ; could cess the country under his rule to whatever extent he pleased. He was aided by a council, but was not bound to follow its advice ; and with the feeble restriction that he was subject to the Deputy, he had in reality unlimited and absolute powers.³² Yet, confronted with this strong man, armed as he was with such extensive powers, and aided by the Earl of Ormond, James Fitzmaurice still continued the struggle. His forces were few, but he was a man of resource and endurance ; he retired to the wood of Aherlow, and from its sheltering recesses he sallied forth (1571), and burned the town of Kilmallock, thus preventing the place being a refuge for English troops.³³ He corresponded with France and Spain, hoping to get aid from them, but no aid came, and he sent a challenge to Perrott, which Perrott accepted. The place of combat was appointed, and the time, but Fitzmaurice, perhaps because he feared treachery, sent a messenger to say that he would not fight, that if Perrott were killed, the Queen could easily replace him, but that, if Fitzmaurice himself fell, his people would be without a leader.³⁴ Yet he could not continue the fight. The Butlers killed 100 of his followers, and when his strongest fortress was captured by Perrott, he had no alternative but to submit ; and in the ruined church of Kilmallock, he and the Seneschal of Imokilly, with halters round their necks, craved pardon from Perrott, and declared that they would never have rebelled but for the example of Sir Edmond Butler, and Lord Clancarty.³⁵ This was the end of the rebellion in Munster. Two years before this date, the first assize court had been held in Thomond. With the President of Connaught, and the Earl of Thomond, acting together as justices, and an O'Brien acting as sheriff, English law was first administered in Thomond. The next year an assize court was held in Galway, and the Earl of Clanricarde, who had been for a time detained a prisoner, was sent back to Connaught, and pacified his unruly sons. The Kavanaghs and MacMurroghs surrendered their lands to the crown, and got them back by English

³² Morrin, p. 535.

³³ Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 438.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 460. Meehan's *Geraldines*.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 489, 497 : *Life of Sir John Perrott*.

tenure; the O'Farrells did the same, and Annally was made shire ground. In the year 1573, the Earl of Desmond was released from prison, and returned to Ireland. If there was not universal peace, there was at least no war of importance; rebellion seemed to be finally crushed, and English institutions were rapidly supplanting those of native growth, which already had lasted so long.³⁶

During these years, while Munster and Connaught were agitated by discord and rebellion, the state of Ulster was one of almost unbroken calm; except some obscure quarrel between the MacSweeneys of Tyrconnell, the *Four Masters*, for six entire years, have neither war nor battle to record. At a Parliament at Dublin (1569), Shane O'Neill was attainted, and all his possessions forfeited to the crown, and it was declared unlawful for anyone to assume the name and title of The O'Neill.³⁷ Beyond this the government did not go. With Connaught and Munster disturbed, it was not deemed wise to provoke the Ulster chiefs, who in reality deserved the gratitude rather than the hostility of government. All these chiefs had been on the side of England in the war with Shane O'Neill, and it was by the battle-axes of the O'Donnells, and the daggers of the Scots, his ruin had been accomplished. Yet these chiefs were not trusted. All their movements were watched; what they said and did was all carefully noted by English spies in their midst, and as carefully sent to Dublin and to England. The anxiety of the government was that their whole strength would never again be united under a single chief, as it had been under Shane O'Neill. They were to be kept divided and weak; and though O'Donnell and Turlogh Lynnagh O'Neill were outwardly regarded as friends, the Queen advised the Lords Justices (1567), that, if the latter showed any sign of being unfaithful to England, the young Earl of Tyrone, Hugh O'Neill, was to be supported against him; and in similar circumstances Conn O'Donnell was to be sustained against his uncle Hugh.³⁸ The care with which Turlogh Lynnagh was watched, and the aversion with which he was regarded by the English officials, is specially remarkable. For years the Deputy

³⁶ *Four Masters*.

³⁷ Ware's *Annals*.

³⁸ Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 353.

Fitzwilliam, in almost every letter he wrote, made mention of him, of his pride, his treachery, his insincerity, his friendship for the Scots, his alliances with the other chiefs, his arrogant assumption of the name of prince, his sinister designs against the English. In 1567, he was likely, he thought, to be much more dangerous than Shane O'Neill, who never liked the Scots, while Turlogh employed them and sent to Scotland for a wife. The next year, Fitzwilliam was confident he was going to rebel; he was only panting for the Scots to join; he had already joined Conn O'Donnell, and presented him with a horseman's apparel; he insolently called himself a prince, had in fact burst out into rebellion and burned some towns, but the towns are not named. He had with him, in 1569, 1,000 Scots, and is working "in the old manner of his lewd predecessors;" and he had an understanding with all the rebels in the kingdom.³⁹ Wiser than her Deputy, the Queen had thanked Turlogh for his services against Shane, and expressed her intention to make him a baron, and to give him the northern portion of Tyrone, the southern portion being reserved for the young Baron of Dunganon.⁴⁰ And Turlogh was thankful, and if this had been done, he might have become content. But the baseless charges made against him, the distrust in which he was held, irritated him, and once, in 1569, he broke out in revolt. He continued to employ the Scots, demanded all the rights his ancestors had ever enjoyed, and protested against the attempted plantation of Clannaboy, and against any harm being done to Sorley Boy MacDonnell. But he had no intention of entering into a contest with the Queen, and, in 1571, made peace with her commissioners.⁴¹

Even more dreaded than Turlogh, and more troublesome, were the Scots. They were everywhere in Ireland, with Turlogh Lynnagh himself, with O'Neill of Clannaboy, with Fitzmaurice in Munster, with Clanricarde in Connaught. While these mercenary bands were allowed thus to come and go, there was no prospect of permanent peace; and the English ministers considered that, if the east coast of Antrim were planted with English colonists, much

³⁹ Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 351, 365, 387, 400, 402.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 336, 347.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 418, 485.

good would be done. These colonists would serve a double purpose. They would be a check on the neighbouring Irish chiefs, and they would shut in the faces of the Scots the door through which they had been accustomed to enter Ireland. A beginning was made in 1572, and in that year the district of the Ardes—eastward of Strangford Lough—was given to one Thomas Smith, son to the Queen's Secretary. These lands had been for centuries in the possession of the O'Neills, and Sir Brian O'Neill protested against giving them to a stranger; he recounted his own services to the Queen since his childhood, and felt sure that she did not wish to give away his lands.⁴² Yet his appeals were unheeded, and his services were forgotten. Young Smith wrote to him from London, in May 1572, that he would soon come to live near him as a good neighbour, and that he hoped they would live on friendly terms; and Sir Thomas Smith sought to console the Irish by saying that these colonies were not intended to destroy the Irish race, but to teach them virtuous labour.⁴³ But O'Neill did not want to learn virtue from a robber, nor did he want to be his neighbour; and when Smith landed at Strangford Lough he opposed him, and told him he would not part with one foot of his land. Menaced by a common danger, Turlogh Lynnagh and the Scots aided him with their forces; Smith was insufficiently supported from Dublin, and in an incursion made into the Lower Ards, in October, 1573, he was defeated and slain.⁴⁴

An attempt of the same kind, but on a much larger scale, was made the same year by the Earl of Essex. He was a young man much about the English court, and in high favour with the Queen. As Lord Hereford, he had served against the insurgents in the north of England, in 1569, and as a reward had been created Earl of Essex; and in the hope of still further gaining the Queen's favour, he offered to plant the east of Ulster, and for that purpose, heavily mortgaged his English estates. He was to hold, as the Queen's vassal, the whole district east of the Bann, and, in addition, the island of Rathlin. And within this extensive

⁴² Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 469.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 472, 488.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 482, 487, 525.

territory his power was to be unbounded. He alone was to have the fishing of Lough Neagh and the Bann, and for seven years all customs ; he could divide the lands among his followers ; appoint to all civil, military and ecclesiastical offices ; to have the power of martial law over his own troops ; could make laws ; could make peace or war with the native chiefs ; could burn their houses and castles, and seize on their stock ; if found guilty of treason, could make them slaves, and " chain them to any ship or galley " ; and if any of the Irish or Scotch robbed him or any of his assistants, he was at liberty to punish any others of the Scotch or Irish that he chose.⁴⁵ The Queen stipulated for those who engaged in the enterprise, and were of English birth, that each horseman was to get 400 acres of land, each footman 200 ; and that Essex was to take over her garrison of Carrickfergus, who were to serve under him, and be paid by him. She shared with him the expense of fitting out the requisite forces ; she was to aid also in making and preserving fortresses ; and money, arms, weapons, and victuals might be brought from England free for seven years, but on condition that no part of these things " be assigned or conveyed to any Irish, or Scots Irish, or mere Scots." ⁴⁶ Many English knights and nobles wished to share in what looked to be a prosperous enterprise, and, accompanied by them, and at the head of 1,200 troops, Essex, in the autumn of 1573, cast anchor in Belfast Lough.

He soon found that the force at his disposal was entirely inadequate for the task he had undertaken. Equally alarmed at his proceedings, Turlogh Lynnagh, Sorley Boy, and the Scots, and O'Neill of Clannaboy joined hands against him. The other Ulster chiefs, such as Maguire, remained quiet, but keenly watched the contest, prepared to take sides with the stronger, and even O'Donnell, on whom the English so much relied, stood to them in doubtful terms. Carrickfergus had so much decayed, that the inhabitants were on the point of deserting it. The troops Essex brought with him were quickly diminished ; some had almost immediately gone back to England ; some had retired to the Pale.

⁴⁵ *Carew Papers*, pp. 439-41.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 444.

Of the provisions sent from Bristol much was wasted on the voyage. Carrickfergus Castle was in ruins ; and the soldiers who remained with him were so discouraged, that they threatened to mutiny, and alleged that they came for goodwill, and were not to continue longer than they wished themselves.⁴⁷ Finally, O'Neill of Clannaboy who at first came in and submitted, was repelled by the haughty and menacing tone of Essex ; was told that he might perhaps expect clemency from the Queen, and all his cattle were seized : and, repenting of his submission, he declared war.⁴⁸

The problem for Essex was to prevent Turlogh Lynnagh, Brian O'Neill, and the Scots from acting together. He should aim rather at having them at each other throats ; and if he made peace with Sorley Boy it was only that he might make him a plague to the obstinate Irish.⁴⁹ Turlogh Lynnagh especially he was not to irritate, as his strength was great ; there were troubles both in Munster and Connaught which demanded all the care of the Deputy, who could not, therefore, give any assistance in Ulster ; and in these circumstances Essex's policy should be to temporise with the chieftain of Tyrone. But, in 1574, the trouble in Munster was over ; the Deputy was directed to lend his aid in Ulster, and Essex plucked up courage to begin with Brian O'Neill, whom he was directed from England to reduce either by "fair means or by force."⁵⁰ He proceeded to carry out these instructions, and, accompanied by the Baron of Dungannon, he attacked Brian, and wasted his territory, after which O'Neill tendered his submission. Peace was then made, and Essex was invited to a feast, and hospitably entertained. His return was to murder all Brian's attendants, to the number of 200, and to send off the chief and his wife prisoners to Dublin, where they were executed.⁵¹ Then he proceeded to attack Turlogh Lynnagh ; but all he could claim to have done was that he burned much corn in Tyrone ;

⁴⁷ *Carew Papers*, pp. 445-50.

⁴⁸ Richey, p. 353.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 355.

⁵⁰ *Carew Papers*, p. 462.

⁵¹ *Four Masters*, Hamilton's *Calendar*, Vol. II., p. 43. Froude's *England*, Vol. x., pp. 522-3.

when he had accomplished all this, he made peace with the chief whom he had attacked, and whose lands he had laid waste.⁵²

Freed from anxiety as to Tyrone or Clannaboy, he turned his arms against the Scots. Twelve months before, Sorley Boy had sought peace with him, but Essex would enter into no arrangement which might involve tolerating the Scots, or leaving them in peaceful possession of their lands.⁵³ His own opinion was that "severity was the only way to reform this stubborn nation;" and, in July, 1575, he attacked Sorley Boy on the banks of the Bann. With only 900 men, the Scottish chief was soon defeated. His beaten army swam the river, and hid in the caves and hiding places of Tyrone. The English pursued them, hunted them out, as if they were so many wolves, and between 300 and 400 were put to death. Again Sorley Boy begged for peace, but Essex protested he had no power to make terms—he should get such power from England—and even while these negotiations were proceeding, he ordered Captain Norris to take three frigates from Carrickfergus, and 300 men, and attack Rathlin Island. A strong castle on the island was garrisoned by a few troops, and in this stronghold Sorley Boy and his fighting men had put their wives and children, thinking that there at least they were safe. The English battered down the fortress with heavy ordnance, and the constable of the castle submitted on condition that his own life and the lives of his wife and children were spared. But all others were ruthlessly massacred, soldiers and women, sick and aged, wailing mother and prattling babe. And Essex gleefully narrated that Sorley Boy was on the mainland, and looking across the waters to Rathlin, beheld the murder that was being perpetrated, and how, helpless to defend his people, he ran up and down the beach, tearing his hair and crying out in the agony of his grief.⁵⁴ Nor did the Queen censure him, but, on the contrary, praised him for his painful travails and good success, and he was directed by her to thank Captain Norris, and to assure him that she would not be unmindful of his good services.⁵⁵

⁵² Richey, p. 354.

⁵³ Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 5, 45.

⁵⁴ Hamilton's *Calendar*, Vol. II., p. 77. *Carew Papers*, Vol. II., p. 17.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 21

Essex had a free hand for his severities, and yet he was not happy. He had to complain that he was not supported by the Deputy; his soldiers mutinied; he wanted money, and could not borrow it in Ireland.⁵⁶ Nor was the Queen disposed to give it to him. Her parsimony was notorious; she had the miser's passion for gold, and clutched and counted her shekels with the greedy avarice of a Jew. She was anxious that Essex should succeed, and angry when his success was not more rapid; she threatened to recall him, again encouraged him to go on, again thought his enterprise doubtful; and when he resigned his command, she bade him resume it.⁵⁷ Finally, she deprived him of the government of Ulster; and when he returned to England, to find his patrimony wasted by the enterprise, she consoled him by saying that she admired his patience and constancy in adversity; that he had covered himself with immortal renown, not like others who took delight in holding their noses over the beef pots.⁵⁸ And she appointed him Earl Marshal of Ireland, and sent him to that country, where he died in the following year. All his plans had come to naught; neither Scots nor Irish were subdued, and of him and the atrocities he committed they long cherished the bitterest memories.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 19.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 56, 60-2, 78.

⁵⁸ *Carew Papers*, pp. 24-5.

⁵⁹ Froude's *England*, Vol. x., pp. 515-30.



CHAPTER V.

Sidney's last term of Office.

WHEN, on his return from England the Earl of Desmond reached Dublin he was allowed to proceed no further. The many charges made against him during his long detention in England ought to have exhausted the catalogue of his crimes ; it was time to say whether he was innocent or guilty. But in Dublin fresh charges were made against him, and though they contained nothing new, he was not permitted to return to Munster, and the President of that province did not wish that he should. He had killed and hanged 800 Irish ; at the sessions at Cork he had executed 60 persons ; he boasted that throughout Munster there was not one evil man in rebellion ; and he dreaded that this peaceful condition of things would not last if Desmond returned home, “ a man rather meet to keep Bedlam than to come to a new reformed country.”¹ Finding that no charges could be proved against the Earl, the Irish Council insisted that he should subscribe to certain conditions before being allowed his freedom. He should cease to levy coyne and livery, should have no idle men or gallowglasses, and no great guns. He was to exact no fines for murder, to abolish the Brehon law, to have “ no parliaments on hills ” to give security for his good behaviour. To all these conditions Desmond was not willing to subscribe ; he refused “ to forbear his Irish exactions

¹ Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 501, 503, 517.

and the liberties of Kerry ;”² and, in consequence, though his brother John was set free, the Earl was still detained. He was not, however, kept in prison, but was given in charge to the Mayor of Dublin, who was to allow him abroad on his parole ; and one day, on pretence that he was going hunting, he made his escape. He was at once proclaimed a traitor, and a large reward was offered for him, alive or dead ; but he eluded his pursuers and arrived safely among his own people, where a cordial welcome awaited him.³

Munster was soon disturbed. His fortresses in Cork and Kerry and Limerick, which had been taken from him, were now recaptured by Desmond ; he defeated the Earl of Clancarty ; and the religious orders in his territory were restored to all those rights and privileges of which, in his absence, they had been deprived.⁴ Perrott, the Lord President, was then in England, but Justice Walshe, his deputy, did not fail to send news of these transactions to London, and he put Desmond’s conduct in the worst light.⁵ The Queen was enraged, and breathed nothing but threats against the offending Earl. She expressed her displeasure that the Deputy Fitzwilliam did not attack him ; she resolved to send over Perrott with 300 men, but instead sent over Sir William Drury, who was to proceed at once to Munster ; and that all her forces might be free to act with him, she wrote conciliatory letters to the Ulster chiefs.⁶ Desmond was soon attacked by the Deputy, and by the Earl of Ormond. His castle of Derrinlare was captured and the garrison slain ; next, his castle of Castlemaine fell into English hands ; and when these strongholds were taken he came to Clonmel, and submitted in the humblest fashion to the Lord Deputy, dispersed his forces, and delivered up the fortresses in his possession. His wife wrote to the Queen, in September, 1574, begging that he might be restored to favour ; and the Earl himself wrote protesting that “ he will faithfully serve and dutifully obey Her Majesty and

² *Ibid.*, 504-5.

³ Ware’s *Annals*.

⁴ *Four Masters*.

⁵ Hamilton’s *Calendar*, pp. 530-34

⁶ *Carew Papers*, Vol. I., p. 477.

her governors of Ireland"; and he prayed for one "drop of grace to assuage the flame of his tormented mind." ⁷

Peace was thus established in Munster, but there was no peace in the other provinces. Connaught was kept in a ferment by the sons of Clanricarde, who kept 500 Scots in their pay. Their father was either unable or unwilling to restrain them; the Earl of Essex thought he was unwilling, and described him as the worst subject in Ireland. ⁸ The quarrels of the O'Briens had turned Thomond into a desert; the corn was wasted, the churches in ruins, the houses of the people destroyed. ⁹ The O'Mores and O'Connors were at war with the English planters in their midst; and the state of the Pale was one of turbulence and disorder, even to the gates of Dublin. ¹⁰ Fitzpatrick of Ossory and the Earl of Ormond quarrelled; the Earl of Kildare was suspected of favouring the O'Mores and O'Connors in their rebellion, had many other serious charges made against him, and was arrested and sent a prisoner to London to be tried; ¹¹ the proceedings of Essex kept Ulster in turmoil, and the name of England was disgraced by the murder of Brian O'Neill, and the horrors of Rathlin Island. Nor were the Scots yet vanquished, and only a month after the Rathlin massacres, Sorley Boy defeated the forces of Captain Norris, and plundered Carrickfergus. ¹² To add to all these horrors, the plague raged fiercely in Dublin and throughout the Pale. ¹³ The outlook was so gloomy, that the Deputy was filled with dread and wished to be recalled. He was not popular with the other officials; with the Presidents of Munster and Connaught he was rarely in agreement; with Essex he was in great disfavour; and the Queen thought that against the Earl of Desmond he ought to have done more, and censured him for having done so little. ¹⁴ Depression of spirits accompanied by bodily infirmity rendered it

⁷ Hamilton, Vol. II., p. 37.

⁸ Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 14-16.

⁹ *Four Masters*.

¹⁰ Hamilton, p. 3, *Carew Papers*, Vol. I., p. 472.

¹¹ Hamilton, pp. 53, 63-5, 68-73.

¹² Ware's *Annals*.

¹³ Hamilton, pp. 527-8.

¹⁴ Carew, p. 473.

desirable that he should be relieved of the heavy burden laid upon him, and, in September, 1575, he ceased to be Deputy, and Sir Henry Sidney was appointed to succeed him.

The new Deputy knew Ireland well. Though harsh and stern, he was not treacherous ; he would never use poison to rid himself of an opponent, as Sussex did, nor massacre helpless women and children, as Essex did. His severity towards the law-breakers, his protection of the law-abiding, was recognized by the Irish themselves ; and Turlogh Lynnagh wrote to him, bidding him welcome as a Viceroy who would not make rebels of good subjects.¹⁵ As the plague was raging in Dublin, he landed at Drogheda, and forthwith commenced a circuit of the whole country. He met the chiefs and made agreements with them, noted the conduct of the officials, took measures for the preservation of peace ; and the letters which he wrote to England, detailing what he saw and did, are especially valuable. Drogheda had benefited by the expenditure made there by the Earl of Essex, expenditure necessary for maintaining his troops ; but south of it was impoverished by the continual passing and repassing of troops. O'Hanlon's country was in extreme disorder, and so also was the country called the Fews. Turning eastwards, he found Iveagh, the country of Magennis, still suffering from former disorders, but Magennis himself was well disposed ; and the English Privy Council appreciated his good dispositions, and were willing that he should be made a baron, though the rent offered by him for Iveagh was "very mean."¹⁶ Eastward of Iveagh was the district of Kineliarty, which was desolate and waste, inhabited by thieves and outlaws. Dufferin, on the western shores of Strangford Lough, was little better, but Lecale, further south, showed signs of improvement. The Country of the Ardes was in a satisfactory condition, and his explanation is a characteristically English one—because "there were many freeholders of English race of ancient habitation there." Had they been mere Irish, there could not, of course, have been any such improvement. The attempted plantation of Clannaboy had proved to be a dismal

¹⁵ Hamilton's *Calendar*, Vol. II., p. 83.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 82. *Carew Papers*, Vol. II., p. 36.

failure ; the land was turned into a desert and wholly uninhabited. Carrickfergus was much decayed, the churches and houses burned ; the inhabitants had fled, and not more than six remained, who were comforted to hear of the Queen's intention to wall the town ; and they hoped that this would induce people to come and live there. The Glynnnes under Sorley Boy he found full of corn and cattle, and the chief himself was of good dispositions ; and he asked to have a grant of the Route and the Glynnnes, a petition the English Council were reluctant to grant. They thought it better that he should get only the Glynnnes, and that a captain should be appointed in Clannaboy and another in the Route, and that these two would keep the Scots in check. Retracing his steps, and then proceeding westward, Sidney found Dungannon wasted. Armagh was worse still, its cathedral in ruins, the town itself miserable. At this point of his journey, he met Turlogh Lynnagh O'Neill and his wife, both of whom favourably impressed him. They were anxious to live as good subjects, and wanted a patent of nobility ; and the English Council agreed that Turlogh was to be created an Earl and his son a Baron. Sidney did not visit O'Donnell or Maguire, nor did he meet either of these chiefs, but both wrote to him and expressed their willingness to pay some tribute to the Queen for their lands, stipulating that they must be freed from any payment to the O'Neills.¹⁷

From Ulster the Deputy passed into Meath, which suffered much from the incursions of the O'Connors and the O'Mulloys ; but the noblemen and gentlemen who dwelt there were well-intentioned, and were encouraged by the good example of a neighbouring Irish chief, O'Reilly of Cavan, whose country was peaceful, the best ruled country in all Ireland, as O'Reilly himself was the justest Irishman. Westmeath was even more disturbed than Meath. As yet the Queen's writ did not run there ; but he was determined that it soon should, and he hoped much from the peaceful disposition of the lords there. As for Longford, the O'Farrells were good neighbours both to Westmeath and to the Pale, and lived in better order and greater wealth than they did

¹⁷ *Carew Papers*, Vol. II., pp. 30, 36-7.

before their land was converted into shire ground.¹⁸ The county of Dublin was kept in constant alarm by Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne ; Kildare was extremely impoverished, and so was Carlow ; and in Wexford, the part where most disturbance prevailed was under the charge of English captains, who quarrelled much more recklessly than did the Irish themselves. As for Wicklow, the land of the O'Byrnes and the O'Tooles, it was in good order, and the same could be said of the land of the MacMurroughs. In King's and Queen's counties the English planters had fared badly. Surrounded by those who had been robbed of their lands, they were in the midst of a hostile population, in whose hearts was the bitter memory of wrong. These despoiled natives coveted the fields from which they had been driven, and hated the foreigners for whose sakes this spoliation had been done ; and though 200 English soldiers were kept in these newly planted districts, the settlers were not safe. They were daily spoiled ; they were unable to pay the rents fixed by government ; and the revenue from the planted districts was not equal to one twentieth the cost of defending them. Some, no doubt, succumbed to Irish influences, others let their lands to Irish tenants ; and while the English tenants decayed, the natives gradually recovered what they had lost. And such was the weakness of these planters, and such the strength of the O'Mores, that their chief, Rory Oge O'More, held possession of what lands he pleased—" he occupieth what he listeth and wasteth what he will." Upper Ossory and Ely O'Carroll were in good order, but Kilkenny was in the worst possible condition, " the sink and receptacle of innumerable cattle and goods stolen out of other countries " ¹⁹ At Kilkenny City, the Deputy was hospitably entertained by the Earl of Ormond, and there he met Rory Oge O'More, who expressed sorrow for his misdeeds and made promises of amendment. Sidney rebuked him severely, and told him he would assign him lands on which he must be content to live peacefully. And he appointed the Earl of Upper Ossory to take charge of the King's and Queen's counties and the Earl of Ormond to take charge of Kilkenny and Tipperary, and, this done, he hastened on to Waterford.

¹⁸ *Carew Papers*, p. 31.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-4.

From that city he passed on to Lord Power's place at Curraghmore, "one of the best ordered countries in the English Pale," thence to Decies, belonging to Sir James Fitzgerald, who was left by his deceased brother very rich, but had spent all. He had four times as much land as Lord Power, and, although of better quality, yet it was waste and impoverished, and could boast of more idle vagabonds than cattle.²⁰ Through Dungarvan he passed to Youghal, which was so poor that it could not entertain him, and he was compelled to pass on to Cork, where he remained for six weeks. There he held sessions, and met the Earls of Desmond, Thomond and Clancarty, and many lords, knights and chiefs, Irish and Anglo-Irish, all of whom had their wives with them, and spent the Christmas merrily with the Deputy in the city; and all these chiefs and nobles desired to surrender their lands, and get them back by English tenure. They agreed also to furnish a list of their retainers and to answer for them. From Cork, Sidney passed on to Kilmallock and Limerick, where he met several nobles and chiefs whom he had not met at Cork. Taking a general survey of the state of Munster, he was satisfied that it was progressing towards order and peace, and would be as quiet as Waterford, if Perrott had been continued in his office. But he believed that both Ormond and Desmond should be deprived of their Palatine rights, the former in Tipperary, the latter in Kerry. As long as the Queen's writ was not allowed to run in these countries there could be no perfect reformation in Munster.²¹

Early in 1576, the Deputy crossed the Shannon and entered Thomond, and in two short sentences he epitomises its recent history, and pronounces a censure on its chiefs of which they must have been ashamed. "I was attended," he says, "by the Earl of Thomond, Sir Daniel O'Brien and others, all gentlemen of one surname, and yet no one of them friend to another. These are the great undoers of their own country and neighbours, yet so near kinsmen as they are, descended of one grandfather." He could find no trace of any of English descent where, in the 14th

²⁰ *Carew Papers*, p. 38.

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 41.

century, the De Clares had been so powerful ; and as for the natives, they were harassed and ruined by the senseless squabbling of the O'Briens. " If they were not a people of more spare diet than others, it were not possible that a soil so wasted could sustain them, and yet many they are not in number." Two of these warring O'Briens he made prisoners, another he made sheriff ; he appointed law officers to carry out the English law ; and Thomond, which was already a county, the County of Clare, and which in his last government he had annexed to Connaught, he now reannexed to Munster.²²

Leaving the land of the O'Briens, the Deputy entered Connaught, which he for the first time divided into counties, and on his arrival at Galway he was hospitably entertained. Six years before Fitton had been appointed President of Connaught, but the new arrangement had worked badly. Fitton's office was partly military and partly civil ; he was not restrained by any council ; no judges were sent on circuit ; the President's powers were really without limit, and his character was such that it was dangerous to invest him with such powers. He had no tact in government and cruelly treated the Irish, whom he despised.²³ When he held sessions in Galway his executions were wholesale ; for five days he burned and spoiled the corn in Lower Connaught ;²⁴ when he captured a castle near Galway, every man in the garrison was put to the sword ; when O'Connor Don was invited by him to a conference at Athlone (1571), he was thrown into prison,²⁵ and the same treatment was meted out to the Earl of Clanricarde (1572), when his sons rebelled, though there was no evidence that he had aided or abetted, or even sympathised with their rebellion, and in the battle of Shrule (1570) it was on the President's side he fought.²⁶ English law, to be respected by the natives, ought to be just, and justly administered ; but Fitton's picture of justice in Connaught was not the goddess with her eyes bandaged and the

²² *Carew Papers*, Vol. II., p. 48.

²³ *Hamilton's Calendar*, Vol. I., p. 429.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 460.

²⁵ *Annals of Loch Ce*.

²⁶ *Four Masters*.

scales evenly held, but rather a goddess with her eyes open, a sword dripping with blood in one hand, the other hand held out for bribes. The harassed people tried to purchase his good will, and in Thomond (1571) it was not possible to count the number of cattle which he thus received.²⁷ His cruelty and violence, his treachery and corruption disgusted all; the Earl of Clanricarde's sons rebelled and were joined by many others, and at last Fitton was deprived of all power in Connaught (1576); and his name and even the name of his office were so abhorred, that the new official Malbie was called "Colonel of Connaught."

The town of Galway Sidney found much decayed, and in Athenry everything was burned, college, parish church and all, by the Earl's sons, though the mother of one of them was buried in the church. These two sons made submission to the Deputy, and were brought by him prisoners to Dublin. He also received submission from MacWilliam Burke of Mayo, a sensible man who spoke Latin but knew no English, and who gratefully received the order of English knighthood, and admitted an English sheriff into his territory. Similar submissions were made by O'Malley, O'Flaherty and O'Madden, who were of Irish descent, and by Jordan and Prendergast, who were of English descent. Sidney took measures for rebuilding Athenry and surrounding it by a wall, Clanricarde's territory to bear the expense; he also took possession of two of the Earl's castles, Loughrea and Claregalway; and then he proceeded to Roscommon, where he met O'Connor Don and MacDermott, both of whom wished to be subject to English law. At Athlone he remained nine days; he held sessions at Longford; appointed two commissioners to determine controversies in Connaught, and a Provost-marshal to execute thieves and destroyers of their country; and, this done, he returned to Dublin.²⁸

But Connaught was not to have peace, and when Clanricarde's sons were released from Dublin on promise of good behaviour, they no sooner crossed the Shannon than they renounced English

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Carew Papers*, Vol. II., pp. 49-51.

dress and laws ; and, at the head of both Scots and Irish, attacked and demolished the partially built walls of Athenry. Loughrea they also attacked, but were driven off by the English garrison.²⁹ They invited MacWilliam Burke to join them, and as he refused, they invaded and spoiled his territory, and took possession of his castle at Castlebar. These proceedings again caused Sidney to cross the Shannon to Galway, whence he went to Athenry, and on through Shrute to Castlebar. The latter place he captured and handed over to MacWilliam (1577), after which, leaving Malbie a sufficient force, and in possession of the castles of Roscommon and Athlone, he returned to Dublin. The Earl's sons retired before him into the mountains, and continued a desultory warfare, though they effected nothing of importance.³⁰ Their father was carried to Dublin, and imprisoned there. He was then sent to London, where many accusations were made against him, nor was it until two years later that he was set free. In his absence his sons kept quiet, fearful, perhaps, lest renewed disturbances might hasten their father's ruin. The other Connaught chiefs showed a disposition to surrender their lands and receive them back by English tenure, all but O'Rorke, whom Malbie described as the proudest man on earth. The old plan of setting up a rival chief was adopted. Malbie and his puppet attacked O'Rorke and captured Leitrim, though it was soon recaptured by the defeated chief, who still clung to his ancient privileges and rejected English sheriffs and English laws.³¹

At this date Sir William Drury was President of Munster. He was a juster man than Fitton of Connaught, but he was as harsh and cruel, and equally convinced that the right way to govern the Irish was not by love but by fear. At Cork, he executed 42 persons, at Kilkenny, 36, at Limerick, 80, and he boasted that he had altogether executed 400 persons.³² At Clare, he held sessions and executed many, and he left a provost-marshal to execute more, and the cruelty of this officer was so great, that the Earl of Thomond went to London (1577), to make a personal complaint

²⁹ Hamilton's *Calendar*, Vol. II., p. 97

³⁰ *Carew Papers*, pp. 64-5.

³¹ *Four Masters*.

³² Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 101, 130.

to the Queen.³³ O'Carroll of Ely surrendered all his lands and received them back by English tenure, and thus effectually subjected himself and his territory to English law. But the Earl of Desmond was not equally complying; he still clung to his ancient rights; and when Drury entered Kerry, determined to have the Queen's writ run there as elsewhere, Desmond held aloof from him, and it seemed as if he would offer resistance. Yet he remained quiescent, and even came to see Sidney (1578) at Kilkenny; and Sidney rightly described him as a weak and impotent body, with little ability for fight.³⁴

In Ulster, Turlogh Lynnagh had not got his Earldom; but he was on good terms with the English and with his neighbours, and all Ulster might be described as peaceful during Sidney's term of office. In Leinster, the Earl of Kildare, acquitted of all the charges made against him, had come back to his own territory, and was an obedient and trusted subject. But his neighbours, the O'Mores and O'Connors, wasted the Pale.³⁵ They were under the leadership of Rory Oge, who renounced his allegiance to England, despised the small position and doubtful security of an English subject, and at the head of his own relatives, wronged and despoiled as himself, he lived the life of an outlawed chief. With Cormack O'Connor as his fellow-leader, he burned Naas and Carlow, and captured the Deputy's nephew, Captain Harrington.³⁶ In the woods and among the hills he dwelt, and from these sheltered retreats he often burst upon the foe. The English compared him to Robin Hood, and could not understand how it was he always escaped, whether by swiftness of foot, or else by sorcery or enchantment.³⁷ But he was at last run to earth, and by a countryman of his own. Some traitor among his own followers betrayed his hiding place to Fitzpatrick, and that nobleman pounced upon him with superior numbers. In the engagement that followed Rory was killed; but the assailants met with a stubborn resistance

³³ *Four Masters*.

³⁴ *Carew Papers* p. 127.

³⁵ *Four Masters*.

³⁶ Hamilton, p. 107.

³⁷ Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 137-8.

and were mortified at not being able to bring away with them the dead chief's head. It was feared that Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne would follow in Rory's footsteps, and perhaps avenge that chief's death. But these fears were soon dissipated, for O'Byrne came voluntarily to Dublin and made his submission; and he declared that he would never have rebelled but for the conduct of his English neighbours, Masterson and Carew, who had killed his uncle, plundered his country, and endeavoured to murder himself.³⁸ With this chieftain's submission and the death of Rory O'More, all Leinster might be said to be at peace.

But the fire smouldered, and an event which occurred the year before Rory O'More was killed, was calculated to add fuel to the expiring flame. The English who dwelt in the newly planted districts of ancient Leix, invited the native Irish to a friendly conference at the Rath of Mullaghmast, five miles eastward of Athy. There were many disputes between the two races, and perhaps the Irish hoped that these disputes might well be arranged by a friendly interchange of views, and that these districts, so long wasted by war, might at last experience the blessings of order and peace. The English bade them bring all their representatives men, and the seven septs of Leix sent their chiefs. They soon found that the invitation to a conference was but a snare, and no sooner had they all entered the fort than they were set upon by lines of soldiers, and every man slain. A tradition was long after current that not all that were invited were slain; for one Henry Lalor, noticing that none of those who preceded him into the fort came out, was on his guard, and when he entered and saw the mangled carcasses of his relatives, he drew his sword and fought his way out, and thus saved his own life and the lives of others who had not yet arrived, but were on their way. Details of the massacre vary, for while Dowling puts the number killed at 40, and Sullivan at 180, Captain Lee puts the number at between 300 and 400; but the fact of the massacre is undoubted. The planner of it, no doubt, was Cosby, the Commander of the Queen's troops, whose cruelties in Leix and Offaly were well known, and who hoped

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 142-4.

in this thorough-going fashion to rid himself and his government of these troublesome sept, whom it was found so difficult to subdue. But Cosby was not alone, and had, as his assistants, the Grahams, the Piggots, the Bowens, the Hartpoles, the Hovendens, the Fitzgeralds and the Dempseys. The five last were Catholics. The Dempseys alone were purely Irish, with no English or Protestant blood in their veins, and it was against these their countrymen felt the bitterest enmity. They regarded them as traitors to their country, their religion, and their friends; and in the state of poverty and misery to which the Dempseys were reduced, their countrymen, in after ages, thought they saw the vengeance of God and retribution for the blood of Mullaghmast.³⁹

During his former term of office, Sidney had informed the Queen (1567) that he wished to call a Parliament, and Her Majesty had replied that she disliked Parliaments except the same appeared very necessary.⁴⁰ If Parliament agreed to what she wanted all was well. But its members might not be so complying; they might debate and discuss and find fault, and such being at least possible she disliked Parliaments. Yet Sidney thought it well that a Parliament should be called; but he took pains to have it so constituted that all he wished done would easily be done. Some members were returned for non-corporate towns, some sheriffs and mayors had returned themselves, and some were returned for corporations where they did not reside, and which they did not know. When the Parliament met, these irregularities were challenged; a Parliamentary opposition appeared, and their objections were laid before the law officers, who decided that members returned for non-corporate towns, and mayors and sheriffs returned for their own towns and counties were ineligible, and were therefore unseated. A contest also arose as to how far the Queen's prerogative extended; but the angry feeling aroused by these controversies soon subsided, and several Acts of Parliament were then passed.⁴¹ Mindful of

³⁹ Dowling's *Annals*. Captain Lee's *Memorial to Queen Elizabeth*. (Appendix to Curry's *Civil Wars*). Bagwell's *Ireland under the Tudors*, Vol. II., pp. 130-1. *Annals of Loch Ce* at 1567. *Four Masters* at 1577, which is the true date.

⁴⁰ Hamilton's *Calendar*, Vol. I., p. 324.

⁴¹ Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, pp. 329-31.

these events, Sidney, in his last term of office, called no Parliament, but by the exercise of the Queen's prerogative alone he imposed taxes on the inhabitants within the Pale. These inhabitants felt aggrieved, and respectfully placed their grievances before the Deputy and Council. They complain that they are oppressed with cesses and exactions, contrary to the law, and that their corn and beeves are taken by the government at mean and base prices, whereby they are reduced to decay and poverty. They protest their loyalty to the Queen and their respect for the Deputy, and their willingness to pay any taxes which the law prescribed. But they do not think it reasonable that, for cattle which, in the open market were worth 20 shillings, they should receive but 9 shillings, for sheep worth half a crown they received but a shilling, for lambs worth a shilling they got but threepence, and for the keep of a soldier's horse they were allowed but a fourth of what it cost. These grievances were real and urgent; and as no redress could be had in Ireland the Lords of the Pale, of whom Lords Baltin-glass and Delvin are especially mentioned, selected three persons, Skurlock, Netterville and Burnell, to proceed to England (1577) and require redress at Her Majesty's hands.⁴²

Instead of getting redress in England, they were all thrown into prison, and those who sent them were thrown into prison in Ireland. To quarter soldiers upon law-abiding subjects, and to take corn and cattle from them without sufficient payment, or without any payment, was the same as coyne and livery, against which so many enactments had been passed. But what was reprehensible in an Irish chief or noble was blameless in the Queen, who claimed to be above Parliaments and laws; and to question anything she did, or which was done by her authority, was to set bounds to her prerogative, and in any subject was a crime. These messengers from Ireland were asked in indignation was not the cess of which they complained always levied by the Deputy in past times? had not Sidney offered to correct any excesses there might be in levying it, or to commute it to a fixed tax? did they not think that the soldiers, unable to live on their scanty pay,

⁴² *Carew Papers*, pp. 57-9.

should be victualled by those in whose defence they were employed? In fear and trembling they answered that past Deputies, when they took goods, paid for them at the market value, nor had any previous Deputy levied cess for his own household. They objected that the cess was not levied according to law, nor by the consent of those whose goods were taken, and they thought it was prohibited by statute. They believed that Sidney's offer of commuting it was unjust, and that, when the price of corn and cattle diminished, it might become still more unjust. Besides, the land tax might be increased, and they demanded that their burdens should not rest on discretion, but be grounded upon law.⁴³

Such language, explanatory, respectful, reasonable, was little to the taste of the haughty Queen. "Their allegation that the relieving of our army by way of cess is a matter against law and custom, tends manifestly to the overthrow of our prerogative." She marvelled at the presumption of Netterville and his fellows, and sharply told Sidney and the Irish Council that they failed in their duty in suffering thus her royal prerogative to be impugned. Such persons should have been at once committed to prison.⁴⁴ Nettled at this rebuke, Sidney vented his ire on the prisoners in London. He charged Skurlock with having made a fortune on law, which, after all, only shows that he was a successful lawyer. Netterville was the son of a mean justice of one of the benches, and lived better than ever his father had done, and the same was true of Burnell. It would have been better for him, he thought, to attend to his clients' causes and not so rashly to have meddled with Her Majesty's prerogative, which is not limited by Magna Charta nor found in Littleton's Tenures, nor written in Books of Assize.⁴⁵

Nothing but the most abject apologies on the part of the prisoners could satisfy the offended Queen. They had to declare that she could, without Parliament, compel her subjects to pay cess according to her pleasure, and that it was for her to declare when there was necessity for taxation, and not to be argued or disputed by the subject. They declared they never meant to

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-3.

⁴⁴ *Carew Papers*, p. 79.

⁴⁵ Richey, p. 369. *Camden's Annals*.

impugn her prerogative, and they humbly acknowledged their offences and craved for mercy.⁴⁶ They were then released. And again the Queen rebuked Sidney, told him if the money sent from England was well used it should have gone further than it did, and that he should have been more careful in these troublesome days "when our evil affected neighbours have been vehemently solicited by evil members to disturb that realm." Such was the ungracious language she used towards a valuable public servant who had served her faithfully and long. Tired of serving such a Queen, so slow to praise, so quick to blame, so niggardly to reward, Sidney resigned his office (1578) and left Ireland for ever.

⁴⁶ Carew, pp. 103, 124.



CHAPTER VI.

Desmond's Rebellion.

AT the death of Queen Mary, all power in England and Ireland was in the hands of the Catholics, and it appears strange that they quietly acquiesced in the accession of a Queen who favoured Protestantism, and who became the enemy and persecutor of the Catholic religion. But the explanation is given by Cox, and is, no doubt, true, that they expected she would be a Catholic, as in fact she had been, or had pretended to be, during her sister's reign.¹ These expectations were soon falsified, for Elizabeth gradually rid herself of her Catholic advisers, and surrounded herself with reformers; and under their influence she sanctioned the enactment, and putting in force, of a cruel penal code. In the second year of her reign, a Parliament was held at Dublin, which enacted that all officers should take the Oath of Supremacy.² Whoever refused, for the first offence, was deprived of his office, for the second offence, he was guilty of *præmunire*, for the third, of high treason. The same Parliament enacted that the Mass should cease to be celebrated, and that the Book of Common Prayer should be used. Those in office who refused to accept the change were, for the first offence, fined a year's revenue of the office they held, and got six months imprisonment; for the second offence, they incurred

¹ Cox, p. 311.

² Camden's *Annals* at 1559. Unlike her father, Elizabeth did not claim to have or to confer spiritual jurisdiction, but she claimed to have "next under God the highest power over the estates of the Church, to the exclusion of any foreign power" such as the Pope.

dismissal from office, and got twelve months imprisonment ; for the third offence, imprisonment for life. It was further prescribed that the laity should attend Protestant service every Sunday and holiday, or pay a fine of twelve pence. In England, the liturgy was in English, but in Ireland, as the people did not know English, the liturgy was permitted to be used in Latin. In addition to all this, the first fruits, and the twentieths of ecclesiastical benefices, were given to the Queen, and so also was the right to appoint to bishoprics, without even issuing the *conge d'elire* to the diocesan chapters of dioceses. There was a proclamation issued by the Viceroy (1564), that all priests and friars should leave Dublin ; and, in the following year, Sidney and the Protestant bishops published the Book of Articles, which condemned papal supremacy, the Mass, the use of images, candles and beads. No bishop was to be appointed who was unable to speak English, and, that the natives might learn the language, Free Schools were to be established (1570), in which English teachers taught, and in which the pupils could learn the use of English, and the doctrines of Protestantism.³

Yet the reformed doctrines made no progress. Over a large portion of the country the Queen's writ did not run ; and in these districts the laws passed, and the proclamations fulminated by the Viceroy were equally ignored. In the Parliament itself there was the strongest opposition to Protestantism. The temporal lords were firmly attached to Catholicity ; a government commission had to report that all the bishops, but two, were similarly disposed ; and as to the clergy, all refused to conform, and their places thus vacated none could be found to fill.⁴ The towns remained steadfastly Catholic ; and in Dublin the attempt to compel the people to attend the Protestant churches was futile. In order to escape paying the prescribed fine, some did attend the churches, but they went as if to a May-game.⁵ Sometimes they would pour out all the wine from the communion cup, and allow it to run down through their long flowing beards ; sometimes they flung the communion bread

³ Mant's *History of the Church of Ireland*, Vol. I., pp. 253-62, 263, 271, 275, 290. Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 61

⁴ Moran, p. 67, note.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 70. (Letter of Sussex)

derisively from one to another ; and sometimes they raised such shouts and cries, that the service should be stopped until the disturbers were forcibly expelled.⁶ And when Sidney made a circuit of the country, in 1576, he had to lament that the cause of Protestantism had not advanced. In the diocese of Meath, the Catholic Bishop, Walsh, who refused to take the Oath of Supremacy, had been deprived, and for many years was in prison, and his place was taken by a reformed bishop, Brady, whom Sidney described as a Godly minister of the Gospel.⁷ He had taken possession of all the Catholic churches, and of the lands attached to them, and he had himself gone from church to church ; but his best efforts were unavailing, and of the 224 parishes in his diocese, 105 were leased out to farmers, no vicar was resident in them ; and of the curates only 18 could speak English ; the rest were Irish priests, or rather, says Sidney, " Irish rogues, having very little Latin, and less learning or civility." They were Catholic priests, and as such roused Sidney's ire. Deprived of the revenues of the Church lands, they lived on the offerings of the people to whose spiritual wants they ministered. But their slender revenues were insufficient to keep the churches in repair, and in many places the very walls of the churches had fallen down, the chancels were uncovered, and through the broken windows and doors the winds howled. If such was the condition of Meath, so near to Dublin, so accessible to influences from there, Sidney asked Her Majesty to conjecture in what condition other parts of the country were ; but he could assure her " that upon the face of the earth where Christ is professed there is not a church in so miserable a case."⁸

With the wailings of Sidney over the ruined condition of the Protestant Church, Elizabeth had little sympathy, and equally title with the reforming zeal of some of her ministers. The creed she learned in her youth was the one her father had adopted in his last years, and in every respect it was the creed of the Catholics, except that the spiritual supremacy of the Pope was denied. The Pope she did not like, for he refused to

⁶ Moran, p. 72.

⁷ Mant, p. 280.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 298-9.

dissolve the marriage of Catherine of Arragon, and in declaring that marriage valid he declared Elizabeth to be illegitimate; and from a religion which thus branded her as a bastard she was repelled. Yet, while she favoured the Protestants, and had penal laws enacted against the Catholics, she had no intention, at least in the early years of her reign, of embarking on a policy of persecution; and she personally intervened (1562), lest the Act prescribed in the Oath of Supremacy should be rigorously enforced.⁹ The Catholics she knew were still the majority of the nation, and to drive them to desperation, and perhaps to rebellion, would be in the highest degree unwise. Kindness might succeed where severity might fail, and the less she differed in her faith from the faith of the Catholics, and the less violent were the changes made, the easier for the Catholics would be the transition, and the greater the probability that they might be induced to accept those doctrines which she had adopted as her own.¹⁰ Some of the gloomy fanatics who surrounded her would have been better pleased that the innate cruelty of her nature was allowed freer scope, and that the Catholics might suffer. And they who regarded statues and images as so much idolatry, were scandalized to discover that their Protestant Queen had an image of the Blessed Virgin in her room, and that she prayed before it, believing it specially appropriate that a virgin Queen should pray to a Virgin Mother.

To these reforming zealots the sentence of excommunication, pronounced by Pius V., (1570), was welcome news.¹¹ It seemed to be ample justification for harsher and sterner measures against the Catholics; it identified their faith with disloyalty and rebellion; and when they were told by the Head of their Church that the Queen was a heretic sovereign, and as such no longer entitled to their allegiance, their enemies in England might easily say, as they did, that those who were faithful to the Pope were of necessity traitors to the Queen. The Catholics might have been tolerated as long as they denied the temporal supremacy of the Pope; but the distinction was not then sufficiently recognised

⁹ Lingard, Vol. VI., p. 42.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

¹¹ Camden's *Annals*, (copy of Bull).

between the temporal and spiritual jurisdiction; and both in England and Ireland there was henceforth less toleration for those who clung to the ancient faith. Experience of these facts it was which drove Fitzmaurice into rebellion (1569-73), and which obtained for him the assistance of so many in Munster. But he effected nothing. His allies deserted him one by one, and after he had submitted, and his submission had been accepted, finding his personal liberty, and even his life endangered, he left Ireland and fled to France.

He was an earnest Catholic, resenting bitterly the treatment of his religion at home; and he appealed to the Catholic sovereigns of France and Spain for aid against its persecutors. But he appealed in vain, as both were then at peace with England, and were unwilling to undertake a war for the sake of the Irish Catholics. Both, however, wished him well, and Henry of France wrote in his favour to Queen Elizabeth, but without effect.¹² Finally, Fitzmaurice made his way to Rome, and poured into the ears of the Pope the tale of his country's wrongs. He there met an unexpected ally in the person of one Thomas Stukely. He was an Englishman, and his name occurs in the *State Papers* as being one of the two commissioners sent by Sidney (1565) to negotiate with Shane O'Neill. He was favourably spoken of by Shane, and even Cecil is found writing in his favour to Sidney.¹³ But he did not continue to merit the esteem of the government authorities, and a little later (1566), grave charges were made against him, and he was summoned to England to make answer, and, being acquitted he was sent back to Ireland, the next year. Later on, he was found buying from pirates and was deprived of his office, and finally (1571), being accused of corresponding with the King of Spain, he consulted his safety by flight, going first to Spain, and afterwards to Rome.¹⁴ While in Ireland he was a Protestant, but in Spain and in Rome he was a Catholic; and the Pope was so favourably impressed with his sincerity and ability, that he resolved to aid Fitzmaurice, fitted up an expedition of 700 men, created Stukely Marquis of

¹² Hamilton's *Calendar*, Vol. II., p. 75.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 278.

¹⁴ Hamilton's *Calendar*, Vol. I., p. 341.

Leinster, and put him, at Fitzmaurice's request, in supreme command.¹⁵ Two other Englishmen also joined in the expedition, Dr. Allen, a priest, and Dr. Sanders, who from being professor of Oxford, had become Papal Nuncio to Spain, and was now ordered by the Pope to proceed to Ireland and instruct and encourage the Irish Catholics.¹⁶ Leaving Stukely to proceed to Lisbon with the Papal troops, Fitzmaurice went to France to see his wife, and then hurried on to Lisbon; but was disgusted to find that Stukely had forgotten his instructions and taken his army elsewhere. He appears to have been of a volatile and adventurous disposition, and when he arrived at Lisbon, the Portuguese King was just on the point of starting on an expedition against the Moors, and invited Stukely to join him; and the newly created Marquis of Leinster accepted the invitation, hoping, perhaps, for more glory and plunder in fighting against the Moors than against the English. But he acquired neither glory nor wealth, and on the field of Alcazar Quiver (September, 1578), Don Sebastian and Stukely both fell, and the whole Christian army was wiped out.¹⁷ This betrayal of one in whom they trusted was in the highest degree exasperating to Sanders and Allen, and, most of all, to Fitzmaurice. But the latter was not easily daunted. He thought of his beloved Munster overrun by the heretic, its churches desecrated, its priests murdered; and he believed if he could only land in Ireland, accompanied as he was by the Pope's Legate, and with the Pope's banner displayed, his army would soon be numerous, and the cause of Catholicity would triumph.

Such a force as that which had perished under Stukely he had no hope of getting together in Spain. He was compelled to content himself with less, and the next year, accompanied by Sanders and Allen, he arrived in Dingle with three vessels, his little army of Spaniards and Italians not being more than 80 fighting men.¹⁸ He immediately issued an appeal to the people, asking them to

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 136.

¹⁶ *Four Masters* at 1581.

¹⁷ Froude's *England*, Vol. x., pp. 268-76. Bagwell, Vol. II., pp. 196-204. Vol. III., p. 7.

¹⁸ Richey, p. 374.

join him, reminding them that he was fighting for the faith, and with the blessing of the Pope, and against a heretic Queen who had usurped the throne, and finally, that those who fell would fall in a glorious cause. As for himself, all his hope was in Jesus and Mary.¹⁹ It was the passionate appeal of a devoted Catholic, but, even in Munster, it fell upon deafened ears. The people would do nothing without their chiefs, and the chiefs would not stir. They were all Catholics; they saw with horror the outrages perpetrated on their faith; experience must have taught them that, as English power advanced in their midst, their own power and privileges would be curtailed, their liberties and their lives would be imperilled, and their religion would be extinguished in blood. But the courage with which men of strong convictions are inspired was not theirs. They wished to resist the English, but were kept back by their mutual jealousies. Personal feelings they had not the patriotism to sacrifice; and, timid, cautious, calculating, distrustful of those about them, they held aloof from Fitzmaurice, and none joined him except John and James Fitzgerald, brothers of the Earl of Desmond. As for the Earl himself, no help could be expected from him. Nature had not given him either courage or capacity, and the weak points of his character had been still further developed by age, and the trials through which he had passed. Feeble, fickle, wavering, and irresolute, he knew not when to form a resolution, nor how to carry it out when formed. He was an earnest Catholic, in entire sympathy with Fitzmaurice; but he had not the courage to follow where his sympathies and convictions led. He wished to preserve his ancient privileges, but he dreaded the wrath of the English, and when Drury entered his territory, he became submissive, and both himself and Drury became friends; ²⁰ and, to stand well in his favour and prove his own loyalty, he handed over to him two ecclesiastics, though he knew Drury to be a cruel man, who had a special horror of friars.²¹ Trembling for his enormous possessions, anxious to please the English, yet in sympathy with his countrymen, and their faith, he tried to offend neither side; but he soon found to his

¹⁹ Meehan's *Geraldines*—Appendix.

²⁰ Hamilton's *Calendar*, Vol. II., pp. 140, 154.

[²¹ Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, pp. 140-1.

cost that the task of serving two masters was impossible, and that whoever tries it will fail.²²

In the meantime, Fitzmaurice and his allies had entrenched themselves in the fortress of Dunanore, on Smerwick Harbour, and had got the assistance of the O'Flaherties from Connaught, who came by sea with 200 men. Carter, the Provost-Marshal of Munster, and another Englishman named Davels, were sent to induce the Earl of Desmond to attack the invaders; and on their return, they were set upon at Tralee by John of Desmond and murdered, a crime especially atrocious in him to whom Davels had been a close personal friend.²³ The Earl felt that he was suspected of favouring the rebels, and to prove the sincerity of his loyalty, he proceeded to attack them. They then abandoned the fort of Dunanore; the O'Flaherties, disgusted at seeing Munster remain quiet, returned home; and Fitzmaurice and his friends had to split up into different parties, and instead of being conquerors were fugitives. Passing Cahirconlish, Fitzmaurice was attacked by the Burkes of that district, who were not only his co-religionists, but his relatives. But they had as little respect for the claims of kindred as they had for religion, and hoped, no doubt, that their conduct would win the applause of the English. The result of the encounter was that Fitzmaurice was killed, and so also were the two young Burkes. The widow of one of them was rewarded in money by the Queen, because it was her husband who had killed Fitzmaurice; and the father of the Burkes was created Baron of Castleconnell, an honour so unexpected, and which elated him so much, that he almost died with joy.²⁴ The command of the little army was then taken by John of Desmond, who retired to the wood of Kilmore, in North Cork, hotly pursued by the Deputy Drury. Without waiting to be attacked, the Geraldines became the assailants, and at Springfield, near Limerick, Desmond defeated Drury with the loss of 300 of his troops. The Deputy's health was already bad and this disaster must have hastened his end, for in a few days he died, and was succeeded by Sir William Pelham. At the same

²² *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, Vol. I., p. 81.

²³ Bagwell, Vol. III., pp. 21-2.

²⁴ Ware's *Annals. Four Masters*. Meehan's *Geraldines*, p. 80.

time, the Irish Council appointed Sir Warham St. Leger, Provost Marshal, and the Earl of Ormond, Governor of Munster. Malbie in the meantime had come from Connaught, and on his march from Limerick to Askeaton, he encountered the victorious John of Desmond. The battle was fought near Croom, and resulted in the complete overthrow of the Geraldines, Dr. Allen being among the slain. Without further interruption, Malbie advanced to Adare, where he awaited the arrival of the Deputy and the Earls of Ormond and Kildare.²⁵

During the progress of these events the Earl of Desmond was on every side beset with difficulties. His relatives urged him to join the rebellion, the government to attack the rebels; and he had given earnest of his sincerity in this direction by attacking Fitzmaurice, and by delivering two friars to Drury.²⁶ He had also handed over his son to the Deputy as a hostage. But he was unwilling to go to the lengths he was requested, and at the battle near Croom he refused to interfere; and then, when Malbie had won, he congratulated him, though his congratulations were coldly received. When Pelham became Deputy, the time for temporising was to cease, and Desmond was peremptorily required to give up Dr. Sanders, to surrender his fortresses of Carrigfoyle and Askeaton, and to assist Lord Ormond in hunting down and destroying the rebels.²⁷ These conditions were hard, and it is doubtful if he could have fulfilled them, even if he wished, for Sanders was with John of Desmond, and not with him; Carrigfoyle was not in his possession, and, therefore, not his to give; and he was ready to give up any other of his castles except Askeaton, which was the burial place of his ancestors. He was evidently distrustful of placing himself in the Deputy's power, fearing that he might be put to death, or at least cast into prison; and he had a bitter recollection of his long imprisonment in London. He offered to leave all disputed matters to the Queen, and Pelham promised to give him a licence to go to England, provided he came to his camp. But he gave him only until the following morning to decide what to do, and as the time

²⁵ *Four Masters*, at 1579.

²⁶ *Hamilton's Calendar*, Vol. II., p. 189.

²⁷ *Carew Papers*, Vol. II., p. 160.

passed without Desmond appearing, he was publicly proclaimed a rebel and a traitor. From the *State Papers* it is clear that Pelham was not anxious for peace, and that Desmond was, and could have been won over by kindness. The Queen thought so, and expressed strong disapprobation of the Deputy's hasty action; yet she retained him in office, and after Desmond was proclaimed a rebel, she was as anxious as Pelham himself that the war against him should be prosecuted with vigour.

It was then the close of the year, and, instead of undertaking any operations of importance, Pelham returned to Dublin, and spent the time in perfecting his arrangements, intending to take the field early next year. But meanwhile the Earl of Desmond proclaimed that he had taken up arms for the faith, and had wasted the counties of Limerick and Cork; and his ally, the Earl of Clancarty, burned the town of Kinsale.²⁸ In retaliation the English marched south to Cork, wasting the territory of Desmond and his friends; arrested and hanged at his own door, the Mayor of Youghal, because it was thought he had betrayed the town to Desmond. By the month of March, the Deputy and Ormond, with all their forces, were assembled at Rathkeale, having come round by way of Wexford and Waterford, and thence by Clonmel to Limerick.²⁹ The Pale was given in charge to the Earl of Kildare; the Baron of Dungannon was to keep the Ulster chiefs in check; Malbie, leaving Connaught pacified, was to take up his place on Scatterry Island, and thus prevent assistance coming to the rebels from Thomond, as well as to secure an uninterrupted passage on the Shannon to the English vessels. Thus protected, Ormond and Pelham divided their forces, Pelham keeping inland, Ormond by the Shannon, and both proceeding westward towards Dingle. Besides this, some English vessels under Admiral Winter were sent to cruise off the coast of Kerry.³⁰

Negotiations had been taking place between the Irish and Spain, of which the English had information through their spies. It was expected that if the Spaniards did come, they would land some-

²⁸ *Carew Papers*, p. 176.

²⁹ *Ware's Annals*.

³⁰ *Carew Papers*, pp. 302-4.

where about Dingle, and Pelham's object was to devastate the country through which they might pass, and thus render it impossible for the inhabitants to give them assistance. "If God give us bread," he wrote to the Queen, "we doubt not but to make as bare a country as ever a Spaniard set his foot in."³¹ And he was as good as his word. When the castle of Carrigfoyle was taken, the garrison—Spaniards and Irish—were all put to the sword. The terrified troops in the castle of Askeaton deserted it by night, and the place fell into English hands; and in a short space all Desmond's castles were thus abandoned by his friends, and occupied by his foes.³² That those who were up in arms should be considered traitors, and treated as such, was intelligible. But to Ormond and Pelham this was not enough. The people were Catholics, and probably in secret sympathy with the Spaniards, and this was sufficient crime. All were thus guilty, and none were to be spared, the toddling child, the feeble old man, the blind, the lame, the idiot, the strong man, as well as the weak, the shepherd with no weapon in his hands more dangerous than the shepherd's crook, the rustic who followed the plough, the children who gazed with open eyes at these soldiers, wondering if they were demons or men, the mother, clasping her baby to her breast. It was not war but organized murder. When the soldiers entered a village, the corn in the haggard was burned down, the houses set on fire, and the people, either driven into the flames, or cut down by the sword. Those that fled into the mountains and woods were pursued, their hiding places sought out; they were tracked as sportsmen track the wild beast to his lair, and shot down with as little compunction. In the mountains of Slieve Leuchra, in Kerry every nook and cranny was searched; the soldiers were divided into various bands; and the hunted people who escaped one band, were discovered and massacred by another. When the harvest was ripe the hapless people were prevented from saving it; their cattle were taken, and, pinched with hunger, they followed the soldiers, and offered themselves and their wives and children, to be slain by

³¹ *Carew Papers*, p. 220.

³² *Carew Papers*, p. 257.

them rather than die of famine.³³ Innocence and helplessness did not entitle them to mercy, and none received such except those who had acted as traitors to their own countrymen, who had betrayed their secrets, thwarted their plans, imbrued their hands in their blood, and then, with bloody hands, cast at the feet of the English commanders the heads of those whom they had slain. When they did so they received pardon and grants of lands.³⁴ To all these horrors Desmond offered no resistance; he fled before his enemies without having the courage to strike a blow. Lords Lixnawe and Clancarty both deserted him; Lord Barry soon followed their example; Lord Roche was acting as a government spy;³⁵ and when Pelham returned to Limerick, after making Kerry a desert, Desmond had only the aid of his namesake, the Seneschal of Imokilly, and all his followers amounted to 120 gallowglasses, and a few poor wretches, spoiled by the war, who followed his camp for food.³⁶

At this stage, Pelham's request to be relieved of office was acceded to, and Lord Grey de Wilton took his place. He found on his arrival at Dublin, that there was rebellion within the Pale itself. Lord Baltinglass, who had protested so vigorously against the cess levied by Sir Henry Sidney, had raised the standard of revolt. He protested, indeed, that he had been unjustly and harshly treated, but he forgot these injuries, and was concerned only to defend the Catholic faith. He did not think it right to accept as the head of his Church a woman who was "incapax of orders"; a woman who for twenty years "had maintained more damnable doctrine, more oppressing of poor subjects, under pretence of justice, within this land, than ever was read or heard done by Christian princes."³⁷ Of himself he could do nothing, for he had no capacity, and was as ill-fitted to lead as the Earl of Desmond. But he joined his forces to those of Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne, who

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

³⁴ *Carew Papers*, p. 287. "I do not receive any but such as come in with bloody hands, or execution of some better person than themselves." (Pelham to the English Council.)

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

was also in rebellion, and just then their army lay encamped in the County of Wicklow, in the recesses of Glenmalure. Thither Grey and all his forces marched, anticipating an easy victory. But the valley through which the Avonbeg flows is ill-suited to the military operations of a regular army, and is better suited for guerilla tactics, and especially for those acquainted with the locality. Heavy guns were useless ; the boggy nature of the ground rendered it impossible for cavalry to be employed ; and only foot soldiers could advance into the glens, and up the wooded sides of the encircling hills. As Grey's infantry advanced, they could see no enemy, and did not know that the enemy was near. Trees had been felled to bar their progress ; their march was slow and painful, and suddenly the glen resounded with the rattle of musketry ; O'Byrne's men, from behind the shelter of the trees, poured volley after volley into their ranks, and of those who entered the valley but few returned. Sir Peter Carew, and many officers, with 800 of the rank and file, were slain.³⁸ The cavalry from a short distance off could see the havoc wrought amongst their comrades, but were powerless to lend assistance ; and Grey had to return to Dublin, crestfallen and humiliated. Fiach MacHugh followed up his success, and was able to attack and burn with impunity the town of Rathcoole, only six miles from Dublin.³⁹

The Deputy would have probably endeavoured to punish him for these outrages ; but his urgent attention was demanded elsewhere, for information reached him that 800 Spanish soldiers had landed at Smerwick Harbour, in Kerry ; and, mustering all his troops, he marched south, and arrived in Kerry, in November. His army amounted to 800 men ; Ormond, who was acting in concert with him, had just twice that amount ; and amongst those who accompanied them were Walter Raleigh, who then held the rank of Captain, Edmond Spenser, the poet, who was then acting as secretary to Grey, and Hugh O'Neill, Baron of Dungannon. Admiral Winter was co-operating from the sea ; and the Spaniards, who entrenched themselves at Dunanore, were soon assailed both by land and sea. They were well supplied with arms and provisions,

³⁸ Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 247. Ware's *Annals*.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

and under an energetic and skilful commander might have achieved some important success before the arrival of Grey. And such success would have given confidence to the Irish still in arms, and brought many others flocking into their ranks. But the Spanish commander was destitute of capacity. He expected that his arrival would be the signal for the whole country to rise, entirely forgetting that the country had been wasted and destroyed; that many had been put to death; and that those who survived were crushed and dispirited. All the Spanish Commander did from the time of his landing until the guns of Lord Grey sounded in his ears was to attack two castles, neither of which he was able to capture,⁴⁰ and this done, he threw up fortifications at Dunanore, and awaited the enemies' attack. Nor did he prolong the defence; but when the outer fortifications were captured, he surrendered, after a defence of but four days. What were the conditions on which the Spaniards surrendered does not appear. Spenser vehemently asserts that they stipulated for nothing, not even for their lives, a story which has not the appearance of truth, as they had plenty of provisions, could hold out for a long time, and might wear out the patience of the besiegers. And what Ware says is equally improbable—that they only cried out for mercy, for by that time they knew the English, and if their lives were not guaranteed they knew they had no mercy to expect; and as soldiers they would naturally have preferred to fight, and if they fell, let them fall, sword in hand. Whatever the conditions were, no sooner were their arms taken from them than they were all butchered, an act of atrocious savagery, which was a disgrace to English arms, which even the barbarous usages of the age could not justify, and which, when it was heard of, excited horror throughout Europe.⁴⁰

The defeat and destruction of the Spaniards was fatal to Desmond and his allies. Baltinglass, for another year, maintained a spasmodic resistance, and then fled to Spain, where he died.⁴¹ Sir James

⁴⁰ *Four Masters*. Ware's *Annals*. *Hollinshed*, pp. 171-2. Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 267; Spenser's *View*; Froude's *England*, Vol. x., pp. 581-91. Spenser says they had no commission from King or Pope; Grey admits they had from the Pope, though he refused to recognise it. Bagwell, Vol. III., pp. 75-6.

⁴¹ Hamilton, p. 330.

Desmond was captured, brought to Cork, and hanged, drawn and quartered.⁴² His brother John continued the struggle more than a year longer; but in some obscure skirmish he was mortally wounded. His head was cut off, and sent as a New Year's gift to the Deputy, who was much rejoiced at this singular gift.⁴³ For another year, the Seneschal of Imokilly continued in rebellion; but at last he too submitted to Ormond, and had his life spared; and by the middle of 1583 there was not one in rebellion in Munster, except the few who followed Desmond.⁴⁴ Nor was there in Leinster, for Fiach MacHugh had laid down his arms, and a little later, gave his uncle and son to the Deputy, as pledges for his future good behaviour.⁴⁵

In the meantime, these wars had still further desolated Munster, for Grey had followed in the footsteps of Pelham, and even exceeded him in barbarity. He believed, or affected to believe, that the Spaniards intended making another descent on Ireland, and in these circumstances the wisest policy, he thought, was to exterminate the inhabitants, and turn Munster into a desert. There was nobody to stay his hand. The natives were powerless, and the Council at Dublin, and the officials throughout the country, fully shared his views. As nature made it, Munster was a beautiful and a fertile land, nor could Grey altogether rob it of its beauty, or undo what nature had done. At the end of his term of office, as at the beginning, the valley of the Lee, and the valley of the Blackwater, remained, with all their wealth of scenic beauty, and so also did the fertility of the Golden Vale; the Maigue and the Deel still poured their waters into the Shannon; and the Shannon itself, "spreading like a sea," was lost in the immensity of the ocean; neither Mangerton nor Mount Brandon were diminished; the purple heather still bloomed upon the hills of Kerry, and in the sheltered recesses of Killarney the arbutus grew. But it was because the works of nature are too great to be destroyed by the hand of man, for everything which Grey could destroy had

⁴² Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 259.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 340.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 452.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 521.

disappeared. Villages and towns were gone ; the church and the castle were alike unsightly ruins ; the poor man's cottage was but a heap of ashes ; there was no corn in the haggard, nor crops in the fields, nor cattle, nor sheep ; the streets were deserted and silent, where, but late, the little children laughed and played ; and the unburied corpses by the wayside told their own mournful tale. In the wake of war, famine and pestilence followed, and struck down those whom the rope, or the sword, or the torch had spared ; in Cork, a small town of only one street, and less than a quarter of a mile in length, the daily death-roll was 70 ; ⁴⁶ cattle and sheep and pigs were all killed and consumed ; poultry and butter were impossible to get throughout Munster ; and in that province, within six months, there died of famine alone 30,000 human beings. Such was the utter destruction of everything that the wild beasts were found starved in their dens. Desolation brooded over the land ; and from the Rock of Cashel westward to the sea it was impossible to hear the low of a cow, or the sound of a ploughboy's whistle.⁴⁷ Here and there the English saw creeping out of the woods, what could hardly be called living human beings ; they were better described by Spenser as anatomies of death, "ghosts crying from their graves."⁴⁸ They were unable to walk, but only crept on their hands and feet. Their faces were pallid, their lips bloodless, their eyes sunken, their bones without flesh, their voices a hoarse whisper. A plot of cresses when they found they flocked to as to a feast ; they pulled the carcasses out of their graves and scraped the bones ; and when one of themselves died the survivors greedily fell upon him and devoured him. Amid such scenes of horror the voice of humanity was silenced, and the instincts of the brute had become supreme. Without doubt, Grey had pacified Munster, but it is the peace which the desert knows ; he had conquered it for the Queen, but Her Majesty had nothing to reign over but carcasses, and ashes, and wasted fields.⁴⁹

Not in Munster alone did his brutality appear. On mere

⁴⁶ Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 361-2.

⁴⁷ *Four Masters*. Spenser's *Faery Queen*, Book III., Chapter 3.

⁴⁸ Spenser's *View*.

⁴⁹ *Hollinshed*, p. 177. Bagwell, Vol. III., pp. 97-8.

suspicion he arrested a number of supposed rebels within the Pale (1581), and sent 45 of them to the scaffold.⁵⁰ Lord Delvin and the Earl of Kildare he also threw into prison, thinking that they had favoured Baltinglass in his rebellion.⁵¹ But it was dangerous to hang such influential persons without evidence, and instead of having them tried and condemned in Ireland, they were sent to England, where they were acquitted. It may be assumed they did not fail to speak much of Grey's cruelties, which had left the country more disturbed than ever. To have the very name of an Englishman hated, and Munster a desolate waste were, after all, but poor achievements, and redounded little to the honour or profit of the Queen. And her displeasure was shown by recalling the obnoxious Deputy (1582), and appointing two Lords Justices, Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, and Wallop, the Treasurer for War, who were to carry on the Irish government until a new Deputy should be appointed.

More merciful than Grey these Lord Justices were to be, except to ecclesiastics; towards these severity was to be continued. The Pope was considered by Elizabeth her greatest enemy. He had aided Fitzmaurice and Stukely, prompted the King of Spain to help them, granted an indulgence to those who were fighting in Desmond's rebellion, because they were fighting the battle of the faith. The priests and bishops were his accredited agents, and when they were captured, either under the Lord Justices, or under their predecessors, they were treated with savage cruelty. In August, 1579, Dr. O'Hely, Bishop of Mayo, and a Franciscan priest named O'Rourke fell into the hands of Drury at Kilmallock. They did not deny their calling; and Drury had them first put on the rack, their arms and legs broken with hammers, needles thrust under their nails, after which they were hanged.⁵² At Armagh, a Franciscan was taken by the soldiers, and, after being scourged, was hanged with the cincture of his religious habit; at Moyne, in Mayo, Father O'Dowd, for refusing to reveal the secrets of the confessional, had the cord of his habit tied round his head, and

⁵⁰ Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 329, 359.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 275, 290.

⁵² Moran's *Archbishops*, p. 140.

squeezed, until his eyes burst from their sockets ; at Bantry (1580), two priests were brought to a high rock, then tied back to back, and hurled into the waves beneath.⁵³ The tortures inflicted by Wallop and Loftus on Dr. O'Hurley were fully equal to the worst of these, and could hardly be surpassed. He was the Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, and being arrested in 1583, he was thrown into a darkened room, and kept there until the Holy Thursday of the following year, when he was brought before the Lords Justices. He was asked to take the Oath of Supremacy, and promised pardon if he did, and when he refused, he was thrown on the ground, tied to the trunk of a tree, his hands and body chained, his feet thrust into tin boots, which were filled with salt, butter, oil, turpentine, and pitch ; then, his feet were placed on a grate under which a fire was kindled, and for an hour this torture was continued, until large pieces of the flesh melted, and the bones were exposed ; after which he was again thrown into a darkened cell. As he was still steadfast in his faith, he was taken out, on the 6th of May following, and hanged.⁵⁴

The laity were treated with greater leniency ; even those who had been in open rebellion were pardoned, on promising to be faithful subjects, all but the Earl of Desmond, to whom no mercy was to be shown. His wife had often pleaded on his behalf, but she could get no terms for him. He should submit unconditionally, and this he was unwilling to do, as he felt that his fate would be, either instant execution or perpetual imprisonment, and he dreaded one as much as the other. And so, up to November, 1583, he lived the life of an outlaw, tracked from one place to another. His friend Dr. Sanders had died, in 1581—the hardships of his life had killed him—his followers deserted him or were killed ; and at last he had as his companions but one priest, two horsemen, one kern, and a boy.⁵⁵ Where he cooked his food, he was afraid to remain to eat it, for the soldiers were ever on his track ; he did not know where to stay or whom to trust.⁵⁶ Once he escaped in his shirt, and

⁵³ Moran, pp. 142-3

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 133-5

⁵⁵ Hamilton's *Calendar*. p. 453.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 448.

himself and his wife had to remain for hours under the sheltering banks of a river, plunged up to their necks in water. In November, 1583, they were in the west of Kerry. His followers had taken some cows from a petty chief named Moriarty, and killed them for food; and Moriarty, wishing to be revenged, as well as to curry favour with the government, collected some followers and pursued the Earl to Glanageenty, five miles from Tralee. As they approached with stealthy tread, and in darkness, they found that in the valley was a hut in which a light shone, and in which, without doubt, the Earl and his followers were, and carefully watching until day broke, they rushed in. But they found only a venerable old man, a woman, and a boy. The remainder had escaped. A man named Kelly, with a blow of his sword, broke the old man's arm, and he piteously cried out "Spare me, I am the Earl of Desmond." Kelly's answer was a further blow, with which he struck off the Earl's head. It was sent as a gift to the Queen, who had it put up on London Bridge; and so well pleased was she with Kelly, that she ordered her well-beloved "subject and soldier Daniel Kelly," to have for 30 years, without fine, so much of her lands, spiritual and temporal, as should amount to £30 per year.⁵⁷ But if he won the esteem of the Queen he lost that of his countrymen, and both his name, and that of Moriarty, were long execrated in Kerry.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Meehan's *Geraldines*, p. 123.

⁵⁸ *Four Masters*, *Hollinshed*, pp. 179-80. Bagwell, Vol. III., pp. 113-14. Froude's *England*, Vol. x., pp. 609-15.



CHAPTER VII.

Perrott and FitzWilliam.

IN the month of June, 1584, a new Deputy, Sir John Perrott, arrived in Dublin. As President of Munster, he was already known to be harsh and even cruel to those who broke the law : but he had a sense of justice and fair-play, and did not believe in driving the Irish to desperation by aimless persecution. His object was to have the whole country obedient to English law, to have all the people loyal subjects of the Queen. And the outlook was then promising, for the various provinces were peaceable, and nowhere was there any disposition to challenge the supremacy of England. Munster was so exhausted that the whole province was kept in order by only 200 English troops. ¹

The three most powerful men in Ulster, the Baron of Dungannon, Turlogh Lynnagh, and O'Donnell, had referred all their disputes to the Queen's Commissioners and were ready to abide by their decision. ² In Leinster, Fiach MacHugh was still strong, but the district over which he ruled was small, and he had no hope of extending its bounds, and resisted the English army only when he was assailed. The O'Connors and O'Mores had been crushed and cowed by repeated defeats, nor could their surviving chiefs agree. And when two of the O'Connors quarrelled, they came to Dublin, and, before the Deputy and Council, settled their dispute by wager of battle. Armed with swords and targets, they fought like madmen,

¹ Cox, p. 568.

² *Carew Papers*, pp. 366-7.

hacking and wounding and maiming each other, until at last one of them fell to the ground exhausted, and had his head cut off by his antagonist, who presented it to the Deputy. "And I would," said one of the spectators, Fenton, "that Her Majesty had the same end of all the O'Connors in Ireland." ³

In Connaught, the English governor, Brabazon, held sessions at Roscommon (1582), and was able to march through Tyrawley unmolested, and even to waste it, as did Malbie the country round Westport, in the following year. ⁴

Among the instructions given to Perrott, he was directed to consider how Munster was to be repeopled, and the lands, forfeited by rebels, to be disposed of with most advantage to the Queen; to ascertain what was the condition of the other provinces as well; to encourage the loyal, and to protect the rebels who had been pardoned; but, at the same time, to allow none of them to keep arms except a sword and dagger. ⁵ Finally, he was to appoint Sir Richard Bingham, President of Connaught and John Norris President of Munster. To obtain his information at first hand, and to make proper provision for the government of Connaught and Munster, Perrott made a circuit of the country. He appointed sheriffs in the various counties of Connaught, and, passing on to Galway, he entered Clare, where he cruelly tortured and executed one Donogh O'Brien. A relative of the Earl of Thomond, he had for some time disturbed the peace of Clare, and in consequence was arrested by the sheriff and kept in prison. By Perrott's orders, he was led forth, hanged from a car, then taken down alive, his bones broken with the back of a heavy axe, and in this mangled condition, though he still lived, he was tied with ropes at the top of the steeple of Quin church, and left there to die. ⁶ At Limerick, Perrott would have made a longer stay; but messengers arrived informing him that a large number of Scots had just come to Ulster, at the invitation of Sorley Boy, and it was necessary to chastise them. On this expedition the Deputy was aided by many from Munster

³ *Carew Papers*, pp. 361-2.

⁴ *Four Masters*.

⁵ Cox, pp. 368-70.

⁶ *Four Masters*, at 1584.

and Leinster, and in Ulster by the Baron of Dungannon; he also received pledges of good behaviour from Fiach MacHugh, and from the Kavanaghs and O'Tooles. He marched north in two divisions, one on each side of the Bann; and soon Clannaboy was overrun, and O'Cahan and Sorley Boy were in a repentant and submissive mood. Some of the Scots had gone round to Lough Foyle, and were pursued by some English vessels, and with difficulty escaped to Scotland. Turlogh Lynnagh then submitted, and delivered up as prisoner a son of Shane O'Neill; Magennis and MacMahon put in pledges; O'Donnell remained unshaken in his loyalty; O'Neill of Clannaboy surrendered half his territory; an English garrison was left at Coleraine; the Ulster chiefs agreed to maintain 1,100 fighting men for the Queen; and leaving Ulster thus settled and peaceable, Perrott returned to Dublin.⁷

The next year, a Parliament was held in Dublin. In the House of Commons, 27 counties were represented, which were all the counties then formed, for part of Ulster was not yet shire ground. In addition, 36 cities and boroughs sent representatives. Some of the members of Parliament were government officials, such as Bingham and St. Leger and Norris; the majority were of English descent, as indicated by their names; but a few had unmistakably Irish names, such as O'Reilly and O'Farrell and O'Brien. The native chiefs also came to Dublin, and though they did not sit in Parliament as members, and had, therefore, no legislative power, they acquiesced in what was done, and bound themselves, like faithful subjects of the Queen, to respect the enactments made. Turlogh Lynnagh was there, and so was O'Donnell and Magennis and MacMahon, and O'Neill of Clannaboy. From Connaught came the O'Connors, and MacDermott, and O'Kelly, and from the desolate region of Iar Connaught came its chief, O'Flaherty. And the MacCarthys and O'Sullivans came from Munster; while from Leinster came MacGeoghegan and O'Mulloy, and—most dreaded of all—Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne from his mountain home in Glenmalure.⁸

⁷ Cox, pp. 380-2.

⁸ *Four Masters*. Hardiman's *Statute of Kilkenny*. Bagwell, Vol. III., pp. 140-1.

The Deputy wished to have Poyning's Act suspended, that the Parliament might act more expeditiously. But the members were not in a complying mood ; they were in no hurry to legislate ; they would not enact it treason for anyone to seize any of the Queen's castles, as Perrott wished ; and in the session of 1585, little was done except to attain Lord Baltinglass of high treason ; nor was it without some opposition that, in the next year, they attainted the Earl of Desmond, and, by consequence, confiscated to the Crown his lands, and the lands of those who had been his accomplices in rebellion.⁹

A commission had been sitting in the meantime to inquire into the condition of Munster, to ascertain what were the lands held by rebels, what by loyal subjects, what by rebels who had been pardoned, and what by the crown ; and with the information obtained by this inquisition, and armed with the Act of Attainder against Desmond, the government was prepared to set about the settlement of Munster. An enormous amount of land was at the Queen's disposal, for the Earl of Desmond was master of nearly 600,000 acres.¹⁰ The anxiety of the Queen was that these lands should be inhabited exclusively by English-born ; and, to have this accomplished, proclamations were issued by England, inviting the younger sons of the landed gentry to go to Ireland and get lands.¹¹ The amount they were to receive varied from 4,000 acres to 12,000 acres, and each was to plant his lands with English-born farmers and cottiers in proportion to the number of acres he had received.¹² Ample information was supplied as to the number of servants they required, the wages to be given them, the kind of stock most suitable for the land, the crops to be sown, the probable total cost, and the probable profits. The Undertakers, as they came to be called, were to pay to the government a head-rent of threepence an acre for the lands in Limerick and Kerry, and only twopence for the lands in Cork and Waterford, and they were to be rent free until March, 1590 ; for three years sub-

⁹ Cox, pp. 383-4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

¹¹ *Carew Papers*, p. 419.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 412-13.

sequent only half rent was to be paid ; for ten years their imports to and their exports from England were free ; they were freed from cess for ever ; they were to be protected by English garrisons placed in their midst ; and government commissions were to decide all their controversies. Among the first Undertakers were Sir Walter Raleigh, who got 12,000 acres in Cork and Waterford and had his residence at Youghal ; Sir Warham St. Leger got 6,000 acres in Cork ; Sir Thomas Norris a like amount in the same county ; the Earl of Ormond got 3,000 acres in Tipperary ; and, at Kilcoleman Castle, picturesquely situated in North Cork, was Edmond Spenser, the poet, with 3,000 acres as his share. ¹³

With the natives the Undertakers were to have no communication. They were not to intermarry with them, nor have them upon their lands as tenants, or employ them in any, even the most menial capacity. ¹⁴ The hope of the Queen and her ministers was that they would soon disappear : they would be either starved or driven into foreign lands. Spenser's suggestions were that the garrisons placed in Munster were to give them no rest ; they were to drive them from place to place, never allowing them breathing space. And the better plan was to make ceaseless war on them in the winter, when the trees were bare and naked, and therefore unable to afford them shelter ; when the ground was cold and wet and unfit to be their bed ; when the air was sharp and bitter to blow through their naked sides and legs. Their cattle were then of little use. If they killed them they would yield but little flesh, as they were thin and spare ; if they kept them they would yield but little milk, because, being chased and driven incessantly, they would cast their calves and lose their milk. ¹⁵ These suggestions were not adopted. The English authorities had had enough of murder ; and in reckless extermination of the people, they found there was neither profit nor glory. Nor did the prospects held out to the younger sons of the English gentry attract many. They preferred the security of their native country to the uncertainties and dangers of Irish life ; or if they must go from home they

¹³ Cox, p. 392.

¹⁴ *Carew Papers*, pp. 419-20.

¹⁵ Spenser's *View*, pp. 160-1.

preferred to seek their fortunes in other lands. Not more than half of Desmond's lands were taken up by English ; for the remainder no Undertakers could be found ; and they were reluctantly abandoned to the natives. And the Undertakers who did settle in Munster failed to plant the stipulated number of English on their estates. Perhaps they could not get farmers or labourers to come from England, or perhaps they found it easier to manage Irish tenants. At all events, they took Irish tenants and employed Irish labourers, and the effect of all these attempted changes was to have the farmers and labourers Irish and Catholic, and the landlords of half the confiscated lands English and Protestant. The arrangement was not a happy one, nor likely to work without friction. But, for a time at least, there was no danger of serious disturbance. The Undertakers received their rents and enjoyed their privileges ; the Irish ploughed and sowed and reaped, and were tolerated ; and Munster, so long wasted by war, settled down to a few years of peace.

Far different was the condition of Connaught under the rule of Bingham. When Sidney visited the province, in 1576, and talked with the lords and chiefs, he felt convinced that the origin of all their ruin was the uncertain grant and unstable possession of their lands ; it was this which led to so many wars. To substitute the certain and well-defined English system of tenure for this uncertain and contentious system would be, he thought, a great improvement, and he began by establishing counties and appointing sheriffs. He had also induced the chiefs to surrender their lands to the Queen, and then get them back by letters patent and hold them by English tenure ; but before this arrangement was carried out, his term of office expired.¹⁶ Nearly ten years later, these changes were effected under Sir John Perrott. For this purpose he summoned the Connaught chiefs to Dublin, in 1585. Each of them surrendered all the lands upon which he dwelt, or which he cultivated, or over which he exercised any authority, or from which he derived any income, and received them back from the crown to be held by knight's service. Some

¹⁶ O Flaherty's *Iar Connaught*, p. 299.

portion of land was given to each chief as his demesne, and freed from rent or cess of any kind ; for the remainder he paid a crown rent of one penny for each acre. He was also liable to military service, when called on by the government, and the amount of his contribution was fixed. The lesser chiefs were entirely freed from any contribution to the greater chiefs, and they too received as demesne lands a certain amount, free of all rent ; for the remaining lands they paid the same amount as did the greater chiefs.¹⁷ Their right to levy contributions at will on the people under their rule was taken away. They could no longer compel them to work for nothing, nor contribute cattle or corn, nor entertain them at their houses, nor feast their servants, nor feed their horses or dogs ; nor could they, when in a warlike mood, compel them to rob a neighbouring clan or sept of its cattle, and lay waste its fields. Tanistry was abolished, and the inheritance from father to son took its place ; the Brehon's occupation ceased, and henceforth it was to be English and not Brehon law. These revolutionary changes were known as the Composition of Connaught ; and each chief abandoned his old privileges and rights and accepted his new position by an instrument called the Indenture of Composition.

To adjust the various claims and make out Indentures of Composition, a government Commission was appointed, of which Bingham was the head, and of which the Earls of Thomond were members.¹⁸ Not all the chiefs had yet acquiesced in these sweeping changes ; and the Commissioners were to travel through Connaught ; call to them the various chiefs ; and induce them to accept the Composition. Tact and prudence and patience would have gone far, and if the views of the majority of the Commissioners had been accepted, this course of conduct would have been followed. But Bingham would not be controlled. Arrogant, overbearing, arbitrary, he flouted the Commissioners, or intimidated them ; his nature was cruel, and even bloodthirsty ; he scorned to show kindness to the natives, and placed more reliance on severity, on hangings, confiscations and breaches of faith.¹⁹ When the Spaniards were murdered

¹⁷ *Carew Papers*, pp. 393-4.

¹⁸ *O'Connors of Connaught*, pp. 193-4.

¹⁹ *O'Connors of Connaught*, p. 198.

at Dunanore, he aided Raleigh in butchering them, and earned the encomiums of Lord Grey,²⁰ and in Connaught, he was as little disposed to mercy as in Munster. When Mahon O'Brien of Clare showed some reluctance to accept the Composition, Bingham attacked him and captured his castle, and when the garrison surrendered, expecting at least that their lives would be spared, Bingham put every man of them to death, and, at a sessions in Galway, he had 70 persons hanged, some of them women and children.²¹ In Mayo, he held sessions at Donamona, and when one of the Burkes refused to come there and submit he had him attacked in his fortified castle on Lough Mask. He failed at first to capture it, and raised the seige, and the Burkes escaped. In revenge, Bingham returned and destroyed the castle, pursued the Burkes with fire and sword, executed all of them he could lay his hands on, and desolated the lands of all their followers.²²

Not wishing to have the horrors of Munster repeated, Perrott commanded Bingham to make terms with the Burkes, if they submitted, a command which he was bound to respect, but of which he so much disapproved, that he went to Dublin to complain before the Council.

For a short time only he was held in check. The Burkes remained away—they were afraid to trust him—and Bingham, on his part first executed all their friends whom he had as hostages, and then hunted themselves down, killed 120 of them, and captured from them about 5,000 cattle, which he divided among his own soldiers. Burke of Castlebar submitted; but instead of being pardoned he was hanged, so that "Her Majesty would have his lands by escheat"; his allies also put in pledges, but they were "so ghasted with fear that they looked rather like ghosts than men."²³ At this juncture, an army of near 2,000 Scots came from Ulster to Connaught, being invited by some of the Burkes. Bingham, who was aided by the Earl of Clanricarde, came up with them on the banks of the Moy, just as they were crossing into Mayo, and entirely unaware that he

²⁰ Hamilton's *Calendar*, Vol. II., Introduction—Grey to the Queen.

²¹ *Four Masters* at 1586.

²² *Carew Papers*, pp. 430-1.

²³ *Carew Papers*, p. 432.

was near. They were attacked, at three in the morning, and offered but little resistance; and Captain Wodehouse, writing to Secretary Fenton told him that he was "never so weary with killing of men." He houghed them and punched them; when they ran away he pursued them and cut them down; and Bingham gloated over the fact that 1500 men had been killed, and that the women and children killed were as many more.²⁴

When Bingham first came to Connaught there was little disturbance in the province. The old Earl of Clanricarde was dead; his sons had ceased their quarrel; for the younger son had fallen in battle, and Ulick was now the Earl, and, having got all he contended for, was a loyal subject of the Queen. MacWilliam Burke, who was friendly to England, was succeeded in the title of MacWilliam by Richard Burke, Richard of the Iron, as he was called, a restless and ambitious man. But he too had just died, and his wife, well known as Grace O'Malley, or Granuaile, ruled triumphant over the whole western coast, and was able to defeat, in a naval battle, the sheriff of Galway and all his forces, off her castle near Newport;²⁵ but she too had grown peaceable, and ceased to give trouble either on land or sea. The O'Connors were quiet, and so were the O'Flaherties in their wild western territory of Iar Connaught. In two years Bingham had the province in a blaze. Those who offered the least resistance to anything he suggested he hunted down, wasted their lands and crops, drove away their cattle, murdered any of their relatives who might be sureties in his hands;²⁶ and even the chiefs who submitted and professed their loyalty he cast into prison and left there.²⁷

If Connaught was to be deluged in blood, its chiefs killed, its people robbed, the innocent confounded with the guilty, even the loyal disquieted and driven to desperation by senseless severity,

²⁴ *O'Connors of Connaught*, pp. 198-9.

²⁵ *Four Masters* at 1580 and 1583. Hardiman's *History of Galway*, p. 86.

²⁶ *O'Connors of Connaught*, p. 208. He executed at Ballinrobe three of the Burkes, one fourteen years, another nine, another seven, and when the eldest child asked for a priest, he was refused. One of the little ones wept, but the other consoled him by saying that they would soon be in a better world.

²⁷ *Annals of Loch Ce*, 1587.

then, Bingham was a suitable governor, and his government was a success. But a province kept in perpetual turmoil, where English law was known, not for its justice, but for its severity and its cruelty, was not what Perrott wished. He remonstrated with Bingham, he threatened, he commanded, and finding it impossible to restrain him, dismissed him from his office.²⁷ He was sent on some mission to the Low Countries, and for a time at least, Connaught was relieved from his barbarities.

In Ulster there was peace and the prospect was that it would continue. The Scotch King had assured Perrott (1585), that he would prohibit the MacDonnells of the Isles from making raids into the province, and would hold them guilty of high treason if they did.²⁸ O'Reilly of Cavan was an English knight, having an English sheriff exercising jurisdiction in Cavan. Turlogh Lynnagh O'Neill was old, and was a personal friend of the Deputy, and from him nothing was to be feared. Since he helped to crush Shane O'Neill, Sir Hugh O'Donnell had been in constant friendship with the government at Dublin, and had received English soldiers in Tyrconnell, and undertaken to maintain them at his own expense. But when he found that these soldiers had become disorderly and were passing beyond his control he went to Dublin and had them removed. Henceforth, he was to pay a yearly tribute of fat beeves; but, lest there should be any doubt of his loyalty, he was to deliver hostages, who were to be kept in Her Majesty's Castle at Dublin.²⁹ Nor was it likely that Hugh O'Neill of Tyrone would give trouble. In his youth he had been brought up in England, in the house of Sir Henry Sidney, and in his manners and education was more English than Irish. As Baron of Dungannon, he aided Ormond and Pelham against the Munster Geraldines, and his services were rated so high that he got command of a troop of horse in the Queen's pay, and had a yearly pension of 100 marks.³⁰ As a temporal peer, he had sat in Perrott's Parliament, and had his claim recognised there to the Earldom of Tyrone. And when he went to England, such

²⁷ *Annals of Loch Ce*, 1587.

²⁸ *Carew Papers*, p. 404.

²⁹ *Carew Papers*, p. 444.

³⁰ Cox, p. 389.

was the favour with which the Queen received him, that she confirmed him in his title (1587), gave him all Tyrone as his inheritance, stipulating only that one or two places should be reserved for English forts, that the sons of Shane O'Neill, as well as Turlogh Lynnagh, should be provided for, and that he should levy no cess on any other Ulster chiefs.³¹ Her Majesty wrote to the Deputy that she was entirely satisfied with his loyal disposition;³² and her good opinion seemed justified, for the Earl, like a dutiful subject, complained, at a later date, of the lawlessness of Turlogh Lynnagh's sons, and stating that they kept in their service "some bad men" who were a perpetual menace to the peace of Ulster.³³

From one quarter, and an unexpected one, Perrott feared some trouble. He proposed sending a sheriff to Tyrconnell, but Hugh O'Donnell refused to admit him. He was willing to be a subject of England; but not willing to abandon his ancient privileges; to have his territory turned into shire ground; to have English laws administered there and to be himself answerable to these laws; to have the churches destroyed and the monasteries suppressed, and the priests banished or murdered. He was a Catholic, and as yet the churches and monasteries remained, and the priests said their Masses as of old in the sheltered glens of Tyrconnell. When Perrott brought the matter before the Council of Dublin, the members were puzzled what to do. Many of the Queen's troops had gone to the war in Flanders, and the army in Ireland was not sufficient to crush O'Donnell; and if force was attempted it was not unlikely he might be aided by the Earl of Tyrone, who had lately married his daughter, and whose loyalty was already beginning to be suspected. Perrott proposed that the matter be left in his own hands. He had a plan, and if he could carry it out, he thought the peace of Tyrconnell and of Ulster would be secure. A few weeks later, a fast sailing merchant vessel, laden with Spanish wine, and flying the English ensign, sailed up Lough Swilly and cast anchor at Rathmullen. Adjacent to the

³¹ Ware's *Annals*, 1587.

³² *Carew Papers*, p. 408.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 466-7.

shore was the Carmelite monastery, a favourite resort of many pilgrims from Innishowen and Tyrconnell; and amongst those then at Rathmullen was O'Donnell's son, Red Hugh, and his friend MacSweeney of the Battleaxes. Those who went on board the vessel reported that the wine was good and the master of the ship courteous, and O'Donnell sent a messenger to purchase some of the wine thus so loudly praised. His messenger was regretfully informed that but little wine remained; no more could be sold; but that, if he and his friends would come on board, the master and his officers would be glad to entertain them. Young and unsuspecting, O'Donnell and MacSweeney did so, and soon drank the wine to excess. Their arms were taken from them, the hatches closed down, the sails set, the vessel's prow turned to the open sea, and in a few days the young chief and his friend were secured as prisoners in Dublin Castle. ³⁴

Thus was Perrott's plan carried out, a plan unworthy of his character, as it was unworthy of any man of honour. But, for the time at least, he was pleased, and thought he had done well. Young O'Donnell was already remarkable for his vigour and capacity. When he got older he would be unlikely to follow in his father's footsteps and continue his subservience to England; but he could do nothing in Dublin Castle; nor would his father or Tyrone disturb the peace of Ulster, knowing that such conduct would involve the young chieftain's death.

Perrott's greatest trouble came from the members of the Irish Council. Their selfishness and their intrigues he despised; their desire to wipe out the natives he did not share but rather actively opposed; and the Council, or a majority of them, plotted his ruin. They supported Bingham against him; and when he wished to take command in person of the army in Connaught they refused him the necessary permission. Archbishop Loftus was not pleased that he did not take more vigorous measures against the Catholics; the Earl of Ormond was his personal enemy; and at the Council table at Dublin, Marshall Bagenal called him a liar and a

³⁴ Ware's *Annals* at 1588. *Loch Ce* and *Four Masters* at 1587. O'Clery's *Life of Red Hugh*, p. 7. *Life of Sir John Perrott*, pp. 278-80.

drunkard. Many false reports were sent against him to England, even forgery was resorted to, and a letter was sent to the Queen in Turlogh Lynnagh's name, which, when Turlogh heard of, he very promptly disowned.³⁵ This incessant plotting worried the Deputy. His health was bad, his temper was soured; he had several times asked to be recalled, and at last his request was acceded to. He left Dublin (1588), to the regret of all the Irish, both within and without the Pale. On his way to the seaside, the streets were crowded by people who had come out to bid him farewell, and such was the crowd that he could scarcely pass. Turlogh Lynnagh accompanied him to the boat and shed tears when the ship set sail; and the city of Dublin sent with him a guard of honour, who accompanied him to his castle in Pembroke-shire.³⁶

His successor was Sir William Fitzwilliam. During his former term of office he had given little evidence of capacity, and it seemed strange that such a man should be re-appointed. He had not a single quality that entitled him to respect. He was entirely destitute of principle, observed no treaties, kept no promises, was cruel and treacherous and avaricious; and it was remarked that no Deputy ever kept so mean a Christmas at Dublin. Equally unhappy was the re-appointment of Sir Richard Bingham. He had inveighed with bitterness against Perrott, considering his own cruelties in Connaught highly meritorious, and deserving a better reward than to be relegated to Flanders; but when Perrott was in disgrace his accuser recovered the ground he had lost. Fitzwilliam was unable or unwilling to curb him, and the result was that Connaught was soon in a ferment. Nor did Bingham wish it otherwise. He had a number of relatives who came with him to the west, needy and poor, adventurers in search of lands; and if the chiefs of Connaught rebelled their estates would be forfeited, and the Bingham's would get a share of the spoils. On some pretext, the son of MacDermott and the son of O'Connor Roe were hanged at Galway (1588); the district of Erris in Mayo

³⁵ Ware's *Annals* at 1587. Cox, p. 397. *Carew Papers*, p. 442.

³⁶ *Ibid* at 1588.

was overrun by the sheriff; Bingham's brother John plundered all North Connaught; and the *Annals of Loch Ce* declare that he kept faith with nobody, either in Church or State. When O'Connor Sligo died, his lands were seized by Sir Richard on the ground that the heir was illegitimate; and when a commission was appointed and declared that he was the rightful heir, Bingham could hardly be persuaded to resign the lands he had seized.³⁷ He had goaded O'Rorke and O'Connor Roe into rebellion, and protested to Secretary Walsingham that the rebels in Connaught could never be drawn by fair means into a loyal peace; that O'Rorke was the cause of all the mischief; and that, "while this man is suffered to hold out, there will be no peace in Connaught." As for the Burkes and the O'Flaherties, they trembled for their properties and for their lives.³⁸

These events induced the Deputy to go to Galway, where he met the O'Flaherties and the Burkes, and made terms with them. They convinced him that there never would be peace in Connaught under Bingham. But in dealing with one they could trust they were not unreasonable or refractory; and they bound themselves to deliver sureties for keeping the peace; to make satisfaction for any spoils they had committed, and to pay such fines as the Deputy should lay upon them.³⁹ Such a peace was highly distasteful to Bingham, and but a short time elapsed until he attacked O'Connor, wasted Tyrawley, and so harassed O'Rorke and desolated his territory, that the unfortunate chief fled for protection to Scotland. But, with a meanness not often equalled, the Scotch King delivered him over to the English authorities, and he was brought to London and executed there. He pleaded for no mercy, and made only a request that he should be hanged, as was done in his own country, with a wythe.⁴⁰ Such cruelties exasperated the Connaught chiefs. On all sides there was discontent and distrust of the English; there was no security of

³⁷ *Annals of Loch Ce*, 1588-9; *Four Masters*; *O'Connors of Connaught*, pp. 203-4.

³⁸ *O'Connors of Connaught*, p. 205.

³⁹ *Carew Papers*, Vol. III., pp. 7-8.

⁴⁰ Cox, p. 399.

property or life ; each felt that the fate of O'Rorke might soon be his own ; and, if but a capable native chief arose, it was evident that they would follow his lead and chase Bingham and his marauders from the province.

The area of discontent was soon extended by the conduct of the Deputy. The Invincible Armada, which was to have conquered England for Spain, was scattered by the winds, and several of the vessels were wrecked along the Irish coast.⁴¹ The report that they contained treasure roused the cupidity of Fitzwilliam, and it was partly to have a share of it that he went to Galway. He found none, and in revenge he compelled the natives to deliver up all the Spaniards whom they had sheltered ; and everyone of these foreigners he instantly put to death, amid the murmurs and lamentations of the people.⁴² Still hoping for Spanish treasure, the Deputy went to Ulster, where, off the coast of Sligo and Donegal, other Spanish ships had been wrecked ; but again he was doomed to disappointment, for no treasure was to be found. There was no need to repeat the executions of Galway, for this had been done by the Irish chiefs themselves ; and in Tyrconnell the shipwrecked Spaniards who were cast, famished and hungry, on its coasts, were hunted down by old O'Donnell, and everyone he laid hands on was put to death.⁴³ O'Rorke had the chivalry to give these men relief, and this was one of the reasons why he was assailed so bitterly by Bingham, as it was one of the accusations laid to his charge in London. But if Fitzwilliam could not capture Spanish coin and execute Spanish soldiers, he was determined to do some notable exploit, and he brought away with him two chiefs, O'Gallagher and O'Doherty, of all the Irish the best affected to the government, and threw them into Dublin Castle. O'Doherty was kept in prison for two years, nor was he then released but by bribing the corrupt Deputy ; O'Gallagher was not released until the Deputy left Ireland.⁴⁴ In a dispute between the MacMahons of Farney, one of them, Hugh Roe, purchased the favour of Fitzwilliam

⁴¹ *Carew Papers*, Vol. II., p. 472.

⁴² Hardiman's *Galway*, p. 93. Froude's *England*, Vol. XII., pp. 444-53.

⁴³ Cuellar's *Narrative*. Bagwell, III., 190-1.

⁴⁴ Fynes Moryson, p. 8. Ware's *Annals*, at 1589. *Carew Papers*, p. 13.

by a bribe of 600 cows. A decision was given in his favour, and Fitzwilliam went north to instal him in his new possessions. But a charge was trumped up against him that he had levied forces and made war, two years before ; a jury was impanelled, and on this charge he was convicted and hanged before his own door ; and the lands so lately assigned to him were now divided between Sir Henry Bagenal, Captain Henshaw, and four of the MacMahons, by every one of whom Fitzwilliam had been bribed. ⁴⁵ He notified Maguire of Fermanagh that he was about sending a sheriff to his territory ; but that chief bribed him and was assured that no sheriff would be sent ; yet, in defiance of this promise, a sheriff was sent, who brought with him 300 of the scum of creation and who lived on the plunder of the people. ⁴⁶ Everywhere was the same. No one could trust the Deputy, no one was safe with him ; the chief friendly to England had no more security than the rebel ; the soldiers were not regularly paid, and at Dublin they mutinied, while all over the country they lived at free quarters. ⁴⁷ The old exactions of Coshery and Bonnacht were as nothing to these multiplied exactions. The very name of Englishman became hated ; English law was regarded as an instrument of oppression ; and no chief who could resist would have an English sheriff in his territory.

The ranks of the discontented received an important recruit by the escape from Dublin Castle of Red Hugh O'Donnell. More than four years had passed since that ill-omened vessel, with its courteous master and its cargo of Spanish wine, had conveyed him a prisoner to Dublin, and there, with the sons of Shane O'Neill and many others among the Irish chiefs, he had been ever since detained. His relative, the Earl of Tyrone, had pleaded, in 1588, for his release with the Earl of Leicester, but that royal favourite died the same year, and nothing was done. ⁴⁸ In the winter of 1590, O'Donnell, with some of his fellow prisoners, made his escape, and reached the Dublin hills, intending to get to

⁴⁵ Cox, p. 399.

⁴⁶ *Carew Papers*, Vol. III., p. 156 ; Cox, p. 402.

⁴⁷ Carew, p. 31.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 461.

Wicklow. He was soon missed and pursued ; the wood in which he was concealed was surrounded by soldiers ; and Felim O'Toole of Wicklow, knowing that his capture was certain, had him arrested himself and delivered over to the government. Henceforth, O'Donnell was more strictly watched and had heavy iron fetters placed on his limbs. Yet, on the Christmas night of 1591, he made a second attempt ; and there is little doubt that the corrupt Deputy accepted a bribe and connived at his escape.⁴⁹ By means of a file which had been conveyed to him he cut his fetters, as did also the two sons of Shane O'Neill, Art and Henry, and by means of a silken rope, which they had also received in the same mysterious manner as the file, they let themselves down from the window of the castle. Making their way across the ditch by which the prison was surrounded, they were met by a person sent by Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne, who was on friendly terms with Tyrone and was aiding in the work of escape. Through the city they passed safely, but outside the walls in the darkness, they lost Henry O'Neill, and did not see him again. It was a depressing incident, and even without this, their difficulties and hardships were great. The night was pitch dark, the snow fell, the cold was intense, and they were ill clad, for they had cast aside their outer garments. Yet delay meant capture, and at all hazards they must push on ; and all that night and the following day they journeyed to Glenmalure. At last they were exhausted. They had tasted no food since leaving Dublin ; the cold and snow still continued ; and weary, and footsore, and hungry, they took shelter under a rock, while the attendant ran on to bring help. When Fiach McHugh's messenger came back, he found the two northerners apparently dead. They were covered with snow, their limbs frost bitten, and Art O'Neill, already beyond human aid, soon died, and was buried under the shelter of the rock.

With much difficulty Hugh O'Donnell was revived and reached Glenmalure, where he recovered his strength, though his feet were still powerless, nor could he use them until two of his toes were amputated.⁵⁰ Their spies soon informed

⁴⁹ Fynes Moryson, p. 10 ; O'Clery's *Life of Red Hugh*, Introduction.

⁵⁰ *Carew Papers*, Vol. III., p. 153.

the government that Hugh was in Wicklow, and, to prevent his escape north, the fords of the Liffey were guarded. Yet, he crossed not far from Dublin, accompanied by a guard from O'Byrne; further north, he had as his companion Turlogh O'Hagan, who had been sent to Wicklow by Tyrone. At Drogheda. O'Donnell crossed the Boyne near the town, while O'Hagan passed through the town itself with the two horses which carried them. At Mellifont, they were sheltered by a hospitable Englishman, Sir Garret Moore; at Dundalk, they rode through the town in the open day; at Armagh, they stayed secretly for one night; at Dungannon, they stayed with Tyrone for four nights; and from thence they were escorted to Enniskillen, from which place Maguire rowed them across Lough Erne, at the further shore of which, O'Donnell, after all his hardships and wanderings, was received with tumultuous joy by his own beloved clansmen of Tyrconnell.⁵¹ When his strength was restored, in that same year, his father, who was old and feeble, resigned the chieftaincy, and Red Hugh was inaugurated with all the accustomed ceremonies as the chieftain of his race. And he soon showed that he would act with vigour. A party of marauders, under Captain Willis, had been sent by Bingham to Tyrconnell. They drove out the monks from the monastery of Donegal and established themselves there, and from this they issued from time to time, and plundered the surrounding country, until the place hallowed, by so many associations of piety and prayer, was turned into a robber's den. Young O'Donnell warned them to leave the place by a certain day, taking nothing with them; and they went, else they would certainly have been driven out; and the monks returned and chanted their psalms, and said their Masses and prayed for their benefactors, especially for young Red Hugh.⁵² Clearly, the reins, so long clutched by the feeble hands of old O'Donnell, were now held with a firmer grasp, and English freebooters could no longer regard Tyrconnell as a happy hunting ground for their exploits.

From this young chief, so long and so unjustly tortured in prison, the government began to apprehend trouble, as they did also from

⁵¹ O'Clery, pp. 19-33; O'Sullivan (Byrne's Tr.), pp. 67-8.

⁵² O'Clery, p. 37.

Maguire, harassed by Fitzwilliam's sheriff, from the MacMahons, whose chief had been so foully done to death, and from Connaught, maddened by the savageries of Bingham. But most of all they feared the Earl of Tyrone. His position was peculiar. He was a member of the Irish Council, and was in high favour with the English Council and the Queen, who regarded him as a loyal subject, zealous for the interests of England; but he was also an O'Neill, and in alliance and favour with the native chiefs. His daughter was married to young O'Donnell;⁵³ Maguire and O'Cahan were his cousins; Magennis and O'Hanlon were his brothers-in-law; MacMahon was his nephew;⁵⁴ and for years he played, with consummate skill the double role of a loyal English subject and of an Irish chief. But the task was difficult and dangerous. He made war on O'Cahan (1589); but a little later they became friends and he sent his son to be fostered at O'Cahan's castle. With the MacDonnells of Antrim he also became friendly, and even sent them armed assistance in one of their expeditions.⁵⁵ With Turlogh Lynnagh he was at war, in 1589. For these and, in addition, that he had sheltered the shipwrecked Spaniards, and corresponded with the King of Spain, he was denounced to the Deputy (1590) by a bastard son of Shane O'Neill called Hugh Gavelock, or Hugh of the Fetters,⁵⁶ and the Deputy appointed a certain day to have these charges investigated; but before the appointed day arrived, the Earl had his accuser arrested, tried as a conspirator against his chief, convicted of the charge, and hanged.⁵⁷ And, to clear himself of all these charges, he went to London and vindicated himself in the eyes of the English Council. He bound himself to renounce the name of O'Neill, to make Tyrone shire ground, to have no Irish exactions in his territory, no fosterage to be allowed, no nuns or priests to be tolerated, none to be executed except by due course of law. He was to have a jail built at Dungannon, and to keep the peace with Turlogh Lynnagh, and for carrying out his promises, he was to put in

⁵³ *Carew Papers*, p. 461.

⁵⁴ Hogan's *Ireland in 1598*.

⁵⁵ Carew, Vol. III., p. 2.

⁵⁶ He was the son of Shane O'Neill by Calvagh O'Donnell's wife.

⁵⁷ Mitchel's *Life of Hugh O'Neill*, p. 85.

pledges. But he asked the Council, and his request was granted, that at the same time Turlogh Lynnagh should put in pledges also, lest he, "being brought under law, might be spoiled by his lawless neighbours." ⁵⁸ This last provision stood him in good stead, for the other Ulster chiefs did not put in pledges, and thus his hands were free. In 1591, he was at war with Turlogh Lynnagh, and was much blamed by the government; but when Fitzwilliam investigated the matter he decided that the fault was on the side of Turlogh. Two years later, he agreed to pay a pension of £2,000 a year to Turlogh; but, the same year, the old chief died; Tyrone was also bound to restrain O'Donnell and to punish Maguire. ⁵⁹

In the meantime he had incurred the hostility of a more formidable enemy than any he had yet made. This was Sir Henry Bagenal, who, in 1590, had succeeded his father in the office of Marshal. ⁶⁰ The Earl's first wife had been divorced from him; his second wife, Red Hugh's sister, was dead, and, in 1591, he married Bagenal's sister, Mabel. Bagenal complained that the Earl's first wife still lived, and refused to give his sister her dowry; and at the Council table he was ever opposed to the Earl, thwarted him in every way, made many charges against him, and was bent, by fair means or foul, in effecting his ruin. Tyrone retorted by accusing Bagenal of bribing the Deputy, and complained that some of his friends were trying to murder him. He complained that for sending some of the captured Spaniards to Dublin he had got no thanks, nor did he get any part of MacMahon's territory, though "every peddling merchant" got a share of it. He recalled how he had rescued the English sheriff from Maguire, and aided the Deputy in defeating the same chief on the shores of Lough Erne; yet he received no thanks, but, on the contrary, was called a traitor by Fitzwilliam. ⁶¹ The English Council and the Queen were impressed by these statements. Bagenal was warned not to further molest the Earl, and the Deputy Fitzwilliam was deprived of his office, and was succeeded by Sir William Russell. The

⁵⁸ *Carew Papers*, pp. 37-9.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-5.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 87-9.

state of Ulster was threatening ; Maguire and O'Donnell were already joined by O'Rorke of Breffni ; and if Tyrone joined the confederacy, the worst consequences were to be feared. Such a rebellion would shake English power in Ireland to its foundations. It was considered better to keep him on the side of the government. The dismissal of the Deputy, and the warning issued to Bagenal soothed his ruffled feelings ; for the time he had no cause of complaint ; and the clouds rolled away which but lately were so ominous and dark.



CHAPTER VIII.

Tyrone's Rebellion.

THE retiring Deputy described for the benefit of his successor the condition of Ireland at his retirement. Munster was peaceable, and Connaught, except that O'Rorke had risen in rebellion and gone to Tyrconnell. In Leinster, Fiach MacHugh was inactive, but distrustful; the Kavanaghs were weak; and among the O'Mores and O'Connors, danger was to be feared only from Owney O'More, son to the famous Rory Oge, who was believed to have inherited his father's ability for war, and had been educated with Fiach MacHugh, where his warlike capabilities had been developed. In Ulster the MacMahons were in open rebellion. Maguire had driven the English sheriff from Fermanagh, and invaded Connaught. After his defeat on the Erne by Fitzwilliam and Tyrone, his relative, Connor, was set up by the government as his rival. But this was not enough, and in the next year (1594), Fitzwilliam again invaded Fermanagh, and captured Enniskillen, and left there an English garrison. It appeared evident that the Deputy's purpose was to drive Hugh Maguire out of Fermanagh, even as O'Rorke had been driven out of Breffni by Bingham. But Maguire was not easily disposed of—his capacity was considerable—and when Fitzwilliam left his territory, he besieged Enniskillen, in which he had the assistance of Red Hugh. Unable to storm it, they blockaded it, and the garrison were soon suffering from want of food. A relieving force was despatched from Connaught by Bingham; and, unfortunately for Maguire, his ally O'Donnell had then returned

to Tyrconnell to welcome a force of 2,000 Scots, who had just arrived, and whom he at once enrolled in his army. But the absence of O'Donnell was compensated for by the arrival of Cormac O'Neill, Tyrone's brother, with a force of 300 foot and 100 horse; and both he and Maguire encountered the English near Enniskillen on the Erne, and utterly defeated them. Besides their loss in men and arms, the English lost all their food supplies, salt, meat, cheese, and biscuits, whence it happened that the ford at which their passage was successfully disputed came to be called the Ford of the Biscuits.¹ This, then was the condition of Ulster. Clannaboy and Iveagh were disturbed; some of the sub-chiefs of Tyrone were aiding Maguire; Sorley Boy's son was attached to Tyrone, and could not be relied on by the English; and out of all Ulster they could not count on any district except Cavan.²

So far the Earl of Tyrone had taken no part with the chiefs in revolt; but he was believed to be in sympathy with them, and in fact to be secretly instigating them; and the Queen wished that, if he came into the Deputy's power, he should be kept a prisoner.³ He had, a short time previously, proposed to meet the Queen's commissioners at Dundalk, but failed to come; he also kept in prison the three sons of Shane O'Neill, and would not give them up to the Deputy when asked. This was in Fitzwilliam's time, and because he distrusted him. Under a new Deputy he laid aside his fears, and to the surprise of his friends, and still more of his foes, he appeared at the Council Board at Dublin. With the greatest pleasure Bagenal took upon himself the office of accuser. He charged him with being in league with the Pope, and the King of Spain, and with Maguire and O'Donnell; with having preyed and spoiled Connor Roe Maguire, who was under the Queen's protection; with having harboured and befriended those who were proclaimed traitors; with having sent his brother Cormac to aid Maguire, and helped to defeat the English at Enniskillen; and with having, on the death of Turlogh Lynnagh, proclaimed himself The O'Neill.⁴

¹ O'Clery's *Life of Red Hugh*, pp. 61, 71, 73.

² *Carew Papers*, pp. 92-4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-9.

The latter charge he could not, and did not deny ; but he explained that Turlogh Lynnagh had voluntarily resigned the chieftaincy to him, and that he had assumed the name, lest some other O'Neill should assume it, and as such gather followers around him, and disturb the peace of Ulster. As to the other charges, he denied them all, nor could Bagenal prove them ; and O'Neill had friends on the Council who were not prepared to swallow all that Bagenal said, and who did not accept mere suspicion for certainty, nor assume he was guilty until his guilt was proved. On his side, O'Neill made the strongest protestations of loyalty ; lamented that the Queen was offended with him ; that her displeasure was his greatest grief ; that it was she who had lifted him up, and he knew she could as easily pluck him down. He absented himself from Dundalk, because he was afraid to trust himself to Fitzwilliam and Bagenal, both of whom had designs on his life. Now he was willing to aid the present Deputy in relieving Enniskillen, or in expelling the Scots, if such service was demanded of him ; he would do his best to pacify O'Donnell ; he would admit a sheriff into Tyrone, and build a jail at Dungannon, and aid the Deputy in his wars, and protect the Queen's subjects in Tyrone ; and he would send his son Hugh to Dublin, as a pledge of his good faith.⁵ A majority of the Council were satisfied with his promises, and decided that he was not to be kept in restraint. But orders had come from Burleigh that he was to be detained, whether innocent or guilty. The Earl of Ormond, who was a close personal friend of Tyrone, warned him of his danger,⁶ and O'Neill with all speed left Dublin, and made his way back to Ulster. The Queen was enraged. It mattered little whether O'Neill was guilty or not. She suspected him, and in her mind suspicion and guilt were nearly akin. The nature of treasons, she said, are secret ; and not to be proved but by presumption ; and letting the Earl of Tyrone away from Dublin was as foul an oversight as was ever committed in that kingdom.⁷

⁵ *Carew Papers*, pp. 95-7 ; O'Clery, p. 61.

⁶ Mitchel's *Life of Hugh O'Neill*, p. 103. Ormond was indignant at receiving such a command, and told Burleigh, that whoever so advised the Queen, was fitter for such base service than he was.

⁷ *Carew Papers*, p. 100.

Her advice to Sir William Russell was to try some underhand way to bring in the Earl ; and she thought it would be well if divisions were fomented in Tyrone.⁸

But O'Neill was not to be ensnared so easily. He knew the Queen too well to trust her promises ; he knew that in the case of Burleigh, her chief adviser, treachery was part of his nature ; he remembered how Shane O'Neill had been treated ; how the Earl of Desmond had been kept in London for six years without being tried ; and how O'Donnell had been kidnapped and thrown into prison. He was conscious that he had done some things which might easily be turned into serious charges, and thus effect his ruin—his correspondence with Fiach MacHugh, his aid in effecting the escape of O'Donnell, his assumption of the name of The O'Neill, his friendship for Maguire and MacMahon. Bagenal and others of the Council would magnify these accusations, and add to them, and the Queen's doubts of him would soon be turned into certainty. It was true that, against these accusations, he might point to some services done in her interest. But he knew also that the two Viceroy's who had served her best were Sidney and Perrott ; and that Sidney was neglected in his old age, and Perrott was a prisoner in the Tower ; and his services, compared to what they had done, were insignificant. But while unwilling to trust himself to the Queen or to Burleigh, he had no desire to provoke a contest, knowing the power of England. And if himself and the other Ulster chiefs were relieved from the vexatious persecutions of English officials, if the people were guaranteed the peaceable possession of their lands, and liberty to worship God according to their convictions, there is no reason to think that he would have rebelled, but, on the contrary, would have lived and died a loyal subject of England. It was only when he discovered that a large English army was being prepared to attack him, and that he was to be coerced rather than conciliated, that he resolved on war. And the English soon found that the task of crushing him was not so easy. He bore little resemblance to the ordinary Irish chief, who boasted much, and talked much, and did little, and who heedlessly rushed into war without estimating his

⁸ *Carew Papers*, p. 101.

difficulties or his resources. O'Neill, on the contrary, was cool and cautious and calculating, had the capacity to take pains, never acted from impulse or caprice, but as the result of forethought, and was ready to learn from his enemies, and to adopt their arms and discipline. The six companies which he was allowed to have in Tyrone in the Queen's pay he took care to frequently change, and thus were the Tyrone men trained to arms, and at the expense of England; and, on pretence of having some buildings to roof, he brought into Tyrone large quantities of lead and had it cast into bullets.⁹ Unlike Shane O'Neill, he had not sought to crush the Ulster chiefs; he had tried rather to conciliate them, and induced them to lay aside their personal quarrels; and when the rebellion broke out, Ulster was united as she had never been before, and under a leader, the ablest she had ever known.

Both O'Neill and O'Donnell had sent letters to the King of Spain, informing him that they had taken up arms in defence of the Catholic faith, and begging assistance in arms and men; but, so far, no assistance had come; time pressed; and the large reinforcements from England were on their way.¹⁰ Further delay was dangerous, and early in 1595 Tyrone's brother, Art, suddenly attacked and captured Portmore, on the Blackwater, and drove away the garrison, and thus was Tyrone cleared of the English. O'Reilly's country of Cavan was then attacked and wasted; and in May the Earl himself took the field, and with O'Donnell and Maguire and MacMahon besieged Monaghan, then garrisoned by English troops. Bagenal with 1,800 men set out from Newry to relieve it, and O'Neill allowed him to achieve his purpose, and thought it wiser to avoid giving battle, but to harass him on his return. Expecting that Bagenal would march to Dundalk, O'Neill had the route plashed. But Bagenal returned instead to Newry, and even here his forces were assailed; and when they arrived at Newry, they had lost nearly 200 killed and wounded, and would probably have lost more, if the Irish had not run short of powder.¹¹

⁹ Ware's *Annals* at 1593.

¹⁰ O'Clery, pp. 50-3. (Introduction.)

¹¹ *Carew Papers*, p. 110.

A month later, Sir John Norris arrived with his reinforcements, and, at the head of 3,000 men, and accompanied by the Deputy, he marched from Dundalk to Armagh. Again O'Neill avoided a pitched battle, but retired as the enemy advanced. His evident purpose was to draw them further into the woods and passes, and the better to inspire them with rash confidence, he continued his flight, and, as if in panic, burned down his castle of Dungannon. But the Deputy did not go beyond Armagh, and putting that place in a state of defence, and leaving a garrison there, he turned west to Monaghan, which he revictualled and strengthened, and then returned to Newry and to Dublin. Norris was left at Newry in supreme command of the army of Ulster,¹² and soon finding that Monaghan was again besieged, he had again to march to its relief. On this occasion his passage was disputed by O'Neill at Clontibret, five miles from Monaghan. The two armies were on opposite sides of the little river which runs by the place; and if Monaghan was to be relieved the river must be crossed, and the Irish driven back. Norris, one of the ablest generals in the Queen's service, made his dispositions with skill, and twice charged at the head of his infantry; but each time he was driven back, and in these attacks both himself and his brother, Sir Thomas, were wounded. At length a body of English cavalry, gallantly led by an Anglo-Irishman named Segrave, spurred fiercely across the stream. Segrave was a man of enormous size and strength, and espying the Earl of Tyrone, he charged him at full speed. O'Neill met him in mid-career, and the lances of each were shattered to pieces on the other's corselet. In a second encounter Segrave grappled with his antagonist, and dragged him by main force to the ground, where both struggled fiercely, O'Neill being undermost. He was able, however, to draw his short sword and plunge it into Segrave's groin, and the gigantic and gallant leader soon expired. This ended the battle. The English fell back, leaving their standard in the hands of the enemy, and, with their general wounded, and many other casualties, they reached Newry; and in a short time Monaghan yielded to O'Neill.¹³

¹² *Carew Papers*, p. 115-18.

¹³ *Four Masters*; Mitchel's *Life of O'Neill*, p. 111.

In most of these events Hugh O'Donnell had a share. But his activity was not confined to Ulster. As chief of Tyrconnell he claimed superiority over North Connaught, and believed that the Mayo Burkes, the O'Connors, the O'Rorkes, and the MacDermotts owed him allegiance and tribute. Nor ought these chiefs object to a new master, for any change would be an improvement on Bingham. Without any apparent reason, he savagely attacked the Burkes, in 1592, desolated their lands with fire and sword, broke down their castles, drove away their cattle, plundered their tenants, took their relatives, male and female, and flung them into prison, from which few escaped with their lives.¹⁴ When O'Rorke refused to pay rent for lands which had gone waste, he fiercely attacked him and drove away his cattle (1593). His brothers George and John were as ferocious as himself, and Leitrim and Sligo and Fermanagh they had at one time or other entered and laid waste. To chastise these rapacious English, O'Donnell entered Connaught, in 1595. From Fermanagh he crossed into Leitrim, then turned westward to where the old palace of the O'Connors stood at Rathcroghan. From this he sent out marauding parties, and everyone who was English, or in sympathy with them, was plundered, their cattle driven off, their houses burned. Bingham had garrisons at Sligo and Ballymote and Tulsk, and gathered these together at Boyle; but he was unable to stay O'Donnell's progress, or prevent him taking across the Shannon all the cattle he had seized.¹⁵ And the same chief soon wasted Longford, and returned safely with much booty to Tyrconnell. In his absence George Bingham sailed from Sligo to Lough Swilly, and plundered the inmates of Rathmullen, taking away the vestments and the sacred vessels of the altar, and leaving the church in ruins; and he repeated these robberies on Tory Island, a place bare and desolate, but sanctified by the labours of St. Columba, and rich in ecclesiastical buildings. With these spoils Bingham returned to Sligo: but he soon quarrelled with one of his officers, Burke, and was killed; and Burke delivered Sligo to O'Donnell. It was a decisive event, and brought all North

¹⁴ *Four Masters.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Connaught to desert the English and to acknowledge O'Donnell's sway. Before the year expired, he again desolated the English settlements in the province, set up one Theobald Burke as The MacWilliam : and, except the County of Clare, all Connaught might be said to have taken his side ; nor did Bingham hold any part of it for the Queen outside of a few garrison towns.¹⁶

In the meantime, the Earl of Tyrone had written to Wallop, the Treasurer for War, and to the Deputy, protesting that he wished to remain a loyal subject. The letter to the Deputy was intercepted by Bagenal, and never delivered, and of the letter to Wallop nothing came ; and in the last days of June, O'Neill and O'Donnell and their allies were proclaimed traitors at Dundalk.¹⁷ Private instructions were sent by the Queen that O'Donnell was to be pardoned, the hope being that the northern confederacy might dissolve, a hope which was not realised. For once the Ulster chiefs were faithful to one another, feeling that they should stand or fall together ; and O'Donnell, instead of seeking for pardon, was even more embittered against the English than O'Neill. Negotiations were opened, a few months later. At first, the Queen would only grant O'Neill pardon of his life, on laying down his arms, dispersing his forces, and revealing all his correspondence with foreign powers ; nor was he to make suit for his confederates, but plead only for himself. These confederates must be punished, and the Earl himself was to be deprived of his title and be only Baron of Dungannon, and he was to be deprived of part of his lands. Such terms were not likely to become the basis of a permanent settlement, yet a truce was arranged, to last until the 1st of January following, or a month later, if the Deputy wished. And during this period of peace, the Queen's garrisons were at liberty to procure victuals and materials, such as stone and timber, to perfect their defences.¹⁸ When the time expired, the negotiations were resumed. The Queen was then in a more yielding mood, and told the Deputy and Norris to make the best terms they could ; but, naturally suspicious, she feared O'Neill's offers to submit were only a plot to temporise until he

¹⁶ *Four Masters*.

¹⁷ Fynes Moryson, pp. 14-15 ; *Carew Papers*, p. 111.

¹⁸ Carew, p. 126.

received foreign aid; and she was probably not far wrong.¹⁹ A few months before, she denounced him as the son of a bastard, and ordered the Deputy to negotiate through some "mean person," but, in June, 1596, the practice of calling him names was abandoned, and the Irish Council selected two of their number, Wallop and Gardiner, as commissioners for negotiating terms. They invited O'Neill to meet them at Dundalk, but, as he was fearful of treachery, he would enter no walled town, nor meet them anywhere except in the open, and in the presence of his army, and after he had taken every precaution to ensure his personal safety.

They met in an open field near Dundalk, O'Neill and O'Donnell on one side, the two commissioners on the other, all on horseback; the troops on each side were a quarter of a mile distant; two Irish soldiers stood between the commissioners and the English army, and two English soldiers between the Irish chiefs and their army.²⁰ The Irish demanded to have liberty of conscience, to have no sheriffs in Ulster or in O'Donnell's part of Connaught, nor any garrison except Newry and Carrickfergus; all those who had sided with O'Neill and O'Donnell in the rebellion were to be pardoned and henceforth O'Neill was to be answerable for all Ulster except Tyrconnell, and O'Donnell for Tyrconnell and for North Connaught. O'Neill recalled his services to the Queen, and the treatment he had received from Fitzwilliam and Bagenal. O'Donnell reminded the commissioners that his father had destroyed Shane O'Neill, yet he was himself kidnapped and thrown into prison, while Tyrconnell was plundered by an English sheriff. And Maguire had recalled how Bingham had wasted his territory, slaughtered the women and children, and drove away the cattle, and how Fitzwilliam had accepted bribes, and yet forgot the promises he had made and the bribes he had received. To discuss these grievances and demands many meetings were held, and many letters were written, from the Irish leaders to the commissioners, from these to the Deputy, from the Deputy to the Queen. Finally, the Queen gave her decision, writing separately to each of the

¹⁹ *Carew Papers*, p. 131.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

chiefs, and in every case refusing their demand for liberty of conscience ; she would send a sheriff into their districts " whenever it would be necessary and profitable ; " she even found fault with the commissioners for giving ear to such presumptuous and disloyal petitions.²¹

It was the language of tyranny and bigotry, yet she was not anxious for war, and if she did not accept O'Neill's terms she had terms of her own to offer. To arrange the conditions of peace, Norris and Fenton were appointed commissioners, and informed O'Neill how far Her Majesty was willing to go. He was not even to ask for liberty of conscience, nor for mercy for anyone but for himself, nor to detain Shane O'Neill's sons in prison, nor aid anyone in rebellion, nor receive in his country any disloyal person ; he was to permit garrisons in Armagh and Tyrone, and to build a jail, and reveal his correspondence with foreign princes, and renounce the name of O'Neill. There was no longer any question of depriving him of the Earldom, or of confiscating his estates. Some of these conditions he was willing to accept fully, others in a modified form ; but he peremptorily refused to have a garrison at Armagh ; he would build no jail ; and he would punish no man who came into his territory for conscience sake.²² During these discussions Norris conceived a high opinion of O'Neill's ability and sincerity, O'Neill conceived a high opinion of Norris, and for a time there was peace in Ulster. The Queen began to hope that the trouble would soon be over, and she expected to get heavy fines both from O'Neill and O'Donnell for their " grievous disloyalties." She wished to have the negotiations hurried on and peace secured, and she complained that the Deputy was wasting time in sending messengers to and from London, instead of directing the negotiations himself.²³ But O'Neill was in no hurry. He had little hope of getting favourable terms, and spun out these discussions until help came from Spain. If he declared for war, England would put forth her whole strength to crush him, and he knew well that, unaided by a foreign power, he would be vanquished ; and, in July, the truce was prolonged,

²¹ *Carew Papers* (1589-1600), p. 167.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 172-3.

²³ *Carew Papers*, p. 177.

though peace was not permanently secured.²⁴ In the meantime his confederacy with the other chiefs was firm and unshaken ; he was urging Fiach MacHugh in Leinster to become active in that quarter ; and he had sent messengers to Munster with a similar object in view.²⁵ Further, because Fiach MacHugh, he believed, was harshly treated by the government, because his own pledges were not released as promised, and because one of his friends had been murdered by the garrison at Kells, he broke out into acts of hostility, besieged Carlingford and Armagh, cut off a convoy sent to succour the latter place, and wasted the northern districts of the Pale.²⁶ Yet, he still professed his anxiety for peace and pardon, allowed Norris without hindrance to victual Armagh, and promised to meet the Queen's commissioners at Dundalk on the 2nd of April. When that day came, he wrote to say that he would meet the commissioners on the 18th, but when the latter day came he did not appear.²⁷ He had to complain that Bagenal, the man he most hated, was still retained in the office of Marshal, while Norris, the man he most trusted, he had heard was about to be removed ; in these circumstances he did not hope for justice or fair play ; and though the Queen's commissioners had entirely laid aside the language of menace, and adopted that of conciliation and even of entreaty, he broke off the negotiations and prepared for war.²⁸

While O'Neill was thus engaged, O'Donnell was not idle. Several letters were then passing between Ireland and Spain in which, on their side, the Irish chiefs expressed their willingness to accept Philip as their king ; while the Spanish King, on his side, encouraged them to continue the fight, and promised his aid ; but no aid came except three vessels which landed in Tyrconnell, in 1596, each vessel having on board 60 musketeers, and some arms and ammunition.²⁹ But even with his own forces, and those of MacWilliam and O'Rorke, O'Donnell continued to hold North Connaught in subjection. Towards the end of 1595 the Deputy

²⁴ *Carew Papers*, p. 246.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 179, 182.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-7.

²⁷ Ware's *Annals*.

²⁸ Moryson, p. 19 ; Carew, p. 258.

²⁹ O'Clery, pp. 77-81. (Introduction.)

made a journey to the province, and everywhere he went he heard bitter complaints against Bingham; and the charges were so serious, and sustained by such abundant evidence, that Bingham was removed from office.³⁰ In the interval that elapsed until a new President of Connaught was appointed, General Norris was for a short time in the province, and it seemed that he and O'Donnell would come to blows, for both at the head of their armies faced each other on the banks of the Robe; but there was no battle, and after Norris had put fresh garrisons into Galway, Athenry, Roscommon, Boyle, and a few other places, he returned to Dublin and to Ulster.³¹

In Munster all was quiet, but in Leinster Fiach MacHugh and the O'Mores, and some of the Butlers, kept the province disturbed. For some violation of his promise, Fiach's wife, who was a hostage at Dublin, was, in 1595, publicly burned, a cruel and barbarous sentence, yet, a few months later, Fiach made peace with the government, but in the next year he was again at war. His territory was then invaded by the Deputy in person, his followers hunted down, his stronghold attacked, and the old chief himself was surprised and slain. His head was cut off and brought to Dublin, and great was the jubilation of the English to be thus rid of so formidable a foe.³² Young Owney O'More was not so easily disposed of, and entering Leix, the country of his ancestors, in 1596, he wasted it with fire and sword. The Cosbys, who had been planted there, fought in defence of their lands, and fought well; but O'More defeated them with the loss of their leader and many others and the crops and corn and buildings of the settlers were totally destroyed.³³

Wearied by anxiety, ill supported from England, censured by the Queen for not having conquered the rebellious chiefs, but not furnished with sufficient forces for the task, censured for not having made peace with them, though she would not grant them terms.

³⁰ Carew, pp. 238-40. At Galway the Deputy was welcomed by the Mayor, who read to him an ovation in Latin.

³¹ *Four Masters*.

³² *Four Masters* at 1597; *Carew Papers*, p. 259.

³³ *Ibid.*

Sir William Russell had repeatedly asked to be relieved of office, and at length, in May, 1597, his request was acceded to, and Lord Borough was appointed Viceroy. As a soldier he had served with distinction in the Netherlands, and his instructions were to cease negotiations and to prosecute the war. Displeased with General Norris for his want of success, he at once removed him from the command of the Ulster army, and sent him to the lesser office of President of Munster, a mortification which weighed so heavily on the General's spirits that he died of grief. Yet the Deputy himself parleyed with Tyrone, and agreed to a truce for one month, both sides, no doubt, being anxious to perfect their preparations for the coming contest. To this truce O'Donnell did not consent. He wanted no peace, and latterly had been very active in Connaught, where Sir Conyers Clifford had just been appointed to succeed Bingham as President.³⁴ He was an able soldier and administrator, kind and conciliatory, and in every way a contrast to the ferocious freebooter whom he succeeded. And the result of the change of policy, was, that O'Connor Sligo and MacDermott revolted from O'Donnell and took the side of the English. But the Northern was not a safe man to provoke, and soon entered their territories and laid them waste, and left them not a single head of cattle that he did not drive off to Tyrconnell. Nor did he cease until he entered Clanricarde's territory, and treated it similarly, spoiled and desolated round Athenry and Oranmore and Galway, scaled the walls surrounding Athenry, burst open the gates, burned the buildings, and carried off everything which was of value. Galway he was unable to take, as he had no siege implements, but he wasted up to the gates of the town, and then retraced his steps, and sent all the spoils he had taken across the Erne. And such terror did these successes inspire, that MacDermott and others who had revolted to the English were glad to make terms with him.³⁵ But O'Connor still held out, and in O'Donnell's absence he and Clifford wasted the lands of MacWilliam and banished him from Tyrawley, and when he was reinstated by O'Donnell they again banished him and set up a rival, Theobald na Long, or Theobald of the Ships, a son of

³⁴ Carew, pp. 254-5.

³⁵ *Four Masters* at 1597.

Granuaile. Clifford endeavoured to intercept the flight of the exiled MacWilliam into Tyrconnell, but the fugitive escaped, and for the present the President was unable to pursue him.³⁶

By the time the month's truce with Tyrone had expired, the Deputy had his preparations made. The Irish were to be attacked from three different directions. From Connaught Clifford was to cross the Erne and capture Ballyshannon, crush O'Donnell, and then, turning eastwards, fall upon O'Neill; a second army of 1,000 men was placed under the command of Barnwell, son of Lord Trimleston, was to assemble at Mullingar, and, marching north, was to join hands with Clifford; and both were to join the Deputy, who advanced through Newry and Armagh. By the month of August, Clifford assembled his forces at Boyle, having with him the Earls of Thomond and Clanricarde, and Lord Inchiquin, and at the head of 700 men reached the Erne. The fords were feebly guarded, and Clifford overcame the resistance offered, and crossed the river with the loss of only a few. The Queen's MacWilliam, Theobald of the Ships, was co-operating by the sea, and had brought round from Galway some heavy ordnance; and when Clifford reached Ballyshannon, these heavy guns were landed, and the castle of Ballyshannon was vigorously assailed. But it was as vigorously defended by O'Donnell's troops, the place was of great strength, and the guns made no great impression on it, and the English soldiers who advanced under cover of their shields were shot down by the garrison, stones and beams of timber were flung down from the battlements, and time after time their gallant assault was as gallantly repelled. But in the meantime O'Donnell's forces were augmented by the arrival of O'Rorke and Maguire, and he had now under his command 2,000 men; and in the presence of such superior strength Clifford commenced to retreat. Across the Erne and through the Curlews he made his way, not without losses at every step, nor did he deem himself safe until he had gathered his army behind the sheltering walls of Boyle; and only his skill, and courage and resource was able to save it from destruction.³⁷

The second army at Mullingar fared worse. O'Neill had placed

³⁶ O'Clery, pp. 131-39.

³⁷ O'Clery, pp. 143-53.

400 men under Captain Tyrell, and directed him to watch Barnwell and impede his movements; and Tyrell hovered round Mullingar, carefully watching his enemy. The disparity of numbers gave the English commander confidence, and he resolved to attack and destroy the little Irish army before continuing his march north. Tyrell, who knew the country well, fell back some ten miles due south of Mullingar, and took up his position in a narrow pass, with a wood on each side. Under his lieutenant, one of the O'Connors of Offaly, he placed in ambush part of his troops in the rear, while himself passed on, pursued by the impetuous Barnwell. When the English had passed O'Connor, the Irish bagpipes struck up the Tyrells' march, which was the appointed signal; the troops in ambush poured volley after volley into the English ranks; Tyrell wheeled round and assailed them in front, and a slaughter rather than a battle began. When it was over, only two of the English were left—a soldier who made his way across the bogs with the doleful news to Mullingar, and Barnwell himself, who was taken prisoner, and hurried off with all speed to Tyrone, where Tyrell presented him to O'Neill. The place where the slaughter took place has ever since been known as Tyrell's Pass.³⁸

On his side the Deputy, accompanied by the Earl of Kildare, advanced without interruption to Armagh, and at a pass beyond it, on the south bank of the Blackwater, resistance was offered by O'Neill. The pass was plashed, but the Deputy forced his way through, safely crossed the river, and rebuilt the ruined fort of Portmore, and placed there a garrison of 300 men. His intention was to proceed to Dungannon, but, two miles west of Portmore, at a place called Drumfluich, O'Neill attacked him with all his forces, and defeated him with heavy loss. The Deputy himself was mortally wounded, and so was the Earl of Kildare. The defeated army fled south, pursued by the enemy; and thus, on every side were the Irish victorious, and at every point the Deputy's plans had failed.³⁹

After Lord Borough's death, the Earl of Ormond was appointed Lord Lieutenant, and took chief command of the army, the civil

³⁸ MacGeoghegan's *History of Ireland*, p. 505.

³⁹ *Four Masters*; Ware's *Annals*; Moryson, p. 21.

government being in the hands of Loftus and Gardiner. Ormond was an old friend of O'Neill's, and had instructions to make peace with him if possible, and late in December the two Earls had a conference at Dundalk, and concluded a truce to last until the following May. During that time O'Neill was to allow the garrison of Portmore to be victualled, and, in the hope of a lasting peace, negotiations were continued. But they ended in nothing. O'Neill wanted liberty of conscience for all Ireland, no garrisons or sheriffs in Tyrone, and pardon for his allies in the war. The Queen would not listen to such conditions, and wrote to Ormond that O'Neill should disband all his forces, desert his allies, deliver up Shane O'Neill's son, cease correspondence with foreign powers, and make his submission to the Lord Lieutenant, and in public. On these terms he was to be pardoned. But O'Neill wanted no pardon on such terms, and at the end of the truce broke off all further negotiations, and attacked Portmore.⁴⁰ He had several times attacked it in the previous year, but the governor, Captain Williams, made a gallant resistance, and the Irish who tried to scale the walls were shot down or flung headlong from the ramparts. O'Neill had no heavy guns, and was unable, therefore, to batter down the defences, and his only resource was to turn the siege into a blockade, until at last the garrison began to suffer from hunger. Yet Williams refused to yield; himself and his men lived on grass and weeds which grew inside the walls; and with the courage and patience of a hero he was resolved to hold out to the last. To relieve him, and if possible to reassert the Queen's supremacy throughout Ulster, Ormond made a greater effort than had yet been made. He had under his command an army of about 10,000 men. Good part of it was required to protect Leinster, and with all that could be spared Marshal Bagenal offered to relieve Portmore. The Irish Council were doubtful of his capacity to succeed, but Bagenal himself was confident, and, on the 12th August, he set out from Newry to the Blackwater, and on the following day arrived safely at Armagh.

He had with him an army of 4,500 foot and 500 horse, many

⁴⁰ *Carew Papers*, pp. 274-8.

of them veterans who had fought abroad,⁴¹ all of them, either in Ireland or elsewhere, having experience in war. They were well armed with guns, swords, and daggers, many had breastplates; they had some brass cannon; and they had the usual number of drivers, suttlers, and foragers, who accompanied the baggage; of ammunition and victuals they had abundance.⁴² On the Irish side O'Donnell had brought 1,000 men, MacWilliam an equal number, O'Neill and his neighbours making up the remainder, the whole force being 4,500 foot and 600 horse. In experience in war and in confidence in their leaders, they were little inferior to their opponents, but in arms they were overmatched. They had lances and swords and battle-axes; some had javelins and bows and arrows, and a great many had guns; but they were entirely without artillery.⁴³

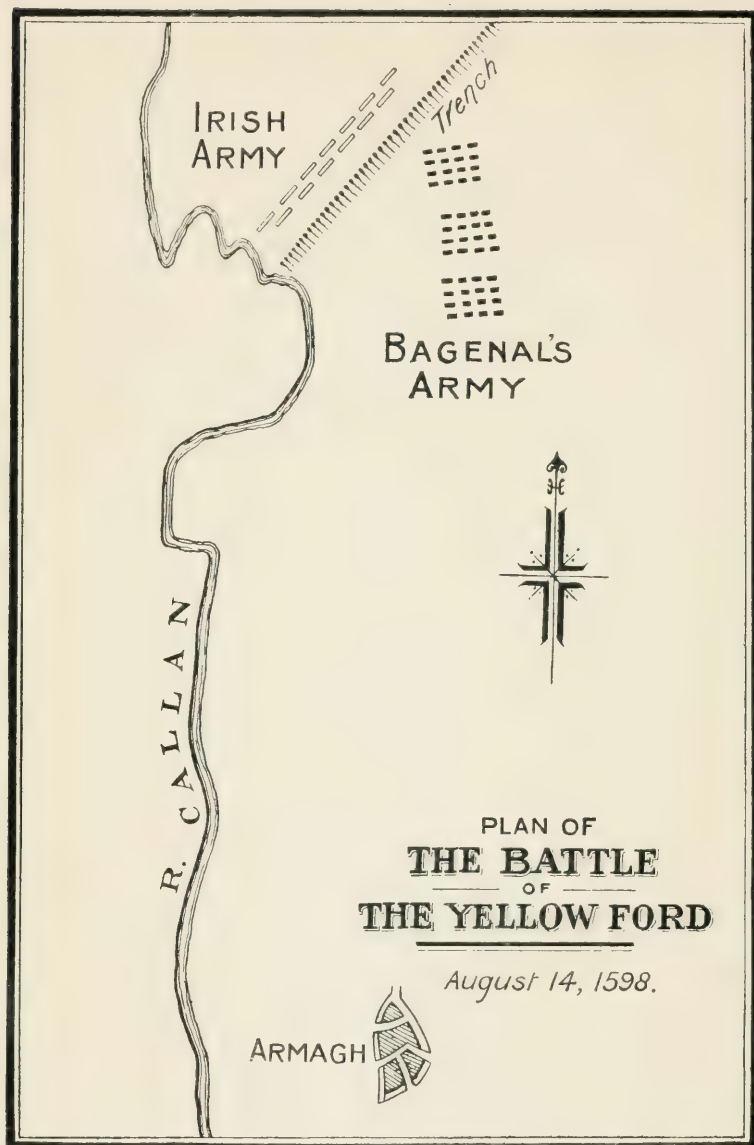
Before sunrise on the 14th, Bagenal was in motion towards Portmore. His army was divided into three divisions of two regiments each, and between each regiment, as they advanced, there was a space of 700 paces, a bad arrangement of which Ormond afterwards complained that the "devil must have bewitched them that none of them did prevent this gross error." Colonel Pery and Bagenal were in charge of the first division, Cosby and Wingfield of the second, Cooney and Billings of the third. The cavalry was commanded by Brooke, and Montague and Fleming were stationed at the wings. Though one half of the army was Irish,⁴⁴ there was but one Irish chief, Maelmorra O'Reilly, who gloried in being called the "Queen's O'Reilly." Bagenal, addressing his troops, assured them of victory, and to the man who would bring him O'Neill's or O'Donnell's head he promised a reward of £1,000. On the Irish side also O'Neill addressed his army, reminding them that they were defending their own patrimony against strangers; he had no doubt of victory; and O'Donnell's poet, O'Clery, when he was told the name of the battlefield, assured them that St. Berchin

⁴¹ This is the Irish estimate, that of the English is 4,000 foot and 320 horse. Atkinson's *Calendar*, p. 235.

⁴² Hogan's *Ireland in 1598*, pp. 310-11.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

⁴⁴ O'Clery, *Introduction*, p. 93.



had long since forefold that the foreigners would be defeated there by a Hugh O'Neill.⁴⁵

Two miles from Armagh, at a place called Beal-an-Ath-Buidhe, or the Mouth of the Yellow Ford, O'Neill had resolved to dispute Bagenal's passage. It was an open plain, by the banks of the Callan river. The passage was through a winding hollow, between low hills; the ground was soft and marshy; and as the open plain was approached the passage became narrow, with a bog on one side and a wood on the other. In front of his position, O'Neill had dug a trench a mile long, and for a mile or more in advance, he had dug deep holes and trenches, and carefully covered them over with grass and brushwood. He had also felled trees; and he had stationed on each side a body of sharp-shooters, whose fire was to play on the advancing masses. These sharp-shooters did much execution; the trenches and pitfalls maimed many of Bagenal's cavalry, and threw his ranks into confusion; the felled trees retarded his progress; but, with grim persistence he continued his march, and, arrived at the deep trench, the first regiment gallantly made their way across. But they were fiercely assailed, and before the second regiment could come to their relief were all but annihilated, and when the second regiment did come, they met with a similar fate. At this point Bagenal raised the visor of his helmet to look around on the battle-field, and as he did so was struck dead by a musket ball. O'Neill, knowing that he was in the front rank, had gone forward to encounter him, and settle their long quarrel; but the musket ball had done its work, and they were not fated to meet. Seeing the desperate position of the first division, the second division rushed forward to their assistance, but one of the cannon got embedded in the earth, and in trying to extricate it time was lost; and when at last the second division reached the fragments of the first, they too were fiercely assailed. In the meantime, O'Donnell, and Maguire and MacDonnell of the Glynnnes, leaving O'Neill to settle with the two first divisions, went forward, and fell upon the last division, and drove them back in disorder. The death of their general, and many of their principal officers, threw the

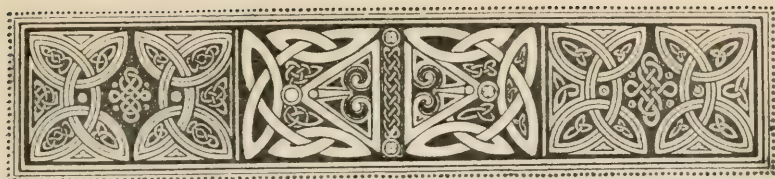
⁴⁵ *Four Masters*, O'Clery, p. 171.

survivors into confusion ; the explosion of a waggon of gunpowder in their midst augmented the confusion ; and O'Neill, seizing the moment of panic, charged with his whole army. Resistance ceased, and on all sides the enemy gave way. Montague with his cavalry endeavoured to protect them, and to some extent succeeded, and 1,500 of them arrived safely at Armagh.

Their losses were great. Including their commander and 20 superior officers, 2,000 of them were left dead on the field ; and arms, standards, military stores, victuals, and money fell into the victor's hands.⁴⁶ The loss on the Irish side was 200 killed and 600 wounded. No such victory had ever been obtained in Ireland over the English. O'Neill's banner, a red right hand upon an azure field, was borne in triumph over the ranks of his slaughtered foes ; the prophecy of St. Berchin had been realised to the full ; and O'Neill was compared to Hannibal after the Battle of Cannae. The garrison at Portmore surrendered, leaving their arms and ammunition, and the same conditions were allowed to those in Armagh, but only after Ormond had pleaded with O'Neill ; and the suppliant tone that he adopted so annoyed the Queen, that she declared she had never read a letter, which in form and substance was so base.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Hogan, pp. 314-22 ; Bagwell III., pp. 297-9 ; Atkinson's *Calendar*, pp. 224-9, 241-4, 277-9.

⁴⁷ O'Clery, pp. 163-175 ; Moryson, pp. 24-5 ; *Carew Papers*, p. 284 ; Atkinson's *Calendar*, pp. 258-9.



CHAPTER IX.

Irish Victories.

It is strange that O'Neill, after his great victory, did not at once march south and capture Dublin. Its defenders were few, its defences not strong, Ormond was old, and the Council were demoralized. And the capture of the city, the centre and seat of the Queen's government, would have added to O'Neill's prestige, would have given him guns, especially heavy guns, in which he was deficient, and military stores ; it would have depressed the English everywhere, and, on the other hand, would have brought the native Irish flocking to his side. But it is only fair to take account of his difficulties. After all, Dublin might offer a strong resistance. It had been always enthusiastically loyal to the English connection, had been resolute against Bruce and Silken Thomas, and it might be that the same spirit would be shown against O'Neill. Against such resistance he would be powerless, for the city was surrounded by a massive wall which nothing but powerful guns could batter down, and the guns captured at the Yellow Ford were not equal to such a task. Besides, the sea was open, and to blockade the city from the land side was all the Irish general could do. Nor were his troubles over if he entered the city as a conqueror. This would be throwing down the gauge of battle to England, who would put forth her whole strength for the recovery of Ireland ; the expected Spanish aid had not yet come to the Irish chiefs ; they had only a limited supply of firearms ; and, if alone against the might of England, there could be but one end to the struggle.

But, though Dublin was neither captured nor attacked, and the Council there still governed in the Queen's name, their authority was little, and the power of England was all but extinguished. Terrified at the disaster in Ulster, the Queen's troops had not the courage to keep the field, and cowered behind the walls of the garrison towns, while the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes and Kavanaghs roamed at will over Wicklow and Wexford; the O'Connors waxed strong in the King's and Queen's Counties; Ormond's relative, James Butler, was defeated near Maryborough by Brian O'More, and the Earl himself was defeated by Owny MacRory, and after these defeats he remained in Kilkenny in fear and inactivity.¹

From Leinster the flames of war spread to Munster. Hugh O'Neill had given some troops to Captain Tyrell, and directed him to enter that province; and Owny MacRory, leaving his brother Brian in command near Maryborough, accompanied Tyrell. They were joined, or perhaps invited, by Pierce Lacy, an Anglo-Irishman who had considerable influence in Munster.² On their approach the President, Sir Thomas Norris, fled from Kilmallock to Cork; the English troops, like their countrymen in Leinster, tremblingly fled to the walled towns, and there they remained. Since Desmond's rebellion there had been many changes. The fields were again tilled, the ruined cottages rebuilt; the "anatomies of death" who crept out from the woods had recovered their strength; but in their hearts were bitter memories—of wasted fields, of slaughtered kinsmen, of ruined homes. The horrors of Pelham and Grey they vividly recalled; and their children and friends heard their tales with kindling eyes. The lands which their ancestors owned they saw occupied and owned by people of an alien race and creed; and they knew that not a sod of land would be given to themselves, if but enough of these English settlers had come to Munster. The chiefs and nobles who had sided with the government against Desmond had been rewarded grudgingly; their loyalty was suspected, their creed despised; and instead of favours they got but contemptuous toleration. The natives who had fought with Desmond, and then, turning traitors, had imbrued their hands in their

¹ *Four Masters*; O'Sullivan's *History* (Byrne's Tr.), pp. 104-5.

² O'Sullivan, pp. 115-16.

kinsmen's blood, in the hope of obtaining pardon and lands, were loathed by their own countrymen, as they were distrusted and despised by the English; and would willingly join in any project, so as to recover the good name they had lost. On every side there was dissatisfaction; the noble in his castle and the peasant in his cottage were alike discontented, and murmured against their lot; against the settlers in their midst their rage was directed, as the cause of their misfortune; for the moment their own jealousies and animosities were forgotten; and everywhere they rose throughout the province. Some of the foreigners abandoned their castles and lands without striking a blow, glad to escape with their lives. Others were overtaken in their flight, and perished by the hands of their enraged pursuers, or perhaps in the fire which consumed their homes. All were deprived of everything they possessed in Munster; and the natives repossessed themselves of the castles and lands from which their relatives or themselves had been driven.³

One of these Undertakers, Edmond Spenser, the poet, had already lived for 15 years at Doneraile, in Cork, on the banks of the Awbeg river, and there he wrote portion of the *Faery Queen*, and his *View of the State of Ireland*. It is of the latter that an Irishman has most reason to complain. There are some things in Ireland which the author praises—the soil and scenery and climate, the islands and lakes and woods, the ports and harbours; and the bravery of the people.⁴ But with everything else he finds fault, with their religion, their habits and customs, their laws, their language, their dress.⁵ Like most Englishmen, he assumed that what was good for England should also be good for Ireland, nor could he understand why Irishmen should not eagerly accept English customs and laws. But he had no faith in kindness and conciliation, and spoke with censure of Perrott for having tried such a policy.⁶ His own remedy was the naked and sharpened

³ *Four Masters*, Moryson, pp. 25-6; Atkinson's *Calendar*, pp. 291, 300-2, 316-19, 330-1.

⁴ Spenser's *View*, pp. 28-9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 87-9, 98-9, 112, 114.

⁶ Spenser's *View*, p. 174.

sword, and it was not to be spared. The Irish were to be cut down before any good could be planted, even as "the corrupt branches and unwholesome boughs are first to be pruned, and the foul mass cleansed and scraped away before the tree can bring forth any good fruit." With little more than 10,000 soldiers, his policy, he thought, could be carried out, and in less than two years; and his plan was to set these soldiers in garrison at certain specified points throughout the four provinces. These garrisons were to give the Irishmen no rest; they were to harass and worry them with constant war; to seize their cattle, waste their crops, drive them hither and thither; and if the Irishman is well harassed, "it will pluck him on his knees so that he will never be able to stand up again."⁷ Some few who came submissively, and brought all their cattle with them he would receive, and give them a small allowance of land in another province. But, for those who failed to come by a certain day he would have no mercy, and would continue to harass them and kill them, so that in the end there would be none left, and those who did not fall by the sword "would quickly consume themselves and devour one another."⁸ And if any of those whose submission was accepted were to show signs of restiveness, they were to be vigorously and sharply dealt with; a provost-marshal was to go through the districts they inhabited, and could on his own authority either put them in the stocks, or scourge them with whips, or even put them to death.⁹ This was to adopt with additions the policy of Pelham and Grey; it was to extend to the whole country the desolation that had been brought upon Munster. It was a policy the adoption of which would excite no surprise in such a savage as Bingham, or in such a fanatic as Cromwell; but that it should be proposed by Spenser, in whom the gentler instincts of the poet might be expected to appear; that such a man should recommend the wholesale robbery and murder of a people whose only crime was that they were born in Ireland and professed the Catholic faith, will excite surprise and disgust. Nor is our pity excited when we know that Spenser had to fly from Kilcolman Castle; that his property

⁷ Spenser's *View*, p. 100.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 165-6.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

was seized by those very Irish whose extermination he had proposed ; that he left Ireland as poor as he entered it ; and that he died in London the same year in poverty and want.¹⁰

In the early part of 1599, all Munster was cleared of the Undertakers ; and the Knight of Glynn, the White Knight, and the Knight of Kerry, the MacCarthys, the O'Donoghoes, the O'Sullivans, and the O'Driscolls, the Baron of Lixnaw, the Baron of Cahir, and Lord Mountgarrett, were all in rebellion. As yet, there was no Earl of Desmond, and the son of the late Earl was in the Tower of London. But Hugh O'Neill had already more power than any Irish King since Brian Boru, and as he had the power of a King he was resolved to exercise it ; and he set up a new Earl of Desmond, who accepted his title and his lands from him, and held both as his vassal.¹¹ The new Earl was James Fitzgerald, nephew to the late Earl of Desmond, and by the English and their friends he was called in derision the Sugane Earl, or Straw-rope Earl. A few garrisons still held out in Munster ; the castles of Castlemaine and Askeaton and Mallow could not be captured by the Irish ; but with these exceptions Munster was lost to England ; and over the wide extent of ancient Desmond the authority of the new Earl was respected. The Queen's County, at the same time, was dominated by the O'Mores, and Owny MacRory was hoping to drive the English from the strongholds they still held there. In the other parts of Leinster, the Kavanaghs, the O'Byrnes, and the O'Tooles were masters ; O'Neill was supreme in Ulster ; while in Connaught, O'Donnell had repeatedly raided the territories of Clanricarde and Thomond ; and in spite of the President of Connaught, possessed himself of the castle of Ballymote, and kept his Christmas there.¹²

This was the condition of Ireland when the Earl of Essex was appointed Lord Lieutenant, and with more extensive powers than any Viceroy had yet possessed. He was authorised to suppress the rebellion by any means he thought best, to treat with those in rebellion, to hold a Parliament, to execute martial law, to appoint and dismiss all officers, to give grants of land ; and he could return

¹⁰ *Four Masters* at 1598, note.

¹¹ O'Sullivan, pp. 115-16 ; Moryson, p. 25.

¹² O'Clery, pp. 177-85.

to England when he pleased, leaving Lords Justices to carry on the government in his absence.¹³ He was son to that Earl of Essex who had tried to plant the east of Ulster, and who had so basely murdered the Scots at Rathlin Island; he had served with distinction abroad, and was commander of the English forces who captured Cadiz, and by the Queen he was held in the highest favour. He was given 16,000 foot and 1,300 horse, and these with the forces already in Ireland, and 2,000 lately sent to Carlingford under Bagenal, amounted to at least 20,000 men, the largest English army that had ever yet been seen in Ireland.¹⁴ In the preceding year, Bingham, again restored to royal favour, was sent to Ireland to fill the position of Marshal of the army; but a few months later he died, and the whole army was now absolutely under the command of Essex. The Viceroy had enemies at Court whose opinion as to his fitness for high military command was not favourable, and perhaps they expected, and even hoped, he would fail. But his friends were confident. The Queen instructed him to carry the war into O'Neill's own territory; and it was hoped that, if hitherto the Irish chief had played with success the role of Hannibal, Essex was now to play with equal success the role of Scipio Africanus.

Essex landed in Dublin in April; but instead of carrying out his instructions and attacking O'Neill in force, he accepted the advice of some of the Council at Dublin, and with only 7,000 men undertook an expedition into Munster.¹⁵ These members of the Council were personally interested in the Undertakers' lands, and were concerned most of all in recovering their own property, or the property of their friends. Moving through a pass near Maryborough, the Viceroy's rearguard was assailed by Owny MacRory, and cut to pieces, and so many waving plumes of the English cavalry were lost in the encounter, that the place came to be called the Pass of Plumes.¹⁶ Further south, Essex captured Lord Cahir's strong castle on the Suir; then, he victualled Askeaton and Kilmallock and Adare;¹⁷

¹³ *Carew Papers*, p. 290, Cox, p. 416.

¹⁴ *Carew*, p. 295; Cox, p. 415.

¹⁵ *Four Masters*.

¹⁶ O'Sullivan, pp. 123-4.

¹⁷ *Carew Papers*, pp. 301-7.

but at Croom he was attacked by the Geraldines and MacCarthys, and defeated, and amongst those mortally wounded was Sir Thomas Norris, the President of Munster.¹⁸ At Limerick, he took council with the Earls of Clanricarde and Ormond and Thomond, and with O'Connor Sligo, and strengthened the garrisons, and then marched south by Mallow and Fermoy, and finally reached Waterford. Except Lord Barry, all the nobles and chiefs had joined the Earl of Desmond (the Sugane Earl). As Essex marched, he was constantly attacked, and when he arrived at Waterford, his army was dispirited and diminished. On his march north he was harassed by the Wexford and Wicklow septs. There were no big battles, but many skirmishes, in which little glory was gained on either side; and when the Viceroy arrived in Dublin his ranks were still further thinned. In the meantime a body of 600 English under Sir H. Harrington had been encountered in Wicklow by an inferior number of the O'Byrnes, and disgracefully defeated. The English fled without striking a blow; and so enraged was Essex that the first officer who ran away was executed as a coward; the remaining officers were dismissed; and of the soldiers every tenth man was put to death.¹⁹ After three months in Ireland, and 20,000 men under his command, Essex had done nothing except to make this march through Munster and Leinster; and he brought back to Dublin a diminished and dispirited army, while O'Neill in Ulster and O'Donnell in Connaught were still strong and unsubdued.

Such poor results were bitterly disappointing to the Queen. She thought Essex had done nothing in Munster which the President might not have done with 1,000 men, for the taking of Cahir Castle was nothing more than capturing a fortress from a rabble of rogues. She condemned the Irish Council for the advice they gave, and sharply told them that they were favouring Popery, and in secret sympathy with Tyrone. She insisted above all that he should be struck down, and she readily acceded to the further demand of Essex for an additional 2,000 men.²⁰ With these troops, and with the reproaches and taunts of the Queen ringing in his ears, Essex was

¹⁸ O'Sullivan, pp. 119-20.

¹⁹ Carew, p. 312.

²⁰ *Carew Papers*, pp. 315-17; Atkinson's *Calendar*, pp. 98-9.

roused to activity, and ordered Clifford to attack O'Donnell in Connaught, while himself would measure swords with O'Neill. But he hesitated, magnified his own difficulties, and the strength of his opponents, and when he got his army together, instead of fighting he commenced to negotiate.

Clifford was a man of different capacity, and having got his orders he proceeded to carry them out as a soldier should. For nearly a year, O'Donnell had fixed his headquarters at Ballymote, and from this he plundered the territory of Clanricarde, as well as that portion of Mayo which still adhered to Theobald of the Ships. Having chastised these two, he entered Clare and laid it waste. As a Protestant and a supporter of the English, the Earl of Thomond did not receive the enthusiastic support of the clansmen of Thomond. O'Donnell met with little opposition, and on his return to Ballymote and Tyrconnell, the roads were covered for miles with cattle and sheep which he had taken.²¹ In this destructive inroad he spared nothing except the churches, and the property of the learned men.²² In mistake he drove off the cattle of MacBriody, the bard of the O'Briens, and the bard followed him to Ballymote and complained of his wrongs; and he composed some verses in O'Donnell's praise, telling him that his success in Thomond was long since foretold, and that the O'Briens were thus punished, because they had formerly destroyed the palace of Aileach, in which the ancestors of O'Donnell had ruled. His flattering verses stood him in good stead, and his cattle and sheep were restored to him.²³ Meanwhile, O'Donnell's relative, Nial Garve, accompanied by MacWilliam, had laid waste the territory of Theobald of the Ships, and the spoil of West Mayo was added to that of Clare. By that time, among the chiefs of North Connaught only O'Connor Sligo still adhered to the Queen, and he stubbornly held out against O'Donnell in his castle of Coolooney. Closely invested and in desperate straits, he appealed to the Viceroy for help, and partly to relieve him, partly also, it was hoped, to crush O'Donnell, Essex directed Sir Conyers Clifford to gather all his forces and march northward to Coolooney.

²¹ *Four Masters.*

²² O'Clery, p. 193.

²³ *Ibid.* p. 199.

Early in August Clifford was at Boyle, and there he was joined by the Earl of Clanricarde. With him also was one of the MacSweenys who had been slighted by O'Donnell for the chieftaincy, and, in revenge, had gone over to the enemy. Clifford's forces amounted to 1,900 foot and 200 horse. His instructions were to march from Boyle to Coolooney through the passes of the Curlews, relieve O'Connor, then proceed to Beleek on the Erne, and draw off part of O'Neill's forces, while Essex by a simultaneous movement was to attack O'Neill by way of Newry and Armagh.²⁴ As part of Clifford's plan, Theobald of the Ships who was aiding from the sea, was to transport building materials from Galway, and, landing at Sligo, was to rebuild its lately ruined castle. To meet the threatened attack, O'Donnell directed MacWilliam with 400 men to prevent the landing of his rival; Nial Garve was to continue the siege of Coolooney; O'Donnell himself went forward, to guard the passes of the Curlews. With no enemy in his rear, he carefully watched the enemy in front, and for two months he waited for the threatened attack. At last, on the 14th of August, O'Donnell's scouts made the discovery that the English army was in motion towards the Curlews. O'Neill was informed, and advanced by forced marches to the relief of his ally; but was unable to come up in time, and O'Donnell was therefore compelled to meet the English with an army inferior in numbers, and which had been weakened by the forces detached to watch Sligo and Coolooney. It might have been more prudent to have fallen back and wait for the arrival of O'Neill, but O'Donnell resolved to contest the passage of the enemy, even with the forces at his command. One of the passes was easily defended, and he sent O'Rorke with a small force of 300 men to guard it; but he judged that it was at another pass, more to the west that the assault would be made, and there he made his preparations for defence. A quarter of a mile from the entrance to the pass, he erected a strong barricade, and placed a few sentries there; the pass itself up the mountain side was through a bog, and further on through a wood, and was so narrow that not more than twelve men could ride abreast; and along its length felled trees were strewn.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 203-5

On the eve of the battle the whole army fasted, and the following morning, received the sacraments of Penance and the Blessed Eucharist. It was the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, one of the great feasts of the Mother of God, and the fasting and the reception of the sacraments were all done in her honour. The whole army thus felt they were entitled to her protection; they were fighting the battle of the ancient faith, and against the soldiers of a heretic queen. O'Donnell addressed his men in impassioned words, bade them remember they were fighting for their altar and their homes; that on their side was right and justice, on the English side was injustice and robbery; that the choice before them was to fight and conquer, or be put in prison and in chains, dragged through the streets of English towns, as objects of mockery and derision. He told them not to be alarmed by the number of the English or the strangeness of their arms, but to put their trust and confidence in God alone. He was confident they would win. He who fell in the battle would fall gloriously, fighting for justice and liberty; his name would be mentioned while there was an Irishman on the face of the earth; he who survived would be pointed to as the companion of O'Donnell, and the defender of his country; in the church, the people would make way for him as he passed to the altar, murmuring respectfully as they did so "that hero fought at Dunaveeragh." ²⁵

At four o'clock in the afternoon the English army entered the Curlews in three divisions. Sir Alexander Ratcliffe commanded the vanguard; Clifford himself was in command of the main body; Sir Arthur Savage was in charge of the rear guard. The cavalry were under Sir Griffin Markham, and were left at the foot of the Curlews. On such a road as that which traversed the mountains, with bog and wood on either hand, only infantry could be employed. When Clifford reached the barricade erected by O'Donnell, it was occupied by 400 Irish, who fired a few shots and then retired, leaving the barricade in English hands. The bog was passed without further incident, but at the wood their advance was more seriously disputed. A force of 600 men—gunmen, javelin-throwers, and

²⁵ O'Clery, p. 211-13; Four Masters.

archers—was placed there by O'Donnell under command of MacDermott. Driven by the English from his ancient patrimony round Boyle, he thirsted for revenge, and from the shelter of the wood he poured repeated volleys into the enemy's ranks. Yet Ratcliffe gallantly continued his advance, and the Irish were driven back. Further on, the road was skirted by another wood on one side and a hill on the other, and when the English reached this point, MacDermott's force was again ready to receive them. By this time O'Rorke had come up. Finding that the pass which he guarded was not to be attacked, he had hurried across the country to lend his aid, and had just arrived with all his forces, of which 160 were gallowglasses, covered with chain mail and carrying heavy battle-axes in their hands. At first, MacDermott's men bore the whole weight of the English attack. The ground suited them better than their opponents; they stubbornly disputed every inch; and from the wood on one side, and the hill on the other they poured volley after volley into the advancing masses. Instead of the Irish wavering, it was the enemy who wavered. Ratcliffe, placing himself at their head, was preparing to charge, but had his leg broken by a gunshot wound. He shouted to Colonel Cosby, the next in command, to take his place, but Cosby was a coward, and refused the dangerous post; the English vanguard fell back and threw the main body into confusion; the main body fell back on the rearguard. In such a narrow space, the gallowglasses of O'Rorke were hitherto unable to take their share in the battle, and had remained inactive behind MacDermott's troops. But their time had now come, and with their terrible battle-axes they fell upon the disordered and panic-stricken English, while MacDermott's men, opening out on either side, continued to assail them on the flanks.

The English, ceasing to resist, rolled in headlong flight down the hill. Clifford endeavoured to rally them, but it was useless. Alone he turned back to face his pursuers. Two of his officers sought to dissuade him; they even carried him along some distance by force; but he burst from them, determined not to survive such a disaster, and was soon cut down by the stroke of a pike. One other attempt was made to rally the fugitives by Sir

Griffin Markham. He had been ordered, some time back, to follow the army, and with all his cavalry he was leisurely advancing along the road, expecting his countrymen had been victorious rather than defeated. His efforts were useless ; even the cavalry became as panic-stricken as the foot, and were soon rushing in headlong flight down the hill. The guard at the barricade fled without firing a shot ; the Curlews were again passed by the broken remains of Clifford's army, who continued their terror-stricken flight until they were safe behind the sheltering battlements of Boyle. The victory was gained by MacDermott and O'Rorke, with about 800 men, and with the loss of but 240, while the English lost 1,400 ; their commander and many others of their principal officers were slain ; and arms, ammunition, standards, baggage and military stores fell into the victor's hands. The governor's body was taken to the monastery of the Holy Trinity near Boyle. His head was cut off, and sent to Red Hugh, by whom it was sent to Nial Garve, then besieging Coolooney ; and when it was shown to O'Connor Sligo, he delivered up his castle and submitted. Theobald of the Ships also deserted the English, and returned to Galway ; and O'Donnell invested O'Connor with the chieftaincy of his territory, and made him many presents of horses and cattle.²⁶

During the progress of these events Essex remained inactive, nor did he proceed against Tyrone until the last days of August, a fortnight after the battle of the Curlews ; and the journey he made through Leinster and Munster, the garrisons he left at various points, and the desertions from his army, had so attenuated his ranks that he could muster but 3,000 men, a force entirely insufficient to crush the northern chief.²⁷ The Irish and English armies stood facing each other, a little beyond Louth, but instead of fighting there were negotiations. The two Earls met on the opposite banks of a little stream, O'Neill spurring his horse into the river, and during the whole interview, he remained uncovered. For half an hour they spoke apart, and then six others were summoned on

²⁶ *Four Masters* ; O'Clery, pp. 209-23 ; *Tracts Relating to Ireland*, Vol. II. (Dymok's *Narrative*), pp. 44-7 ; Atkinson's *Calendar* (1599-1600), pp. 113-14, where the total killed and wounded is put at less than 500.

²⁷ Dymok, pp. 48 *et seq.*

each side to the conference. O'Neill demanded that the Catholic religion should be tolerated ; that the judges and principal officers of State, and half the army in Ireland should be Irish born ; and that the lands held by himself and O'Donnell, and the Earl of Desmond (the Sugane Earl), and their ancestors, back for 200 years, should be given them. Essex was favourably impressed by his antagonist, but he felt he had no power to assent to these conditions ; they should be submitted to the Queen, and in the meantime a truce was agreed to, which was to last for six weeks, and to be then renewable for six weeks further, and so on till the following May, each side being free to commence hostilities on giving a fortnight's notice to the other. When the Queen was informed of these proceedings, she sent a letter to Essex full of bitter reproaches, of taunts and jibes and sneers ; wanted to know why he had not crushed O'Neill with an army such as had never before been sent to Ireland ; spoke of O'Neill as a rebel and a traitor, whom no one would believe, and whom to trust on oath would be the same as to "trust the devil upon his religion." She still insisted on the old conditions of planting garrisons in his territory, of his delivering up the sons of Shane O'Neill, of coming to England in person to beg for mercy. The former royal favourite had fallen low, and wishing to explain his conduct, and to recover the favour he had lost, he hastened to London. But he was banished from the Court, and two years later was put to death.²⁸

When leaving Ireland, Essex committed the government to two Lords Justices, Archbishop Loftus and Sir George Carey. The truce with Tyrone was continued, and negotiations for peace were still continued also. The Queen herself was weary of the war, and most desirous of peace, but would not grant any reasonable conditions, and when O'Neill insisted on freedom of conscience for all Ireland he was directed to demand something reasonable, for her Majesty would no more yield to that demand than give her crown off her head.²⁹ The Irish chief also complained that the truce, though faithfully observed on his own side, was not observed on the English side ; and the Earl of Essex, the man he trusted

²⁸ *Four Masters, Carew Papers*, pp. 325-7.

²⁹ *Carew Papers*, p. 349.

most, was a prisoner in the Tower of London, and in the members of the Irish Council, who had already deceived him, he put no faith.³⁰ Such being the case, he gave the requisite 14 days notice to end the truce, and early in the new year (1600), both sides prepared to renew the war.

The skill with which O'Neill had so far baffled all the power of England, had made his name known and respected on the Continent of Europe. The new King of Spain, Philip III., renewed his promises to lend assistance; and some time before the battle of the Curlews was fought, a Spanish ship landed in Tyrconnell, bringing arms for 2,000 men, one half of which O'Donnell kept for himself, the other half he sent to his ally of Tyrone. In addition to this, Oviedo, the newly appointed Archbishop of Dublin, brought from the Pope to O'Neill 22,000 gold pieces, and also a phoenix plume blessed by his Holiness; and he was also empowered to grant indulgences to those who fought on the Irish side against the persecuting English Queen.³¹ Thus recognised as the head of the Catholic confederacy in Ireland, O'Neill, in January, 1600, made a journey to Munster, partly as a pilgrimage to Holy Cross in Tipperary, and partly also to see for himself what was the state of Munster; and though he did not assume the title of King, his journey resembled a royal progress. The Earl of Desmond and others, impressed with the extent of his power, willingly renewed their allegiance; from those he suspected he took hostages; those he found in correspondence with the English he threw into prison; and Donal MacCarthy he displaced from the chieftaincy of his clan, and put Florence MacCarthy, a more devoted adherent, in his place. He tried hard to persuade Lord Barry to join him; but Barry answered that he held his lands from the Queen, his rightful sovereign, and he hoped with her help some day to chastise O'Neill for having wasted his lands, imprisoned his friends, and drove away his horses and cattle. As for the English troops, they kept within their garrisons, unable to face the northern chief.³²

While in the neighbourhood of Cork, his lieutenant, Hugh

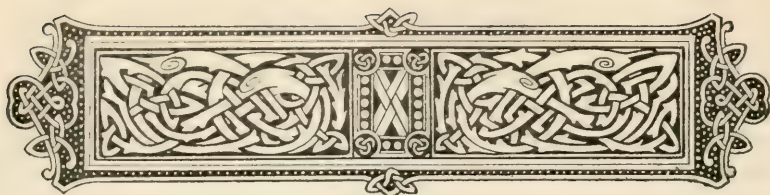
³⁰ *Carew Papers*, pp. 341, 348. Atkinson's *Calendar*, pp. 240-1.

³¹ Mitchel's *Life of Hugh O'Neill*. p. 164.

³² Mitchel, pp. 165-7.

Maguire, went out from the main body, at the head of a patrolling party of cavalry, and accidentally encountered Sir Warham St. Leger, one of the Queen's commissioners for Munster. St. Leger was accompanied by a small body of troops, and had gone out from the city to take the air, and coming upon the Irish chief unexpectedly he discharged his pistol and mortally wounded him. Before Maguire fell, however, he had strength left to rush at his assailant, and with one blow of his battle-axe he struck him from his horse dead. The loss of Maguire was as keenly felt on the Irish side, as it was a cause of elation to the English, amongst whom he was considered, and with justice, to be the stoutest rebel of his name. There was no more fighting on the Irish side, and no more losses, and when O'Neill had thus regulated the affairs of Munster to his satisfaction, he marched northwards to his own province of Ulster.³³

³³ *Four Masters* ; O'Clery, pp. 225-7.



CHAPTER X.

The Turn of the Tide.

IN the same month that O'Neill went to Munster, the Earl of Essex was succeeded as Viceroy by Sir Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy. He had fought in the Netherlands ; afterwards he was a good deal about the English court, and was a special favourite of the Earl of Essex and of the Queen. Recognising his talents, she was about appointing him Irish Viceroy, in 1599 ; but, for the time, Court influence was against him, and it was Essex who received the appointment. In the disturbed condition in which Ireland then was, it seemed strange to commit its government and the suppression of a formidable rebellion to such a man as Mountjoy. He was a scholar rather than a statesman or a soldier. He was something of a dandy in his dress, of an epicure in his tastes, fond of study and flowers and rich furniture. From Oxford University he did not bring a large amount of knowledge, but he was studious and loved to mix with scholars and wits. History he knew well ; French and Italian he understood but could not speak ; philosophy he loved to study. But his chief delight was in theology. He had read carefully the Fathers and the Schoolmen, and for a time was disposed to accept the Catholic faith, and he could defend its doctrines well. But he soon found it more profitable to accept the reformed creed, and to defend it with ability. He quoted readily texts of Scripture and passages from the Fathers ; and his secretary declared that he often confuted the most learned of the Papists, and that for a layman, he never knew anyone who was

his equal in disputing with them. In Ireland he soon showed that he was something more than a scholar with a taste for theology and disputation. He was cool and calculating and painstaking, laid his plans with care and carried them out with patience, had a clear vision and an inflexible will, and was absolutely without scruple as to means ; and Hugh O'Neill soon found that, of all the Viceroys with whom he had to deal, Mountjoy was his most formidable foe.¹

When he arrived in Ireland he found that the insurgents were in great strength, and that over the greater part of the country English power had disappeared. In Ulster, there were English garrisons at Carrickfergus and Newry ; but other garrisons there were none either in the north or east ; and throughout the whole extent of Tyrconnell, there was not a single English garrison. In Connaught, Athlone and Galway were still loyal, but there was scarce any other part of the province which the English could call their own. O'Connor Sligo and Theobald of the Ships had joined O'Donnell ; the Earl of Clanricarde was thought to be wavering ; but his son, Lord Dunkellin, was enthusiastically loyal, and the same could be said of the Earl of Thomond. Crossing the Shannon into Munster, except Lord Barry and a few others of lesser importance, the whole province had reverted to the Irish. The Earl of Ormond kept Kilkenny and Tipperary from joining in the rebellion, but all around him was in revolt. Owny MacRory was in possession of the Queen's County, the O'Connors of the King's County ; in Kildare the Birminghams had revolted ; in Wicklow and Wexford the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles and the Kavanaghs ; in the county of Dublin the Walshes and the Harolds had lately plundered and spoiled up to the city walls.² Even the towns were secretly hostile to England, and willingly sold arms and ammunition to the insurgents. Another element of weakness was the condition of the English army. It was disorganized and demoralized. The officers were appointed rather by favour than by merit, and spent their time in gambling and pleasure ; the officers of the commissariat department were corrupt, and

¹ Fynes Moryson, pp. 45-8.

² Moryson, pp. 50-1.

supplied inferior food and inferior clothes; and the result was that most part of the army were like beggarly ghosts, and were more willing to go to the gallows than to the battlefield.³

The instructions given in the preceding year to Essex were repeated and emphasised to Mountjoy. He was to direct all his strength against O'Neill and O'Donnell; he was to advance Protestantism, but there was to be no general persecution of the Catholics. Such treatment would exasperate the people, and might bind them together in mutual defence. For the time, a policy of toleration was to be adopted, and when the rebellion was crushed, toleration would cease. As for Tyrone, there was to be no further negotiation with him; he was to be cut off as a reprobate to God, and left to the force of the sword; but if he came as "an abject person," penitent and humble, craving mercy for himself, and not presuming to speak for others, he was to be received. Other chiefs, if they submitted, might be pardoned on conditions, one special condition being that they should murder their confederates in rebellion. An army of 14,000 foot and 2,000 horse was to be at the disposal of Lord Mountjoy. In Connaught, Lord Dunkellin was put in supreme command; Sir Henry Dowcra with 4,000 men was to plant garrisons at Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon; and Sir George Carew was sent to Munster as President, with an army of 3,000 men.⁴

Early in March, the Earl of Tyrone returned to Ulster. He believed he had left Munster in a satisfactory condition, weakened the English there, and lighted a fire which Carew would be unable to extinguish. Mountjoy was warned of his movements, and had high hopes that, on his march northwards, he could be overtaken and destroyed. And it did seem impossible for him to escape. If he crossed the Shannon, the Earls of Thomond and Clanricarde were to fall upon him; if he went east of the river, Ormond would encounter him; and if he escaped Ormond the Deputy was at Mullingar to intercept him. But Tyrone, by the rapidity and secrecy of his march, baffled them all. Keeping close to the

³ *Carew Papers*, pp. 353-4.

⁴ Fynes Moryson, p. 56; *Carew Papers*, pp. 356-62; Atkinson's *Calendar*, pp. 440-7.

Shannon, he escaped Ormond, who lay about Cashel ; and to avoid the Deputy he marched west of Mullingar, and so arrived safely in Tyrone ; nor had he with him more than 600 men.⁵

On his return to Dublin, the Viceroy proceeded to carry out his plans, and in May, Sir Henry Dowcra with 4,000 foot and 200 horse sailed up Lough Foyle, landed without opposition, and erected a fortified camp at Culmore, where he left a garrison of 600 men, then advancing up the river he took possession of Derry, and built two strong forts there. The stones he procured from an old cathedral church which he had destroyed, the timber he got from O'Cahan's territory ; but he confesses that the soldiers sent to cut it were met with fierce opposition, and that not a stick was brought away but was well fought for.⁶ On the opposite side of the river he erected another fort at Dunalong.⁶ To co-operate with Dowcra while thus engaged, Mountjoy with nearly 2,000 men marched north and assailed O'Neill in front. From Dundalk he went to Newry and Armagh, while O'Neill burned Armagh, demolished the fort of Portmore, and hoped apparently to draw on the English still further into the woods, and then fall upon them and destroy them. But Mountjoy would not be drawn. He had accomplished his object, which was to give time to Dowcra ; he found that O'Neill had thrown up trenches, and he thought it safer to return again to Newry. As he returned through the Moyry Pass, O'Neill assailed him, and some severe skirmishes took place ; but the Irish did not attack in force, and the Deputy returned to Dundalk, and to Dublin.⁷

Relieved from anxiety from the south, Tyrone was able to proceed north, and with O'Donnell besieged Derry, but, for want of heavy ordnance, he was unable to batter down the defences, and he went home, leaving O'Donnell to continue the siege. But that species of warfare was ill-suited to the fiery and impetuous Red Hugh. The besieged were careful to keep within their fortified position ; in a mere trial of endurance, O'Donnell's patience was soon exhausted ; and instead of remaining before Derry, he left

⁵ Moryson, pp. 54-8 ; Carew, p. 368.

⁶ Dowcra's *Narrative*.

⁷ Moryson, pp. 65-8.

portion of his army under Nial Garve to continue the siege, while himself went on a plundering expedition into Clare. As the Earl of Thomond was too weak to resist him, he spoiled, and wasted, and burned. From his headquarters at Ennis, he sent out marauding parties in all directions, and when the country was swept bare of everything he returned home to Tyrconnell, plundering Clanricarde's territory on his way.⁸

Dowcra, in the meantime, was joined by Sir Art O'Neill, and by MacSweeney ; but their aid was of little importance, and, on the few occasions he sallied forth from his entrenchments, he effected little. On his return from Clare, O'Donnell lay in ambush near Derry, and when the English horses were sent out in the morning to graze, 160 of them were captured ; and the English troops who endeavoured to recapture them were driven back, Dowcra himself being severely wounded. By the end of August, the position of the besieged was critical, their numbers reduced, their provisions all but spent. Just then, Rory O'Cahan came in, offering to serve, and bringing with him some fat beeves. Dowcra was thankful for the beeves, but was distrustful of O'Cahan, thinking he was acting in the interests of Tyrone ; and when O'Cahan asked for the command of 800 men, promising some notable service, and his request was not complied with, he went back to the Irish side. Dowcra's difficulties increased. Art O'Neill died on his hands ; O'Cahan deserted him ; his men were wearied with continual labour and watching ; great numbers of them were sick ; provisions were running short—he had nothing but meal and butter, and a little wine ; and to weaken him still further, O'Neill and O'Donnell had offered a free passage through their territories to those who would desert him, and go to England. The forts at Derry were not strong, and O'Donnell was constantly round the walls with 2,000 men. Everything urged him to continue the siege, but again his impatience saved his enemies, as it proved the ruin of himself ; and instead of remaining in Derry, he went on a new plundering expedition into Clare, leaving Nial Garve to continue the siege. Nial Garve was not only the cousin of Red Hugh, but he was also married to his sister. He was rough

⁸ O'Clery, pp. 237-45.

in speech and in manner, and with considerable capacity for war. By right of birth he believed he had a better right to the chieftaincy of Tyrconnell than had Red Hugh himself, and, being ambitious, he was dissatisfied with a subordinate position. Dowcra saw his opportunity, and in Red Hugh's absence, he offered in the Queen's name to make Nial Chief of Tyrconnell. The bait took, and Nial, betraying his trust, and his country, went over to the English with 40 horse and 60 foot. Placed by Dowcra at the head of more than 500 men, he ravaged the country round Derry, attacked O'Doherty, and captured the castle of Lifford, from which he spoiled the country around, thus keeping the English troops well supplied with provisions, and still further weakening their foes.⁹

At Ballymote, Red Hugh heard of his cousin's treachery, and hastened back to Lifford, which he besieged with 800 men. More than once Nial sallied forth, and the two cousins became engaged, but with little advantage on either side. In the meantime a Spanish ship put in at Killybegs, with arms and ammunition and money from the King of Spain. With part of his forces, Red Hugh went to Killybegs, and the money and arms received he divided with his ally of Tyrone. He had left his brother Rory near Lifford to watch the garrison there, but Rory was unable to checkmate the enemy, and Nial repeatedly laid waste that part of Tyrone adjacent to Lifford.¹⁰ Nor was Hugh O'Neill able to stay the progress of Nial, as he was elsewhere engaged; for Mountjoy had again marched to Dundalk and Armagh, and erected a new fort, which he called Mount Norris. On his return by way of Carlingford, he was furiously assailed by O'Neill, nor did he make good his passage, but with the loss of 200 killed and 400 wounded.¹¹

But the activity of the Deputy was not confined during this period to Ulster. On his way south, in April, Carew and the Earl of Thomond visited the Earl of Ormond at Kilkenny. He was about having an interview with Owny MacRory, and brought his visitors with him. Their bodyguard consisted of 16 horsemen,

⁹ *Four Masters*; Dowcra's *Narrative*; O'Clery, *Introduction*, pp. 124-6.

¹⁰ O'Clery, pp. 254-65.

¹¹ Moryson, pp. 79-84.

and a few gentlemen mounted on horses, and armed only with swords; Owny, on the other hand, had 500 soldiers hidden in a neighbouring wood. During the interview, high words passed between Ormond and Father Archer, a Jesuit who accompanied Owny; the soldiers in the wood got alarmed, and believed their master was attacked, and rushing in, they seized Ormond and carried him off. Thomond was wounded in the melee, and Carew escaped with difficulty. Mountjoy had little sympathy with Ormond. He was jealous of his power, and of his influence with the Queen; he even threw doubts on his loyalty, and was ready to believe that he was a willing captive. And when Owny offered to release him on condition that the English evacuated the Queen's County, and gave pledges to have no more garrisons planted there, Mountjoy scornfully rejected the offer, and in the following month made his first journey to Ulster, leaving the prisoner to his fate.¹² O'Neill however, interfered, and directed Owny to release his captive, on condition that he would not serve against those in rebellion. This was in June, and two months later, Mountjoy entered the Queen's County, and was astonished to find the lands so well tilled, the reason given by his historian Moryson being that the Queen's forces had not been there.¹³ If they had there would have been disturbance and desolation, and for the purpose of creating such, Mountjoy burned the houses, drove away the cattle, cut down the ripening corn, or tore it up with harrows, and in a short time, corn to the value of £10,000 was thus destroyed. Owny in vain begged Ormond to stop this savagery, and then he fell upon a party of the English, but in the skirmish that followed he was mortally wounded, and great was the jubilation of Mountjoy, for the O'Mores were now left without a leader. The following December the Deputy burst into Wicklow, defeated Phelim O'Byrne, and carried away his wife and son into captivity. In the meantime, the Birminghams of Kildare had submitted, and so also did the Keatings, the Lalors and the Kellys in the Queen's County; Mountjoy overran Wexford and destroyed the corn there, as he

¹² Moryson, pp. 63-5; *Pacata Hibernia*, Vol. I., pp. 18-22; *Carew Papers*, pp. 381-3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

did in Westmeath, where Tyrell with great skill still bade him defiance. But, except this latter chief, none else of strength held the field throughout Leinster, and more than 3,000 of an army kept the province in awe.¹⁴

If Mountjoy had been thus successful in Leinster, Carew had been not less so in Munster. After his visit to Kilkenny he hastened south to Waterford, and then turned east by Youghal to Cork. He found Munster in a ferment. It resembled, he thought, a man stricken with a languishing and incurable disease, the head so sore, and the heart so sick, that no member was capable of discharging its natural functions. Most of the chiefs were in actual rebellion, and of the few who were not, the tenants and friends, in some cases the sons and brothers, were; even the towns were so "bewitched with Popish priests," that they were giving underhand aid to the rebels. The capture of Ormond had given them fresh encouragement, and Pierce Lacy, who had lately submitted, was again in arms.¹⁵ The forces which the two principal chiefs, the Sugane Earl, and Florence MacCarthy, could bring into the field were considerable, and were aided by 1,000 hired soldiers from Connaught under Dermott O'Connor, and 500 under the command of Redmond Burke, a nephew of Clanricarde. Carew's own calculation was that the whole force opposed to him amounted to 7,000 men, while his own force did not amount to more than 3,000.¹⁶ But on the Irish side the elements of cohesion were wanting. The leaders were bound together by a rope of sand. Those of English descent wished to remain attached to England; those of native descent remembered that their ancestors were Kings, and were anxious to break with England altogether. All of them professed to fight for religion, but they must have had little religious conviction, and were not prepared to make sacrifices for religion; they were prompted by ambition, by revenge, by jealousy, and were utterly bereft of patriotism, or principle, or public spirit.¹⁷

It was not the aim of Carew to meet all these chiefs in the field

¹⁴ Moryson, pp. 85-8.

¹⁵ *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 25-7, 33-4.

¹⁶ Carew, p. 385.

¹⁷ *Carew Papers* (1601-3), p. 168.

and defeat them. He thought he could do better by intrigue, and resolved to try his wit and cunning ; and he was well qualified for such work.¹⁸ He was smooth and plausible and cultured, without scruple or shame ; and truth and honour in his eyes were but empty names. To conquer Munster for the Queen he was prepared to adopt any means ; and threats and terrorism, and false promises and robbery, and murder and forgery, and assassination, were among the weapons he employed. With the Queen he was in high favour. He in turn descended to the grossest flattery ; of the Queen, then old and withered and wrinkled, he spoke as if she were Venus, of her divine and angelic eyes, to behold which, added fulness of joy ; and he protested that he would be satisfied to kiss the shadow of her royal feet.¹⁹ The insincerity of such language is apparent, but he was certainly attached to the Queen's service, and to his own country ; in this respect he was in striking contrast to the Irish leaders in Munster ; and it is the only redeeming feature in a character which is one of the basest in history. His first success was with the Waterford Geraldines, who submitted to him without striking a blow ; their example was followed by Barrett, and Condon, and the White Knight.²⁰ Almost immediately, Florence MacCarthy, the friend and nominee of Hugh O'Neill, offered to remain neutral ; and Redmond Burke returned to Connaught with his troops. Carew had given him some vague promise to make him Baron of Leitrim, and this was the reason he abandoned his confederates.²¹ Two others of the same family, John and Theobald Burke, also submitted themselves to the President, throwing themselves on their knees by his horse's side ; and when he disdainfully continued riding and feigned not to see them, they kept craving for mercy, and crawled along on their knees as the horse walked.²²

The Munster confederacy was rapidly dissolving, but there yet remained the Sugane Earl and Dermott O'Connor. The latter was married to a daughter of the late Earl of Desmond ; his brother-

¹⁸ *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 35.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 40 ; *Carew Papers*, p. 208.

²⁰ *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 27, 38.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 62.

in-law, the young Earl, was a prisoner in London; the triumph of the Sugane Earl would involve keeping him out of his inheritance; and Carew rightly judged that in such a cause O'Connor might be induced to play the traitor. Partly perhaps by his own wish, principally through the persuasion of his wife, he agreed to hand over the Sugane Earl to the English for a reward of £1,000.²³ A letter was written by Carew addressed to the Sugane Earl, as if in answer to one of his, making proffers of good service; the letter was given to O'Connor, who informed his soldiers that it had accidentally fallen into his hands, and clearly proved that the Geraldine was a traitor. And as such he arrested him, and lodged him in the fortress of Castlelisheen, sending word by his wife to the President that he was there.²⁴ But in the meantime O'Connor's treachery became known, and Pierce Lacy with 4,000 men besieged Castlelisheen, and set the prisoner free; and before the year expired, O'Connor was murdered in Connaught.²⁴ Not more fortunate was another traitor, John Nugent. He had been servant to Sir Thomas Norris, but had joined in the rebellion, and, repenting of his conduct, offered to submit. But Carew would give him no mercy unless he murdered John FitzThomas, the brother of the Sugane Earl, and this he undertook to do. As he rode behind FitzThomas, he aimed his pistol, and was about to fire, when one Coppinger snatched the pistol from him, crying out "Traitor!" He attempted to escape, but was taken and hanged.²⁵

In six months, Carew had done much. The Waterford Geraldines, the Burkes, and the White Knight were his allies, the castles of Bruff, Lough Gur, and Croom had surrendered, the castles of Carrigfoyle, Tralee, Castlemaine, and Listowel were taken; the remaining strongholds throughout Kerry were either surrendered, or levelled to the earth rather than be allowed to fall into English hands.²⁶ Limerick, Kilmallock, Askeaton, and the towns of Kerry were strongly garrisoned by English troops, who preyed upon the surrounding country, cut down the ripening corn or burned it in the haggards,

²³ *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 45.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70, 73-4, 153.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

²⁶ *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 90-95.

carried off the cattle and sheep, set fire to the houses, and murdered everyone who fell into their hands. Carew could boast that his soldiers scoured Aherlow, leaving neither man nor beast, corn nor cattle ; that all the corn and houses near Limerick were burned ; and that in Kerry his troops had killed 1,200 men in arms, not counting women and children and husbandmen, who had also been slain.²⁷ In September, the Sugane Earl was defeated with heavy loss at Kiimallock, and in the following April he was taken prisoner.²⁸ Carew was about to execute him at Cork ; but the Geraldine begged hard for mercy, and pointed out that, if he were executed, his brother John would be appointed in his place, and thus nothing would be gained. This latter reason had its effect ; he might perhaps be more useful alive than dead, and he was sent a prisoner to the Tower of London, where he died. The young Earl, in the meantime, had been sent to Ireland, in the hope of creating division, and when he arrived at Kilmallock, his reception was enthusiastic ; but when the people saw him go to the Protestant church their love was turned into hatred ; he whom they so lately honoured, they now reviled and despised. The young man, it was seen, was useless to the English ; and Cecil wrote to Carew that the easiest way to get rid of him was to have him in some way put to death.²⁹ So strong did Carew feel that he would not grant pardon to the Baron of Lixnawe or the Knight of the Valley, unless they betrayed or murdered some of their confederates ; he would grant no mercy to priests, or to Pierce Lacy, or John FitzThomas.³⁰ All others he was ready to pardon, and such was the rush to submit that, early in 1601, over 4,000 of these government pardons had been issued.³¹

In Ulster, the rebellion was not so easily stamped out as in Munster. O'Donnell's enemies were lately increased by the desertion of O'Doherty of Innishowen, the reason being that O'Donnell had given the vacant chieftaincy to the lately deceased

²⁷ *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 158 ; *Carew Papers*, pp. 428-9, 487.

²⁸ *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 126, 216.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 132-4.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 143 ; *Carew Papers*, p. 473.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 180-1.

chief's brother, Phelim, rather than to his son, Cahir. And Cahir was so enraged, that not only did he go over to the English, but he brought with him his friends MacSweeny Fanad, and the Mac-Devitts.³² Following quickly on the heels of this desertion, came the news that O'Connor Sligo was in traitorous correspondence with the English. The information came secretly to O'Donnell, and was secretly acted upon; and before O'Connor could carry out his designs, O'Donnell made a rapid march from Lifford to Connaught, seized upon his treacherous ally, and threw him into prison at Lough Esk in Donegal.³³ Nor was this the only danger he had to encounter. In 1601, Carew despatched Sir John Barkley across the Shannon with 1,000 men, and these, joined to Clanricarde's and Thomond's forces, overran portion of Connaught, and menaced Ulster. Yet they effected little, and soon returned to Limerick.³⁴ Two months later, Lord Dunkellin, by the death of his father, became Earl of Clanricarde, and essayed the task which Barkley had failed to do, and on this occasion Barkley and his English forces were placed under his command. With 1,300 men, he advanced to Boyle, and was there encountered by O'Donnell, with so strong a force that Clanricarde did not venture to attack; and after some desultory and unimportant skirmishes he retreated; nor did O'Donnell molest him on his retreat.³⁵ The absence of Red Hugh was taken advantage of by Nial Garve, who marched from Lifford to Donegal, overpowered its garrison, and drove out the monks from the monastery, and encamped there.³⁶ After Clanricarde's departure, O'Donnell marched direct to Donegal, and closely invested the place. The position of Nial and his troops became critical. They were unable to leave their entrenchments, or get provisions from outside except from the sea; and, to make matters worse, the monastery itself took fire in September, and all but one wing of it was consumed. Some relief came by sea from Derry to the besieged, yet their position was perilous, and many of the garrison

³² O'Clery, pp. 270-1.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 275; *Four Masters*.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 279; Carew, pp. 53-5.

³⁵ C Clery, pp. 281-3.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

began to desert to O'Donnell. But with great ability Nial Garve continued to defend himself, and stubbornly refused to surrender. Such was the condition of things in the end of October, when Red Hugh was compelled to raise the siege and march south to Kinsale.³⁷

The Earl of Tyrone in the meantime was kept busy, nor was he able to lend assistance to his ally of Tyrconnell. Before the end of April, 1601, MacMahon of Farney, O'Hanlon and Connor Maguire had gone over to the English, Tyrell had been chased from Leinster into Ulster; and in June Mountjoy went through the Moyry Pass to Newry and Armagh, built a strong fort in the Moyry Pass itself, and rebuilt the dismantled fortress of Portmore, and in both these forts placed strong garrisons. The Deputy had asked Carew for 650 men, but was refused. Without these he felt it unsafe to march to Dungannon, as he apparently intended, and in September he returned to Dundalk. Somewhere near Armagh, O'Neill's force made a night attack on his camp, and in this encounter Pierce Lacy from Munster was killed.³⁸

It was at this date that the Spaniards arrived in Ireland. Without guns or ammunition, without means of manufacturing them at home, or ships to replenish their supplies from abroad, the Irish were becoming gradually exhausted, and if left to themselves their resistance should soon necessarily cease. Repeatedly O'Neill and O'Donnell had sought aid from Spain, implored Philip, as the champion of their faith, not to allow a Catholic people to be wiped out.³⁹ But Philip's movements were slow; and the year 1600 passed by, and the greater part of 1601, and no aid came; nor was it until September of the latter year that the Spaniards set sail. Nor did all who left Spain arrive in Ireland, for a large part under Zubiari got separated from the main body, and only 3,500 arrived at Kinsale.⁴⁰ And the choice of Don John Daguilla to command the expedition was unfortunate. He had no sympathy with a revolt; no skill in winning the people to his side; he was impetuous and self-willed, without any skill in forming plans, or any patience in

³⁷ O'Clery, pp. 291-3; *Four Masters*; Dowcra's *Narrative*.

³⁸ Moryson, pp. 118-31.

³⁹ O'Clery, *Introduction*, pp. 116-23.

⁴⁰ *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 277, *et seq.*

difficulties. He had already commanded in Brittany, but defeats and disasters were all that could be placed to his account, and his incapacity was well established.⁴¹

Under a capable leader, such an army landed in Ulster, might have done much, or, if landed in Munster, eighteen months earlier. But, in the meantime Carew had effectually crushed the rebellion, and the Sugane Earl was the last of the Munster chiefs who continued in arms. After his capture there yet remained Florence MacCarthy. Of all the Munster leaders he was the most disreputable. The nominee and ostensible supporter of O'Neill, he was corresponding with Mountjoy and Carew; and though he had made promises of service to Carew, and the Queen was ready to make him an Earl, he still posed as the ally of the Ulster chiefs.⁴² He was swayed by no motive but interest, was faithful to no friend, and in treachery and duplicity and abandonment of truth and honour, he was without a peer. As the adherent of O'Neill, he could have commanded enormous forces, and could have crushed Carew by the weight of numbers. But his wife would not allow him to remain on that side. She was the daughter of the late Earl of Clancarty; she believed the English would triumph, and perhaps bestow her father's earldom upon her husband; but in any event she vowed that she had no mind to be a pauper, nor to go a-begging, either to Ulster or Spain. But Florence would not boldly take the English side, as his wife wished; and his fate was the fate of those who undertake to serve two masters. Carew from the first distrusted him, but dissembled until the rebellion was crushed; and then, inviting Florence to a conference at Cork, he arrested him on various charges, and sent him a prisoner to London, where he died.⁴³ At the same time, Carew also arrested and imprisoned all the other Munster chiefs whom he distrusted, lest they might give aid to the strangers; and when Daguilla landed at Kinsale, there was neither an Irish army nor an Irish leader in Munster to give him assistance.⁴⁴

⁴¹ O'Connor's *Military History*, p. 21.

⁴² *Carew Papers*, pp. 378, 446, 514-16; Atkinson's *Calendar*, pp.

14-15.

⁴³ *Pacata Hibernia*, Vol. I., pp. 231-52.

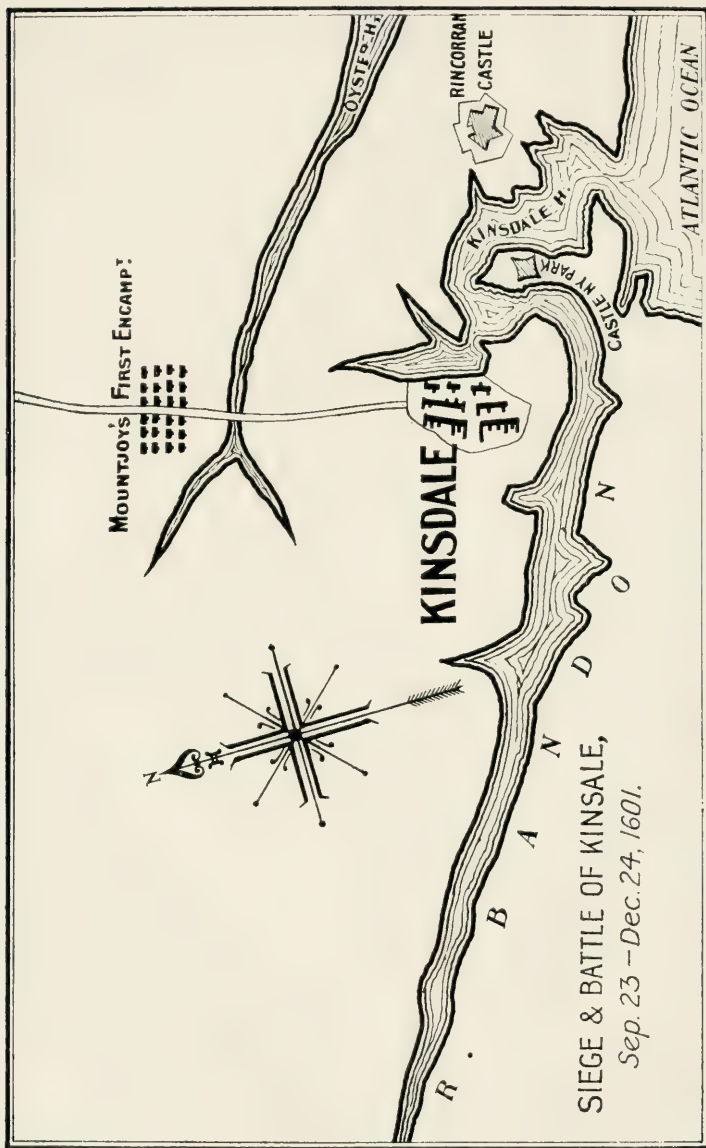
⁴⁴ *Carew Papers*, p. 120.

The intended destination of the Spaniards was Cork ; and they first arrived there, borne in 45 vessels ; but the wind suddenly changed, and, unable to land, they put in at Kinsale. The English garrison there evacuated the place on their approach, and when the Spaniards landed they were well received, and were billeted through the town more readily, says Carew, than if they were the Queen's troops. Daguilla published a proclamation that none would be molested, and that whoever wished to leave might do so, taking their goods with them.⁴⁵ Carew and Mountjoy were then at Kilkenny. They had been warned from England that the Spaniards were coming, and had gone to Kilkenny to take counsel. Mountjoy proposed returning to Dublin to make his preparations ; Carew's advice was that all their forces be at once sent to Munster, his object being to overawe the natives, lest they might join the Spaniards. This advice was taken, and from all quarters the English and their allies flocked to the south. From England 2,000 soldiers came ; the Earl of Thomond arrived with 1,000 more ; Clanricarde came from Connaught, and Ormond from Kilkenny ; the garrisons were withdrawn from Ulster ; and by the middle of October, Mountjoy and Carew were in front of Kinsale in command of 12,000 men.⁴⁶ In these circumstances Daguilla sent urgent letters to the Ulster chiefs, begging them to come to his assistance ; and O'Donnell, leaving his brother Rory to watch Nial Garve and the English, set out for Munster, with nearly 2,000 men. The force of 2,000 men which Carew took from Kinsale was at least twice that number when he arrived at Cashel, for further reinforcements had been sent. Yet he was in no hurry to fight ; and O'Donnell wished to reserve his strength, and taking advantage of a frost which had made even the bogs passable for troops, he turned west, and passed over the mountains of Slieve Felim ; and within 24 hours had reached Croom, a distance of 40 English miles, the greatest march with carriage that Carew had ever heard of before.⁴⁷ Passing through Duhallow and Muskerry, O'Donnell arrived at Kinsale, about the middle of November.

⁴⁵ *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 277-80.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 287-93.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 8-12.



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The narrow channel which connects Kinsale with the open sea was guarded on each side by two strong castles, Rincorran on the east, and Castle ny Park on the west, in both of which Spanish garrisons had been put, and thus was the town protected on the sea side. On the land side, it was more difficult to protect. The position of the town itself, on the slope of Compass Hill, laid it open to be swept by an enemy's batteries placed on the ascending side. But Daguilla had done the best he could ; had built up the crumbling walls ; and from the bastions his cannon were pointed to deal death on an advancing foe. On the 16th of October, Mountjoy encamped 5 miles from Kinsale. He had not yet a sufficient supply of artillery ; but, on the 23rd, his wants in this respect were supplied, and three days later he crossed Oyster Haven and pitched his camp on the Spittle, and on the 29th attacked Rincorran Castle. Daguilla endeavoured to relieve it from the sea, but was unable, and after a heroic defence the garrison capitulated, on condition that their lives were spared. On the 10th of November, Daguilla published a proclamation that any of his soldiers who quitted his post, without directions from his officers, should be punished with death. Yet in spite of all this the besiegers gained ground. The capture of Rincorran allowed the English admiral, Levison, to enter the harbour with his ships, and the town was soon invested completely both by sea and land. Castle ny Park was then assailed, and as the Spaniards in the town could lend no assistance, the garrison was compelled to surrender ; and such was the progress made by the English, that, on the 28th, they summoned the town to surrender. Their messenger was not allowed to enter, but was informed at the gate that the Spaniards held the town for Christ and for the King of Spain, and were ready to defend it against anyone and everyone who might assail it.⁴⁸

So far the advantage lay with the English. Gradually, but surely, their entrenchments were pushed nearer the walls ; the Earl of Thomond on the west side, and the Deputy and Carew on the east side, continued to advance ; and by the end of November, had planted their heavy guns so near that they could play upon,

⁴⁸ *Carew Papers*, pp. 179-88 ; Moryson, pp. 127-51 ; *Pacata Hibernia*, I., pp. 275-302.

and batter down, the walls. On the two last nights of November, and the first of December, a breach was made on the east side, and the gate broken down; the entrenchments approached the walls on the west side, where cannon were planted on a small fort built there; and it was evidently the intention of the besiegers to enter the breach, and carry the town by storm. But on the night of the 2nd of December the Spaniards sallied from the town and furiously assailed the enemy; endeavoured to spike their cannon, and to some extent succeeded; damaged the fort lately built on the west side, and captured portion of the entrenchments, and would have held them but for the arrival of fresh troops under the Earl of Clanricarde. The result of this vigorous sally was that the English abandoned the idea of carrying the place by storm.⁴⁹ Nor was this all that happened to dispirit them. Additional troops to reinforce Daguilla had set out from Spain in 12 vessels, but the winds separated them on the sea, and 6 vessels were forced to put back to Corunna; the remainder reached Castlehaven in safety; and when they landed, to the number of 700, Levison was sent from Kinsale with his fleet, and landed men and heavy guns to assail them. But his reception was entirely unexpected, for the Munster chiefs, who had lately submitted to the President, now revolted to the Spaniards. The O'Driscolls surrendered their castles to them; O'Sullivan Beare gave them his castle at Dunboy; and O'Connor Kerry his castle at Carrigfoyle. Instead of Levison being aided by the Irish, he was attacked by them; his ships, moored close to the land, were attacked by the Spanish and O'Sullivan Beare; some damage indeed was done the Spanish transport vessels, but still more to the English; and when Levison got back to Kinsale, it was in a battered and helpless condition, and with the loss of 500 of his men. All West Munster revolted; the Spaniards under Ocampo joined themselves to O'Donnell, and set up their headquarters at Bandon; and on the west of Kinsale, the English besieging the town were themselves besieged.⁵⁰ The Spaniards in Kinsale grew bold, and night after night sallied from the town; and

⁴⁹ *Carew Papers*, pp. 189-90; Moryson, pp. 165-6; *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 30-6.

⁵⁰ *Pacata Hibernia*, Vol. II., pp. 37-44.

in these night attacks the English lost many of their men. Their supplies became scarce ; they were compelled to keep within their encampments ; the winter was severe ; the hardships of the campaign told heavily on the troops ; the English soldiers especially were sick and weary ; dozens died every day ; the sentinel was often found dead at his post ; desertion became common ; the army was rapidly melting away ; and by the 20th of December the effective fighting force was reduced to about 6,000 men.

It was at this juncture that O'Neill arrived with 4,000 men and, pitching his camp at Belgooly, besieged the English on the north and east as effectually as O'Donnell had done on the west. All communication with the country round was thus denied the besiegers ; the men continued to die from cold and hunger, the horses for want of forage ; the numbers who died and were buried within the camp bred sickness among the survivors ; only 2,000 English remained ; and O'Neill's expectation was that the remainder who were Irish would desert ; and his simple, but effective, plan was to continue the siege until the English were exhausted and compelled to surrender.⁵¹ But, unfortunately for himself and for Ireland, his hands were forced. Daguilla had sent urgent letters representing the hardships of his position, and the weakness of the enemy ; if the Irish chiefs attacked them from outside he would co-operate from the town, and the result would be certain victory. O'Neill was not convinced, and would still wait, knowing that time was on his side. The Spaniards were in no danger ; too much depended on the issue of the contest to run risks ; and he foresaw clearly that the defeat of the Irish at Kinsale would be the ruin of their cause. But O'Donnell was for attacking at once. Eight years of victory had given him unbounded self-confidence ; he was no longer disposed to adopt the more cautious and wiser advice of O'Neill ; and he declared it would be a shame and a disgrace if they did not respond to Daguilla's appeal. At the council of war held there were others as hot-headed as O'Donnell ; O'Neill was outvoted, but not convinced, and against his better judgment, preparations were made for attacking the English on the night of the 23rd of

⁵¹ O'Clery, pp. 309-11.

December.⁵² The Irish troops were good at guerilla warfare, but had no experience in storming entrenchments, and were ill-fitted for such work ; and to spoil all their chances, the English were forewarned and, therefore, prepared. For the inevitable Irish traitor who has dogged and ruined every Irish movement was 'at hand, and a certain Brian MacMahon from Ulster sent the English warning that they were to be attacked. His son, it seems, had been some years before a page to Sir George Carew in England, and for old times' sake he sent a message to Carew for a bottle of whiskey. It was sent, and so grateful was MacMahon that he informed Carew of the meditated attack on the 23rd of December. The list of Irish traitors is a long one, but our history records no more infamous transaction than this bartering of faith and country for a bottle of whiskey.

Instead of surprising the enemy, the Irish were themselves surprised. The night was dark and stormy, the guides lost their way ; and when they arrived at the English trenches, weary, exhausted, and dispirited, the morning of the 24th had dawned, and they found the English quite ready, horses saddled, men standing to arms. In these circumstances O'Neill's army fell back, intending to defer the attack. They retired in some disorder ; the disorder was noted by the enemy ; and the Deputy, leaving Carew to watch the Spaniards in the town, took with him 1,200 foot, and 400 horse, and pursued the retreating Irish. The route lay through a boggy glen, cut by a stream at the north-west of the town ; and Mountjoy, knowing the capacity both of O'Neill and O'Donnell, was reluctant to pursue them, fearing that they were only enticing him to his ruin. But he was assured that the country beyond was an open and level plain ; the Earl of Clanricarde who, with Wingfield, led the cavalry, was especially eager to attack ; and when the order was given he fell on the disordered and retreating mass. With some cavalry, O'Donnell drove back the English across the stream, but he was not seconded, and the other Irish chiefs, mounted their horses, and fled like cowards, leaving the infantry to their fate. The rear-guard was driven in upon the main body, and vanguard and

⁵² *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 50-6.

rear and main body were soon mixed up together. The Spaniards and Tyrell made a stand, but they were overwhelmed, the larger portion killed, and some, including Ocampo, were taken prisoners. For two miles the pursuit was continued. Clanricarde was especially active, and called out that no Irish were to be spared ; the wounded were put to death, and the few prisoners taken were brought into the camp and hanged. The loss on the Irish side is put as high as 2,000 killed and wounded, and as low as 200 ; but on the English side the loss was small. It was a humiliating day for Ireland, the victory, say the *Four Masters*, of the few over the many. The defeat is hard to explain. O'Sullivan attributes it to the sins of the Irish, the *Four Masters* to the anger of God ; the mishap of losing their way, and the consequent depression and weariness in the ranks will, only partially account for it ; and it is not unlikely that there were other traitors among the chiefs besides MacMahon. Victory would mean their being permanently subject to O'Neill, and like so many other Irish chiefs they perhaps preferred being subject to England. At all events their precipitate and cowardly flight demoralized their followers, and spread a panic through the whole army. Daguilla remained inactive during the battle, and made no sally from the town as he had promised ; but, when the battle was over, he sallied to no purpose, and soon after he made terms with the English, and returned to Spain.⁵³

⁵³ *Four Masters* ; Moryson, pp. 176-9 ; *Carew Papers*, pp. 191-4 ; *Pacata Hibernia*, chap. 21 ; O'Sullivan, pp. 144-7.



CHAPTER XI.

The Last Stand.

AFTER the disaster of Kinsale the Irish chiefs met in council at Innishannon, eight miles from the battlefield. Some proposed that the siege should be resumed ; but the majority decided that each chief should return to his own territory and defend it against the English, and that O'Donnell should ask further help from Spain. The latter meanwhile hastened to Castlehaven, embarked in a Spanish ship lying at anchor there, and soon arrived at Corunna, whence he made his way to the King at Zamora. He described to Philip the condition of affairs in Ireland, and was told to return to Corunna and await the further aid, which would be sent at once.¹ Letters were meanwhile sent by the Spanish King to Daguilla, directing him to defend the position he held until the promised succour arrived ; but these letters were intercepted by the English, and not delivered ; and, growing impatient of delay, Daguilla opened negotiations with the besiegers. He had provisions sufficient for three months ; his supply of arms and ammunition was ample ; the defences of the town were little damaged ; and his soldiers, the Spanish infantry of that day, were the first soldiers in the world. Nor was it likely that the English would endeavour to carry the place by storm. The hardships of the siege had so thinned their ranks, that, in proportion to the besieged, they were at most not more than three to one ; and to carry the

¹ *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 64 ; O'Clery, pp. 321-3.

town by storm, would involve an appalling loss of life, and, perhaps, the attempt might fail. A capable commander would have appreciated his own strength, and the difficulties of the enemy, knowing that so great an army as he had would not be left to perish by so great a power as Spain. But there was nothing heroic in the character of Daguilla ; he had no taste for the hardships of a siege ; and though he had done nothing to aid the Irish, and had been in fact the main cause of their defeat, he poured upon them the coarsest abuse, pretending to think that they were even ready to betray him ; and one of his officers asked in derision if Christ ever died for such a people.² The negotiations were opened on the last day of the year by a messenger sent from Daguilla to Mountjoy, and two days later the Articles were signed. It was agreed that Kinsale, and all the strong places garrisoned by Spanish troops, should be surrendered to the English, the Spaniards being allowed to bring everything they possessed with them ; that the Deputy should transport them to Spain, or allow them go at their own charge if they wished ; that both in Ireland or at sea they were to be treated as friends, and furnished with victuals ; and that, until they returned to Spain, they were not under any circumstances to bear arms against England.³ Daguilla was to remain in Ireland until all the Spaniards were transhipped to Spain. During the interval he spent his time at Cork ; dined with Mountjoy and Carew, and exchanged confidences with them, and expressed, like them, the utmost contempt for the Irish. He spoke of their falseness and treachery, and promised his English friends that, when he got to Spain, he would dissuade the King from sending further assistance. But the readiness with which he adopted the opinions of his late enemies, and his zeal for their interests, did not prevent them from treacherously seizing his letters, and then telling him, when they had read their contents, that they had got them from a priest whom they had hired as a spy, and who stayed with the Earl of Tyrone.⁴

² *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 71-7 ; O'Connor's *Military History*, p. 22.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-81.

⁴ *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 100-103. This plot was carried out by Carew. The war was then over, and Daguilla was his guest, and to play such tricks was unworthy a man of honour, but not unworthy of Carew.

Daguilla returned to Spain. The Irish refugees had already told the tale of his incapacity; he was coldly received, then thrown into prison, and soon after died. By the Irish his memory was execrated, and not without some justice; for of all the Spanish expeditions ever sent to Ireland, his was the greatest, and brought on the greatest disaster, and of all the commanders ever sent he was the least competent to command.⁵

The surrender of the strong castles of Cork was of great importance to the English, and no doubt the prospect of getting peaceable possession of them quickened their eagerness to come to terms with the Spaniards. These places were of great strength, and if it became necessary to besiege them, time would be spent, and many lives lost, and in the meantime, perhaps, another Spanish army might be landed. But the O'Sullivans, and O'Driscolls, and MacCarthys, to whom those castles belonged, had surrendered them to the Spaniards because they were fighting the battle of Ireland; they did not wish that they should fall into the hands of the English; and O'Driscoll refused to give up Castlehaven, and even fought with the Spaniards there; nor was it given up until a skirmish was fought in which two of the latter were killed. Ultimately, however, the English got possession of it, as they did of Baltimore, and of a castle in the Island of Cape Clear.⁶ But there was more difficulty about the castle of Dunboy. It belonged to Donal O'Sullivan, and was garrisoned by 100 Spaniards, who were provided with large stores of ammunition and ten large pieces of artillery; and its position, on the edge of the sea, and situated among mountains was such, that it was difficult to approach it either from the land or the sea side. While it was yet held by the Spaniards, an English ship with 200 soldiers on board was sent from Baltimore to take possession of it; but the winds were unfavourable, and the ship, though it made Berehaven, was unable to land. But in the meantime O'Sullivan came to the castle with a large force; in the night when the Spaniards were asleep a hole was made in the wall, through which the Irish entered, and when morning dawned they were masters of the castle, and it was useless for the Spaniards to resist.

⁵ *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 251.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

O'Sullivan disarmed them and sent them to Baltimore, and keeping all the guns and ammunition, he placed in the castle a garrison of 143 men, under one Richard Mageoghegan; a certain Thomas Taylor, an Englishman, and son-in-law to Captain Tyrell, being second in command. The defences of the castle were strengthened; O'Sullivan himself with nearly 1,000 men occupied the peninsula of Beare, having with him Captain Tyrell, and the Baron of Lixnawe.⁷ And O'Sullivan sent letters to the King of Spain protesting against the conduct of Dagulla, and asking for assistance to hold Dunboy.⁸

By the end of March, the Spaniards had left for Spain, all but a few, who voluntarily remained at Dunboy, and shared the fate of the besieged. Mountjoy returned to Dublin, and Carew was preparing to attack O'Sullivan, when he fell dangerously ill at Cork.⁹ In the meantime, the Earl of Thomond, with 1,250 men, was despatched to Bantry, and ordered to harass those who were unfriendly to the English; to set up rival chiefs to those who were in rebellion; and, if possible, to penetrate to Beare and view the Castle of Dunboy. Part of these instructions he was able to carry out; but he was unable to reach Dunboy, for the only available pass was held in strength by Tyrell; and Thomond, leaving a garrison in Whiddy Island, returned with the remainder of his army to Cork.¹⁰ He told Carew that, from reliable information, he believed Dunboy to be a place of extraordinary strength; and some of Carew's friends, thinking it impregnable, tried to dissuade him from the attempt to capture it. But he was not to be dissuaded, and with 3,000 men he marched from Cork, and arrived at Bantry in the last days of April. The victuals and ordnance were sent by sea, and in addition, Wilmot, who had been laying Kerry waste, and had just captured the castles of Carrigfoyle and Lixnawe, and defeated the Knight of Kerry, was ordered to join the President, and did so in the middle of May.¹¹ The difficulty of reaching Dunboy by land was so great, that Carew went by sea instead,

⁷ *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 41, 119-20.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 120-8.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

¹⁰ *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 149-54.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 161-8, 171.

and on the 1st of June his forces reached Berehaven, and landed in Bear Island. A few days later, they crossed to the mainland, but their landing was disputed by Tyrell, and in the skirmish which was fought Tyrell was wounded.¹² By the 7th of June, the whole army occupied the mainland, and on every side the castle was surrounded. From three different points Carew's heavy guns commanded it, from a portion of the mainland jutting out into the sea, and opposite the Castle ; from another small neck of land the guns were pointed southward ; while from the mainland and from the west many more heavy guns played. The sea was guarded by ships ; Carew's army was at least 3,000 ; he had abundance of victuals and military stores ; and against such strength a garrison of but 143 men was ill-matched. Yet they stubbornly held their ground, and inflicted some loss on the besiegers. But the contest could not last indefinitely. Carew's trenches gradually and stealthily approached the Castle ; the barbican was a heap of ruins ; and on the 17th a turret on the south-west, on which artillery was placed, fell with a crash, and the same fate overtook the western portion of the Castle itself. Many of the garrison were buried beneath the ruins ; and as further resistance was seen to be hopeless, a messenger was sent to Carew offering to surrender if their lives were spared. His answer was to have the messenger hanged, and on the same day his soldiers entered the breach. They were met with desperate courage. Every inch of the ground was contested ; every point that could give shelter or furnish a vantage for attack was availed of ; and from those upper portions of the Castle which were still standing, the garrison threw stones or iron balls on the assailants, and a piece of cannon mowed them down with hail-shot. But the cannoneer was shot dead at his gun ; the English pressed in over the dead bodies of their comrades ; the upper portion of the Castle still remaining was reached by means of the ruined portions ; and the Irish, driven for shelter to the cellars, continued to shoot upwards at their foes. Forty of them made a dash for the sea, but every man of them was killed. By this time the sun had gone down, for the fighting had lasted all day. Mageoghegan was mortally

¹² *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 181-2.

wounded, and lay bleeding to death; and the survivors, to the number of 77, were in the cellars, having taken with them some barrels of powder. A strong guard was placed over them, and the main body of the English withdrew to the camp, further operations being postponed to the following day. In the meantime Taylor assumed command, and being refused a promise of life, vowed he would set the powder barrels ablaze, and blow up the Castle and himself, and the English guard. But his comrades would not allow him to carry out his desperate resolution, and all surrendered. When Mageoghegan saw them on the point of surrendering, he grasped a lighted candle, intending to do what Taylor had threatened to do, and had not done. But an English officer saw him, and divined his purpose, and before he could reach the powder he was put to death. Of the garrison not a man was spared. A soldier who appreciated heroism might have thought they deserved a better fate; but Carew was not one of these, and by his order every man was hanged. Four days later, the Castle of Dunboy was blown up, and the outworks and fortifications were destroyed.¹³

On his return to Cork, in July, Carew found 1,000 fresh troops from England; and though he was not satisfied with the dispositions of the MacCarthys of Carbry, and was much weakened with the operations at Dunboy, he was enabled to give a strong force to Sir Charles Wilmot, whom he directed to lay Kerry waste, and to compel the people dwelling there to pass over to Limerick. He would thus prevent O'Sullivan and Tyrell obtaining means to continue the rebellion, and if a fresh Spanish expedition came they could get no assistance in Kerry. He also established strong garrisons at Kinsale and Bantry and Baltimore, and by his instructions the whole of South Cork was laid waste; so that from Bantry to Kinsale there was no corn or cattle left in the fields, nor houses left unburned; and Percy and Harvey, and the Irish Catholic Lord Barry, were highly commended for the thoroughness with which the work was done.¹⁴ Satisfied that Cormac MacCarthy was meditating rebellion, Carew threw him into prison, and took possession of his

¹³ *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 198-207.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 212-13, 270-1

castles of Blarney and Macroom, and he also imprisoned MacCarthy's wife and children.¹⁵ Cormac, however, managed to escape, and entered into communication with Tyrell ; but he had not the courage to join those in rebellion ; all he cared for was for his lands, and when these were guaranteed he submitted in the most humble manner to Carew.¹⁶ The insurgent forces still left in Munster thought it better to divide themselves into three divisions, O'Sullivan remaining in Beare with 700 men, the MacCarthys of Carbry keeping 400 men, and Tyrell going to north Kerry with 500 men.¹⁷ But they were unable to do much, or even to remain long in Munster. The MacCarthys were defeated in December, and were glad to submit and obtain pardon ; Tyrell fled into O'Carroll's country ; lastly, O'Sullivan was defeated on the last day of the year by one of Wilmot's lieutenants, though only after a desperate contest, which lasted the whole day, and in which the English lost heavily.¹⁸

Alone and unaided, O'Sullivan knew he could not maintain himself in Munster ; he had abandoned all hope of obtaining aid from Spain ; and he formed the desperate resolution of fighting his way to Ulster. Delay was dangerous, and even fatal, and he had to leave behind him his sick and wounded. On the 4th of January Wilmot came upon the deserted camp in the valley of Glengarriff, and every man of the sick and wounded was put to death by his soldiers ; and the same fate befel the inhabitants of Dursey Island. It is not said that they were in arms, or offered any resistance ; some of them were women and children ; but all were friends of O'Sullivan, and this was the extent of their crime.¹⁹ With that chief himself were 400 soldiers and 600 women and children. His march northward was a continual battle. Passing through Muskerry he was attacked by the MacCarthys, and at Liscarroll by a brother of Lord Barry, and in each contest he suffered loss. Through Limerick he passed into Tipperary, where he was attacked by the sheriff of the county ; but he drove him off with some loss,

¹⁵ *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 229-33.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 259-65.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 280-1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 287-8.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

and arrived at the banks of the Shannon, just where it enters Lough Derg. Not having boats with which to cross, he killed some of his horses; and a boatmaker in the ranks made some currachs, which he covered over with the skins thus obtained. At Aughrim he was attacked by the Burkes and the O'Kellys of Hy Many. O'Sullivan's fighting force was then but 300 men; but they had the courage of despair, and were skilfully led, and their enemies, who were much more numerous, were scattered with heavy loss. By Ballinlough, in Roscommon, they continued their march, still threatened by many enemies, and journeying along unfrequented ways. It was the depth of winter; the snow fell heavily; the winds blew a bitter blast; the provisions were scanty and with difficulty obtained; and having no tents to shelter them they had to sleep in the open air. The women and children, and the infirm, either died on the journey or dropped out of the ranks, and in some cases were cared for by friendly natives on the way; the numbers were reduced almost to vanishing point; and of the thousand who left Glengarriff, but a fortnight before, only 35—18 armed men, 16 servants, and one woman—entered O'Rorke's castle at Leitrim.²⁰

After his interview with the King of Spain, Hugh O'Donnell remained at Corunna, awaiting the promised aid. But the aid did not come, and O'Donnell wrote to the King, in April, asking for even 2,000 men to land in Ulster, for he was confident that with these he and O'Neill would be able to make head against the enemy until a larger force could be sent; but if this were not done the whole country would be lost.²¹ His request was not granted, and even his letter remained unanswered. The surrender of Daguilla and the capture of Dunboy had disconcerted the King's plans, and he was no longer willing to give the aid he had promised. O'Donnell was in the greatest affliction. He remembered that it was his own rashness which was largely responsible for the disaster of Kinsale; he was anxious to repair his error; and he thought with bitterness of his own Tyrconnell, wasted and plundered by hated foreigners. At length, through the influence of his devoted friend, the Earl of

²⁰ *Four Masters : Pacata Hibernia*, p. 284; O'Sullivan, pp. 161-73.

²¹ O'Clery, *Introduction*, p. 146.

Caracena, he obtained the favour of another interview with King Philip, and on the 9th of August he set out for the court at Valladolid. But he got no further than the Castle of Simancas, where he took ill and died. For a long time it was thought that he died of fever or of some lingering disease, but the *State Papers* now published tell a different tale. A certain James Blake of Galway, probably a merchant trading with Spain, came to Carew at Cork, in the month of May, told him he was going to Spain, and offered to poison O'Donnell. Carew had employed assassins already, and was ready to employ more, if only his enemies might be destroyed. He was much pleased with Blake's design, bade him to proceed to Spain, and hoped that "God would give him strength and perseverance"—to commit murder! How Blake insinuated himself into favour with O'Donnell does not appear; but the deed was done; and when Carew heard of the Ulster chief's death he had no doubt that he was poisoned by Blake.²² O'Donnell died on the 10th of September, attended in his last moments by his friend, Florence Conroy, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam. His body was taken to Valladolid, and buried in the Franciscan church there, and nothing was wanting on the King's part to do honour to his remains.²³ His death was an overwhelming blow to the Catholic cause in Ireland. It dispirited everybody, broke up the confederacy in Munster, and cut off all hope of Spanish aid.

In the absence of the Ulster chiefs in Munster, Dowcra and Nial Garve had a free hand in the north-west. The forces placed at the disposal of Rory O'Donnell were necessarily small; he could only remain on the defensive; and he was compelled to raise the siege of Donegal, and allow the garrison to be victualled from Derry. Nor could he prevent Nial Garve from capturing Ballyshannon, in the spring of 1602, nor from destroying Enniskillen, and the monasteries of Lisgoole and Devenish in Lough Erne. Nothing but the most loyal co-operation among the chiefs of Tyrconnell and North Connaught could enable him to make headway against his enemies; and Hugh O'Donnell pleaded for such loyal

²² *Carew Papers*, pp. 350-1. (Letter from Carew to Mountjoy) Atkinson's *Calendar* (1599-1600), pp. 472-3.

²³ O'Clery, pp. 325-7.

co-operation before he left for Spain. But the appeal was soon forgotten. One of the MacSweeney chiefs who had hitherto acted with O'Donnell went over to the English; and O'Rorke's willingness to help was not always shown. The English under Sir Oliver Lambert were marching from Athlone to attack Sligo, and Rory O'Donnell proposed to intercept him at a certain pass, where, perhaps, his force might be destroyed. But O'Rorke refused, and the result was that Sligo was soon in English hands, and that both from Sligo and Ballyshannon O'Donnell was assailed. A third English force was assembled at Boyle. These O'Donnell attacked, then fell back to the Curlews; and when the English tried to force a passage through the mountains he fell upon them and defeated them with loss; nor did they deem themselves safe until they reached Roscommon. A little later, he defeated another English force at Ballysodare. He saw, however, that the contest was becoming a hopeless one, nor could it be much longer prolonged, and when news reached him that his brother was dead in Spain, he abandoned hope. The news was sent him by Mountjoy, who pointed out to him the futility of further resistance, and promised him pardon and even favours if he submitted. A little before this, Rory had released O'Connor Sligo from his prison in Lough Esk; and taking this chief with him he went to Athlone, and submitted to the English, and thus ended the war in Tyrconnell.²⁴

But at this period it was not O'Donnell the English were most anxious to crush, nor was it against him their greatest strength was turned, but against O'Neill. Him they considered the greatest among their foes; if he were destroyed the war would be over, the war which had lasted so long, and cost them so much; and from many directions, and with powerful forces, he was assailed. Dowcra, from his headquarters at Lifford, was to turn eastward to the Blackwater; Sir Arthur Chichester was to cross from Carrickfergus and meet the Deputy, who was to march north, and form a junction with his allies from the east and west. These plans would have been carried out in the spring; but Mountjoy, on his return from Munster, fell ill at Kilkenny, in March, and when he was able to reach

²⁴ *Four Masters.*

Dublin, the illness returned and became more serious, nor was it until the following June that he could take the field.²⁵ Passing without opposition to Newry and Armagh, he reached the Blackwater, which he crossed ; and to guard the passage he built a fort there, which he named Charlemont. Nor did he meet an enemy until he reached Dungannon, nor even there ; for O'Neill burned his castle to the ground, and took up a position at Castleroe, on the river Bann.²⁶ Dowcra was then at Omagh. He had just got a force of 800 fresh troops from England, and, thus strengthened, he marched by the banks of the Mourne, reached Omagh in safety, and garrisoned it, and met the Deputy near Dungannon. Chichester, on his side, crossed Lough Neagh, and on the Tyrone side of the Lake he erected a strong fort, which he called Mountjoy, and placed there a garrison of 1,900 men. The united strength of these three forces were then ready to fall upon O'Neill and his allies. At that date these allies were few, and were daily becoming fewer. Turlogh O'Neill, of the Fews and O'Hanlon had submitted in the preceding year ; there was a Queen's Maguire in Fermanagh, and a Queen's O'Reilly in Cavan ;²⁷ and now O'Cahan, thinking that all was lost, deserted his chief (August, 1602), and gave up his country to Dowcra. Part of it he got back to hold from the Queen, but all of it bordering on Lough Foyle was given over to the English, and occupied by them ; and to show his zeal for his new friends he offered to serve them with 150 foot and 30 horse. The MacDonnell chief, Randal MacSorley, soon followed in the footsteps of O'Cahan.²⁸

Deserted by his allies, his strength every day becoming less, if O'Neill gave battle in the open there could be no doubt of the result, and the war would soon be over. But Mountjoy had no hope that this would happen. He knew O'Neill to be a man of much resource, knowing the country well, and the advantages it offered. He would retire before his enemies when their strength was great ; he would fall upon them when they were weak ; amid all the traitor chiefs who deserted him, his own people of Tyrone were faithful ; and

²⁵ Moryson, pp. 207-10.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 214, 224.

²⁸ Moryson, p. 236 ; *Carew Papers*, p. 314.

Mountjoy concluded, that besides drawing his allies from him, and planting garrisons in his territory, the most effective way to subdue him was by famine.²⁹ And with this object in view he proceeded to lay the country waste. From Enniskillen and from Monaghan, from Armagh and Dungannon, from Charlemont and Mountjoy, and from all the other towns and forts where garrisons were placed, he sent out parties to spoil and plunder. He took special care to leave nothing in Tyrone itself. He would allow no people to dwell there, and no corn to be reaped there, because it was the fountain of the rebellion ; there at least he was resolved that there should be a repetition of the horrors of Munster under Grey and Carew.³⁰

It was autumn, when the corn waved in the fields, but that which the peasant had sown he was not destined to reap. All that the English wanted for themselves or their horses they cut down and saved; the remainder they destroyed ; the cattle also they drove off ; and the people, left without corn or cattle, perished by thousands. This was exactly what Mountjoy wished. He did not consider that these people had even the right to live. He regarded them as the farmer does the weeds which grow in his field, or the birds which pick up the corn he has sown. To shoot them down, women and children, and helpless old men, would be to waste powder and shot. It was better and easier to let them starve ; and in that fatal autumn and winter scenes were witnessed in Ulster which might have extorted pity even from demons. As the English marched through O'Cahan's country, not a trace of man could be seen, except some dead bodies by the wayside, of those starved for want of food. From Toome to Tullahoge 1,000 corpses lay unburied, and throughout Tyrone at least 3,000 were dead from hunger.³¹ In their struggle for life, these famine-stricken people had consumed everything which fell in their way. Hawks, kites, and birds of prey, cats and dogs, they eagerly devoured ; horseflesh, when obtained, they regarded as a luxury ; they pulled up nettles and docks, and everything which grew above ground, which could even temporarily

²⁹ Moryson, p. 211.

³⁰ *Carew Papers*, p. 301.

³¹ Moryson, pp. 226, 238.

satisfy the pangs of hunger ; and in the fields and ditches their corpses were found, the mouths coloured green from the unwholesome diet they had eaten. The dogs, starving themselves, devoured the decomposing corpses ; and the wolves, issuing from the woods and mountains, fell upon the feeble among the living, and tore them to pieces.³² Nor were these the worst spectacles that were seen. The soldiers of Chichester and Moryson in their campaign in Down found three children, the eldest but ten years old, feeding on the entrails of their dead mother, on whose body they had fed for twenty days. The flesh they had cut off and cooked over a slow fire ; the entrails they were eating raw. And some old women near Newry hid in the woods, and built a fire ; and some little girls coming to warm themselves were surprised by the old women, and killed and eaten. Nor did these instances stand alone, for Moryson declares that there were others.³³

O'Neill's position became desperate. His territory was studded over with English garrisons ; his plate and money, and his artillery, were taken ; his home was destroyed ; the old stone chair on which for ages the O'Neills were inaugurated at Tullahoge was smashed in pieces by Mountjoy ; ³⁴ the country was wasted, without cattle, or crops, or houses, and, worst of all, without men. Yet with indomitable resolution he still persevered. He had still 600 foot and 60 horse under his command. From the banks of the Bann he made his way to Fermanagh, where he was joined by Brian MacArt, and by his own brother Cormac ; ³⁵ and from the shores of Lough Erne he went back to Glenconkeine, a wooded valley north-west of Lough Neagh ; and, such was the strength of the position, that with his little army he was still able to maintain himself against an army ten times as numerous as his own. Nor could the Deputy get possession of his person, either alive or dead, though he put a price on his head, and hired assassins to murder him. O'Neill's followers were faithful to him ; not one of them would betray him ; and Mountjoy, baffled and defeated, declared

³² *Four Masters* at 1603 (note). O'Sullivan, p. 181.

³³ Moryson, p. 271.

³⁴ Moryson, p. 236 ; *Carew Papers*, p. 314.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

with mortification that never did a traitor know better how to keep his own head, and never had subjects a more dreadful awe to lay violent hands on their sacred prince than these people had to touch the person of their O'Neill.³⁶ In what striking and agreeable contrast does the fidelity of the people stand to the perfidy and treachery of their chiefs !

But the contest could not last for ever. Only O'Rorke was still in arms ; Rory O'Donnell had submitted ; Red Hugh was dead, and with him died all hope of Spanish aid ; and at last O'Neill sent a messenger to Mountjoy that he also was ready to lay down his arms. Mountjoy was anxious to make terms with him, and so also was Cecil ; for the expenses of the war were enormous, and already base coin was in circulation, which led to widespread discontent. But the old Queen, cross-tempered, unforgiving, and vindictive, would not yield. She was ready to forgive everyone but that viper Tyrone ; she approved of all Mountjoy's severities against him and his people ; and she would not allow mercy to be extended to the rebel, who had so often foiled her in diplomacy and war.³⁷ A further humble letter from O'Neill to Mountjoy, and further pressure brought to bear on Elizabeth by Cecil, caused her to alter her decision ; and in February, 1603, she authorised Mountjoy to make terms with O'Neill, with promise of life and liberty, and pardon for all his offences. The negotiations were carried on through Sir Garret Moore of Mellifont, an intimate friend both of O'Neill and the Deputy ; and on the 25th of March, Moore and Sir William Godolphin rode from Mellifont, and met O'Neill at Tullahoge.³⁸ The Queen died on the 24th of March. Mountjoy was informed of the fact, but he dissembled his knowledge, and urged Godolphin to hasten O'Neill's coming, else the Queen might be displeased. This had the desired effect, and on the 30th of March the great chief, who had so long defied English power, knelt humbly at the feet of the Deputy at Mellifont ; renounced for ever the name The O'Neill ; abjured all dependence on foreign power, or any authority over the chiefs of Ulster : and, sinking to the position of a

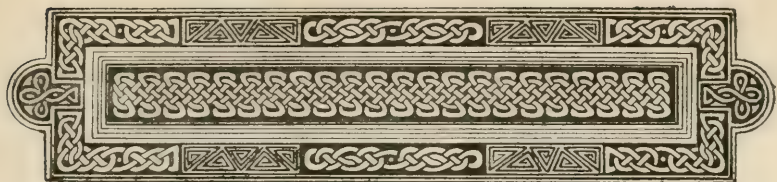
³⁶ Moryson, p. 268.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 248-9.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 275-80.

subject of England, bound himself to obey its laws. In return, he and his followers were pardoned of all their offences ; his title of Earl was restored to him, and all his lands, except the lands held by Turlough MacHenry of the Fewes, and in addition 300 acres round the fort of Mountjoy, and 300 acres round the fort of Charlemont ; and for all his lands he was to pay a crown rent. On the 3rd of April, he arrived at Dublin, and two days later he heard of the Queen's death for the first time, and on hearing it burst into tears. He had lost the merit of voluntarily submitting to the new King ; he was in the hands of his enemies, who had evidently entrapped him ; the promises made to him were made on behalf of a dead Queen, and a dead Queen had no power to carry them out. Yet Mountjoy did not think it honourable to break his word, or even advantageous to the public service ; and O'Neill renewed his submission to King James, and was sent back to his own people of Tyrone. O'Rorke, the last in arms, also abandoned the struggle ; James I. gladly welcomed these submissions ; the rebellion was over ; and Ireland, so long wasted by war, was to taste the blessings of peace.³⁹

³⁹ Moryson, pp. 280-1.



CHAPTER XII.

The Flight of the Earls.

THE reign of Elizabeth has always been considered by Englishmen as one of the most glorious in their annals. It was the age of Shakespeare and Spenser and Bacon, of Frobisher and Drake and Raleigh, the age in which Spain was humbled and the invincible Armada was destroyed. But in Ireland the age of Elizabeth, as well as the personal merits of the sovereign herself, were regarded with different feelings. Under other monarchs the people were already familiar with oppression and injustice, with corrupt officials and brutal soldiers, with the robbery of churches and church lands. In an aggravated form they experienced all these under the last of the Tudors. In no previous reigns were there scenes to parallel the atrocities of Pelham and Gray, and Carew and Mountjoy ; and all these savageries were known to and approved of by the Queen. There were then no Protestants in Ireland, except the government officials and the soldiers ; the people were still Catholics. Yet their religion was harassed and proscribed, the church lands confiscated, the churches converted to Protestant uses, or allowed to fall into ruin, the priests hunted down like wolves. The ministers of the new faith, without piety, or zeal, or religious conviction, were but grasping officials, who received the church revenues, and enjoyed the church lands, but neglected the churches. They lived the lives of laymen, and not of ecclesiastics, intent on acquiring wealth and gratifying their pleasures, and delegated their spiritual duties to horseboys and stablemen, who mumbled

through some mockery of the Protestant ritual, and received in return a horseboy's or a stableman's pay.¹ The zealous Protestantism of Spenser revolted at such religious ministers, among whom there was gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinency, careless sloth, and disordered lives; and whatever abuses abounded in the Church of England in Ireland abounded still more.² And he contrasted them with the "Popish priests," who came from Spain and Rome and Rheims, braving the perils of land and sea, looking for no earthly reward, knowing that death itself awaited them, but feeling that they had a work to do, and that in coming to Ireland and labouring for their people, they were obeying their Master's call.³

It was, then, with joy rather than sorrow that the Irish heard of the death of Elizabeth. In the towns and cities of Munster they were especially jubilant. The people of these towns were Catholics, and, being for the most part of English descent, were loyal to the English connexion, and, during the long war with the Ulster chiefs, they had remained neutral. To make them enemies while the war lasted Carew deemed unwise, and therefore the secret exercise of their religion was tolerated. With the Queen's death they believed that what they had so long done secretly they might now do openly. King James traced his descent from an Irish source; he had intrigued with Hugh O'Neill during his rebellion; his wife was a Catholic, though not an over zealous one; his mother was a fervent Catholic, and it was thought had died a martyr for her faith; James himself had never been a persecutor, and it might be that he would now favour the creed of his wife and mother, perhaps publicly profess it.⁴ Such appeared to be the expectations of the southern towns. At Wexford, Clonmel and Limerick, the Catholic churches which had been seized by the Protestants were now taken from them, and Mass said within them. At Kilkenny, the people,

¹ Russel and Prendergast's *Calendars of State Papers*, Vol. I., p. 143.

² Spenser's *View*, pp. 139-40.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

⁴ Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*, Vol. VI., pp. 162-6; Andrew Lang's *History of Scotland*, Vol. II., pp. 440, 467-8; Atkinson's *Calendar* 1598-9), pp. 7, 33, 142; Gardiner's *History of England*, Vol. I., pp. 80, 142.

with a Dominican friar at their head, seized the Black Friars' Abbey, which had been converted into a sessions house, and restored it to the Dominicans. At Cork, the Protestant Cathedral was seized, the texts of Scripture on the wall defaced, and Mass publicly sung there; images were set up, the cross carried through the streets, "yea, they buried their dead with Papistical ceremonies." The citizens of Waterford took possession of St. Patrick's church, and Dr. White, a Jesuit, preached there and thanked God that every man might now enjoy the fruits of his own industry, "and sit under his own shop, where before all things were extorted from them by the rapine of the soldiers, so that none could say this was his own, for now Jezabel was dead." ⁵

Mountjoy warned these cities of the dangers they ran; assured them that James was a staunch Protestant; and that the public exercise of the Catholic religion would not be allowed. Kilkenny, Wexford, Clonmel, and Limerick hearkened to his remonstrances, and restored the churches taken from the Protestants; but Waterford and Cork were obstinate; and, at the head of an army of 5,000 men, the Deputy left Dublin, and appeared before the walls of the former city. The citizens refused to admit his army, alleging the privileges of an old charter of King John; but Mountjoy peremptorily told them that he would cut in pieces the charter of King John with the sword of King James; and that if they persisted in their rebellion, he would destroy their city and strew salt upon its ruins. Fond of theological disputation, he expressed a wish to see Dr. White, who came to his camp; and Moryson records with glee how this learned Deputy discussed theology before the whole army and representatives from the city, and how he detected White misquoting St. Augustine, at which exposure the citizens grew ashamed of their champion. ⁶ In the end Waterford submitted; the public exercise of the Catholic religion was prohibited, and the churches handed over to the Protestant ministers, and, this done, Mountjoy turned westward to Cork. He found that city in open revolt, the gates closed against

⁵ *Carew Papers* (1603-24), pp. 7-12; Moryson, pp. 286-92.

⁶ *Russel's Calendar*, pp. 32-5; Moryson, p. 293.

him, the military stores seized, the soldiers fired on. Again the firmness of Mountjoy conquered. The citizens acknowledged their errors; some few were punished; the Catholic religion was not to be publicly practised; the arms and military stores were handed back; the new King was publicly proclaimed in the city, and the citizens swore allegiance to his person and government. ⁷

In Ulster, about the same time, there was trouble with Nial Garve O'Donnell. Dowcra despised him, but humoured him while the war lasted, for Nial was a capable leader, and had given valuable service.⁸ Promised all Tyrconnell, he insisted on having also Tyrone and Fermanagh, and even Connaught, because the O'Donnells at one time held sway there; and he told Dowcra that over all this territory every foot of land was his, and the very persons of the people; and when the Deputy decided that he had no right to levy cess on O'Doherty he scouted the decision. His indignation increased when Rory O'Donnell was taken into favour. And when the Deputy ordered him to leave Rory's possessions and cattle unmolested he disregarded the command, seized upon Rory's cattle and refused to restore them. He also refused to go to Dublin and explain himself; forbade his people to aid the English garrisons; declared he would have no English sheriff in his territory; threatened to destroy the town of Lifford; and finally had himself inaugurated The O'Donnell at Kilmacrenan with the customary ceremonies of his race.⁹ After Tyrone's submission Mountjoy resolved to chastise Nial. Dowcra arrested him, and when he escaped recaptured him; and, after all his services to the English, his relative Rory was preferred before him, and made an earl, while Nial himself had to be content with an humbler position, and got for his share only a small strip of territory on the banks of the River Finn.¹⁰

On his return from Munster, Mountjoy was called to the English Privy Council; and while he was retained at the head of the Irish government, and with the higher title of Lord Lieutenant, he was

⁷ Moryson, p. 295.

⁸ *Four Masters*. Dowcra's *Narrative*, p. 256.

⁹ *Four Masters*, at 1603. Dowcra's *Narrative*; Moryson, p. 292. !

¹⁰ *Four Masters*.

allowed to appoint a deputy, Sir George Carey, and given permission to reside in England permanently, if he wished.¹¹ James was anxious to see him, as he was to see the Earl of Tyrone. The latter nobleman's pardon was already made out; and in the last days of May, he and Rory O'Donnell, and the Lord Lieutenant, set sail for England.¹² As they passed from Holyhead to London, Tyrone was at various places assailed by the inhabitants, the women throwing dirt at him, enraged, no doubt, because of the number of their friends who had fallen in his wars.¹³ But his reception at court was flattering. His dignity of Earl of Tyrone was confirmed to him; all Tyrone was recognised to be his, and over its whole extent he could exercise martial law; Portmore and the land surrounding it was given to him, but he gave up to the crown in exchange, 600 acres of land for the use of the garrisons of Charlemont and Mountjoy.¹⁴ Rory O'Donnell was created Earl of Tyrconnell, but was to have no authority over O'Connor Sligo, or over O'Doherty of Inishowen; Ballyshannon and 1,000 acres of land surrounding it was specially reserved for the English garrison planted there; and the spiritual livings throughout Tyrconnell were to belong to the King.¹⁵ With these marks of royal favour the two Earls returned to Ireland.

For a time all went well. After a long war there was universal peace. An Act of Oblivion and Indemnity was published by the King (1604), granting pardon to all those who had been in rebellion;¹⁶ English law was extended to the whole country. A Commission of Grace was appointed to accept surrenders of lands held by Irish tenure, and these lands were henceforth to be held by English tenure under an arrangement similar to the Composition of Connaught; Irish exactions, such as bonaght and coshery, ceased; tanistry and gavelkind were declared illegal; judges went circuit even in Tyrconnell and Tyrone; and Sir John Davies declared that the people in Tyrconnell welcomed Judge Pelham as if he was an angel

¹¹ Moryson, p. 295.

¹² Meehan's *Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrconnell and Tyrone*, p. 25.

¹³ Moryson, p. 296.

¹⁴ Meehan, p. 40; Russel's *Calendar*, p. 85.

¹⁵ Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 139-40.

¹⁶ Russel's *Calendar*, p. 146.

from Heaven, so glad were they to have the protection of English law, and to be freed from the tyranny and caprice, and multiplied exactions, of their chiefs.¹⁷ Base money which was in circulation was gradually withdrawn ; new charters were given to the towns ; the laws against the Catholics were not enforced ; and in some cases Mass was said publicly, and churches and monasteries were rebuilt.¹⁸

To have the peace and contentment of the country made permanent it was only necessary that the laws should be fairly administered, that agreements made with the conquered chiefs should be kept, that officials should confine themselves to their official duties, and that, if the Catholic religion, which was the religion of the whole people, could not be publicly recognised, at least its toleration should continue. But this course of conduct was not adopted by the King or his advisers. James was baptised a Catholic, but the misfortunes of his mother soon left him without a mother's care, and those who ruled Scotland were careful to bring him up in hatred of Catholicism. He was trained in the gloomy tenets of Calvin, preached as they were in Scotland by Knox, with a vehemence, an acrimony and a forbidding harshness peculiar to Scotch Presbyterianism.¹⁹ As the King grew older, and was able to judge for himself, he ceased to be satisfied with the morose and intolerant doctrines of his creed. The church organisation, republican in spirit, was little in harmony with his exalted notions of royal prerogative ; he preferred a form of church government in which there were gradations of church dignities, and in which bishops would gather round the throne as its firmest defenders and advocate the divine right of kings.²⁰ He was personally averse to religious persecution. The Catholics were still strong in Scotland, and in spite of the angry and repeated remonstrances of the Presbyterians, he treated them with leniency and forbearance. He wished to stand well with foreign Catholic powers, and had even sent a private mission to the Pope.²¹

¹⁷ Russel's *Calendar*, p. 111.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 244 ; Mant's *History of the Church of Ireland*, Vol. II., p. 349.

¹⁹ Robertson's Works, Vol. II., p. 274 ; Lang's *History of Scotland*, Vol. II., pp. 25-9.

²⁰ Robertson, Vol. III p. 78.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 85, 94, 108-9 ; Gardiner, Vol I., Chapter 3

When he ascended the English throne he showed an anxiety to have religious uniformity between England and Scotland, and would, no doubt, have wished to have the same faith and the same form of church government in Ireland; yet there is little doubt that he might have tolerated the Irish Catholics, as he had tolerated those of his own country, if his hands were left free. But from the first his mind was sought to be poisoned against them. The revolt of the Munster towns was represented as an effort for predominance rather than for toleration; the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Meath personally appealed to him to put down the Catholics, especially priests from abroad, who taught that he was not a lawful king, not having the Pope's confirmation; ²² a friar at Navan who said James was a heretic had his words noted down and sent to London; the Deputy and Council asked that all priests should be expelled the kingdom, and almost every letter that went to London was in the same strain. ²³ Cordially supported by Cecil, who hated the Catholics, these letters at last produced the desired effect, and when the King was sending Chichester to Ireland (1604), he told him to have the true religion established there. The Mayor of Dublin, who refused to take the Oath of Supremacy, was dismissed from office; and in the following July a proclamation was issued ordering all priests to quit Ireland before the end of the year. ²⁴ When the Gunpowder Plot was seen to be the work of some misguided Catholics, Cecil and others were careful to point out that to be a Catholic was to be a rebel, anxious for the dethronement of the King; and in the English Parliament a series of penal laws were passed which were declared by historians to be worthy of a savage rather than of a Christian nation. ²⁵ In Ireland a similar spirit of persecution was displayed. The clergy were ordered anew to quit the kingdom; the people commanded to attend the Protestant churches; and when some lords and gentlemen respectfully remonstrated against these decrees being enforced they were thrown into prison. ²⁶

²² Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 59, 152.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 62, 68.

²⁴ Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 212-13.

²⁵ Lingard's *History of England*, Vol. VII., p. 48.

²⁶ Mant, p. 350; Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 347, 368.

During this time the position of the Earl of Tyrone was one of great difficulty. In being granted full rights over Tyrone, he understood he had the exclusive right to the fishing of the Bann and Lough Foyle, and the right to levy cess on O'Cahan and on the sons of Art O'Neill. Nor did he hesitate to use his rights. He took tribute from O'Neill; he fished the Bann and Foyle; he levied cess on O'Cahan; and he took two servants of Dowcra who had encroached on his territory and had them hanged. O'Cahan felt specially aggrieved. He had deserted Tyrone at a critical period of the war, and for this he was then freed from the jurisdiction of the Earl,²⁷ and was to be immediately subject to the English monarch, and to this agreement Dowcra, acting for the government, was a contracting party. He had also guaranteed to Art O'Neill's sons their castles and lands, and the fishing of Lough Foyle was given to himself. And now, to have this taken from him and two of his servants hanged was too much. He proceeded to Dublin to remonstrate with the Deputy, but effected nothing either for himself or others. Mountjoy told him that the peace of the kingdom depended on Tyrone; while fully recognising the great services of Dowcra, he told him he must resign the fishing of the Foyle and be compensated in some other way; and as to the hanging of his two servants he thought they deserved it, as they were caught robbing a priest. He would speak to Tyrone on behalf of Art O'Neill's sons, but he would not compel him to anything, and must leave their treatment to Tyrone's generosity how he would treat them. As for O'Cahan, he was but a drunken fool, incapable of good or ill; and when Dowcra reminded him of the promises made to him, he grew angry and swore that "O'Cahan must and shall be subject to Tyrone." On his return to Derry Dowcra was accompanied by the Earl of Tyrone's son Hugh, and there he met O'Cahan, who complained bitterly of the treatment he had received. He had been faithful to the Deputy and Dowcra, yet they now abandoned him; he would have done better had he clung to Tyrone. "In the end," says Dowcra in his quaint English, "seeing no remedy, he shaked hands with my Lord Hugh, bade the

²⁷ Meehan, pp. 22-3.

devil take all Englishmen and those who put their trust in them, and in the show of a good reconciled friendship they went away together.”²⁸

There were many others besides O’Cahan who were dissatisfied, English adventurers who came to Ireland in the hope of acquiring estates, and who perhaps had fought for years against the great rebel, expecting that when he was beaten down confiscation of his lands would ensue. They beheld with hungry eyes the fertile fields of Armagh and Tyrone, and in imagination they already possessed them. And it was vexatious to think that all their dreams had come to nought, that the castles and lands they were to possess were but castles in the air. One of these disappointed adventurers, Sir John Harrington, has expressed the embittered feelings with which he was stirred. “I have lived,” he says, “to see that damnable rebel Tyrone brought to England, honoured and well liked. Oh, what is there that does not prove the inconsistency of worldly matters. How I did labour after that knave’s destruction ; I adventured perils by sea and land, was near starving, eat horse-flesh in Munster, and all to quell that man, who smileth in peace at those who did hazard their lives to destroy him.”²⁹

For a time, indeed, the wolves who clamoured for his destruction were baulked of their prey, but when Chichester became Deputy their turn came. In Ulster, he had taken part in the war against Tyrone and had been frequently worsted by him ; the Earl held his abilities in contempt ; and Chichester, vested with authority, resolved to be revenged. Nor was he scrupulous as to the means he used, or as to the character of the instruments he employed. An intolerant Protestant, he wanted the Catholics persecuted in Tyrone as elsewhere ; and, in consequence, the Catholics throughout Tyrone and Tyrconnell were ordered to attend the Protestant churches on pain of forfeiture of goods and imprisonment, and government officials sometimes forced their way into Tyrone’s house to see if he harboured ecclesiastics.³⁰ The Earl’s steps were everywhere dogged by spies ; what he did and said was carefully noted ; a priest

²⁸ Dowcra’s *Narrative*, pp. 274-80.

²⁹ Meehan, p. 39.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 60, 63.

was examined to see if he was privy to the Gunpowder Plot ; his wife was secretly examined as to what his intentions were.³¹

In the autumn of 1606, the Deputy and Sir John Davies, the Attorney-General, made a visitation of Ulster, and greedily sought every scrap of evidence, even every idle tale, that could blacken the character of the Earl of Tyrone, and those of his friends Maguire and O'Donnell. Ever ready for disreputable work, Nial Garve told them it was reported that these chiefs intended to seize the King's forts in Ulster ; and Maguire was thrown into prison by the Deputy until he should swear something which would incriminate the Earl of Tyrconnell. This, to the Deputy's disappointment, Maguire refused to do.³²

More than once Tyrone complained of his treatment. He wrote to Cecil (1604), that it was sought to deprive him of part of his lands ; that he could get no redress from the Deputy ; that many wrongs were done him ; that the fishing of the Bann was sought to be taken from him.³³ And, as if this was not sufficient, he had to complain that the Bishop of Clogher and Derry, instead of being satisfied with rent out of his territory, now laid claim to the land itself.³⁴ This bishop's name was Montgomery. He was a Scotchman, and was appointed by James I. (1605) to the united dioceses of Clogher, Derry and Raphoe.³⁵ But he was in no hurry coming to Ireland, nor was it until two years had passed that he first set foot in Ulster. Yet, though he had little taste for the spiritual duties of his office, he showed great earnestness in the acquisition of wealth ; and over the wide extent of territory subject to him he levied for every cow and calf and plough horse and colt fourpence; from every shoemaker, and carpenter, and smith and weaver a half crown every quarter ; and eighteen pence a year from every married couple. And he energetically prosecuted a lawsuit to recover the church lands of Derry from a countryman and co-religionist, Sir George Paulett.³⁶

³¹ Meehan, pp. 66-7 ; Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 408-10.

³² Russel's *Calendar*, p. 566 ; Meehan, p. 50.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 194, 264.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 286, 503, 549.

³⁵ Ware's *Bishops*.

³⁶ Meehan, pp. 77, 79.

In another direction also his energy and avarice were turned. The Earl of Tyrone complained that he had laid claim to church lands never claimed by any preceding bishop; but Montgomery sharply replied that O'Neill's Earldom was "swollen so big that it will burst if it be not vented."³⁷ Nor was this all. Tyrone and O'Cahan were again disputing, and the bishop, taking sides with the latter, advised him to turn away his wife, who was the Earl's daughter, and to petition the Council at Dublin to be freed altogether from him.³⁸ It was the old dispute, which was thought to have been finally settled by Mountjoy. Tyrone maintained that for centuries the O'Cahans were dependents on the O'Neills; that this was recognised by Henry VIII., when making Conn O'Neill an earl, and in his own case by Elizabeth, and again confirmed by the terms of his submission at Mellifont. The dispute was referred to the Council, before which both Tyrone and O'Cahan appeared. The partiality of the Deputy and Sir John Davies was apparent, and Davies exercised all his ingenuity to show that neither Conn O'Neill nor the present Earl had received any rights by letters patent over the free tenants who dwelt in Tyrone; that these were subject immediately to the King, and that the Earl had only "seignory and certain demesnes." And he wrote privately to Cecil that it would be well if O'Neill were humbled; that a territory 60 miles long and half as wide was too much for one man, and hindered the service of the commonwealth.³⁹ Yet the Irish Council were afraid to adopt these views. The terms of the letters patent were too plain; Mountjoy's decision was on record; and there was an agreement of the previous year between the Earl and O'Cahan, in which the latter specifically acknowledged his dependent position. A provisional arrangement was made that O'Cahan should have two thirds of what was called O'Cahan's country, the remainder going to O'Neill; and that the whole matter should be referred to the King.⁴⁰ In the meantime, Davies was careful to prejudice the mind of Cecil against the Earl of Tyrone, and Mont-

³⁷ Meehan, p. 79.

³⁸ Russel's *Calendar*, (1606-08), p. 144.

³⁹ Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 209-11.

⁴⁰ Russel's *Calendar*, p. 203.

gomery wrote to the same personage telling him that if O'Cahan was made subject to Tyrone, then Derry was in danger, and that, if that city was endangered, the English Protestants might say "*fuimes Troes, fuit Ilium.*"⁴¹ The King wished to have both parties in London, so that their case might be gone into before himself, and Davies was to come over to advise. With such an advocate, already prejudiced, and with Cecil on the same side, there could be little doubt as to what the King's decision would be.⁴²

These interminable disputes wearied the Earl of Tyrone. The truth was that, since making his submission, in 1603, his character as a loyal subject was above reproach. He kept his territory in the best of order; Chichester admitted that he put down a rebellion on the borders of Tyrone with a strong hand, and did not spare his own nephew, who was among the rebels; and Davies declared that there was no part of the country so quiet as Tyrone.⁴³ All O'Neill wanted was to be allowed to live in peace. He had fought a great fight; he had been worsted in the struggle; he had accepted his defeat, and was satisfied to live as a subject of England. But this was becoming impossible. Repeatedly his lands were invaded and seized on pretence of being church lands; and he had to complain to Cecil and to the King that nothing was secured to him; that the terms made with him were flagrantly violated.⁴⁴ His house was often broken into on pretence that he harboured disloyal persons; he was accused of unjustly executing persons by martial law, and when he asked to be confronted by his accusers they did not appear; Chichester insulted him at the Council table, and told him he hoped to live to see him a reformed man, and the animus of Davies could be seen by all the world.⁴⁵ And as if to drive him to despair, it was said that Chichester was to be appointed President of Ulster.⁴⁶ Hard as it was to wage war against the English, it was still harder to be a loyal subject of England. The Earl of Tyrconnell and Maguire were being similarly worried, until at last they determined to leave

⁴¹ Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 217, 219.

⁴² Meehan, p. 93.

⁴³ Russel's *Calendar*, (1603-06) pp. 178, 215.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

⁴⁵ Russel's *Calendar*, (1606-08) pp. 90, 377.

⁴⁶ Meehan, pp. 95, 116.

Ireland ; and when Tyrone was informed by the latter chief that, if he went to London, he would be detained a prisoner there, he also, alarmed by this fresh piece of intelligence, resolved to follow the example of his friends.

In May, 1607, Maguire left Ulster secretly for Brussels. Through the influence of Father Conry and Tyrone's son, Hugh, then a colonel in the service of the Archdukes, he got a donation of 7,000 crowns, and with this he purchased a ship of 80 tons at Rouen, loaded it with a cargo of salt, manned it with 16 guns, and placed it in command of one Bath, a merchant of Drogheda. In the early part of September, the ship so manned, with Maguire on board, and with the French flag flying at the masthead, sailed up Lough Swilly, and cast anchor opposite the old Carmelite Priory at Rathmullen.⁴⁷ In the meantime an anonymous letter had been addressed to the Clerk of the Council at Dublin warning him that a plot was on foot to seize the Castle and murder the Deputy. The writer was discovered to be Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, Lord Howth, a man of restless disposition and of disreputable character. He joined Essex in his rebellion, and was prepared to murder Cecil if Essex had not prevented him ; he served under Mountjoy in Ireland, then in the Low Countries, whence he came back to England ; then he became a Protestant and tried to curry favour with Cecil ; and finally he returned to Ireland, where he was prepared to act as a common informer.⁴⁸ Chichester had little faith in him and could with difficulty keep him to any definite statement. There was, he said, a general revolt of the Irish intended to shake off the yoke of England and adhere to the Spaniards ; and in this conspiracy were involved Lord Delvin, Maguire, the Earl of Tyrconnell, Lord Mountgarrett, Sir Thomas Burke, and Sir Randal McDonnell, afterwards Earl of Antrim ; but, as to Tyrone, he could charge him with nothing, though he suspected he was as deep in the plot as the others.⁴⁹ Though the English Council or the King were not alarmed at these

⁴⁷ Meehan, p. 114.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 104 ; Russel's *Calendar*, (1606-08) pp. 151-3.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-12 ; Russel's *Calendar*, p. 227 ; Gardiner's *England*, Vol. I., pp. 412-13.

disclosures—they seemed to be as sceptical as Chichester himself—they wished that St. Lawrence should come to England, and if he were there when Tyrone and O’Cahan came so much the better. But of all this Tyrone knew nothing, nor does it appear that it was known to his son in Brussels. Even without this his resolution was taken; and after accompanying the Deputy through part of his journey in Ulster he took leave of him, on the 8th of September, and then paid a visit to his old friend, Sir Garrett Moore, at Mellifont. He was noticed to be pensive and melancholy, and at his departure gave his blessing to every member of Moore’s household. By Dundalk he crossed to Armagh, thence passed to Silver Bridge, where his wife met him, and finally, on the 13th of September, he reached Lough Swilly.⁵⁰

The following morning, Maguire’s ship turned her head to the open sea. Besides Tyrone and his wife and children, there were also on board Maguire and Tyrconnell and many of their relatives, in all between 30 and 40 persons. It “was a distinguished crew for one ship, and it is certain that the sea had not supported nor the winds wafted from Ireland in modern times a party of one ship more illustrious or noble.”⁵¹ Their intention was to reach Spain, but the sea was rough, the winds unpropitious; they were driven along the west coast of Ireland so far south that they discovered Croagh Patrick in the distance; they were driven eastwards until they neared Guernsey; nor was it until the 14th of October that they landed safely at Havre. The English ambassador demanded their surrender, which was refused by the French King, though the exiles were requested not to prolong their stay in France. Making their way to Brussels and thence to Louvain, they were everywhere received with the highest honours, and Tyrone was lodged in the royal palace where Charles V. spent his boyish days. The others also were treated with distinction, and compassionated as exiles driven from their native land by religious persecution.⁵² James I. was in a difficulty, as he wished to stand well with France and Spain. And for the enlightenment of these Catholic

⁵⁰ Meehan, pp. 118-19; Gardiner, pp. 414-17.

⁵¹ *Four Masters*.

⁵² Meehan, pp. 121-7, 131.

nations he proclaimed that the Irish chiefs had fled the kingdom from inward terror and guilt; ⁵³ that they had never been persecuted for their religion; that indeed it would be impossible to do so, seeing they had no religion at all, their condition being to think murder no fault, marriage of no use, and no man valiant that did not glory in rapine and oppression. ⁵⁴ The best contradiction of these clumsy calumnies is contained in the despatches of the King's ministers, and can be found in the State Papers of the time.

By the flight of the Earls vast tracts of land were at the King's disposal, and great were the expectations of those greedy adventurers in Ireland who had coveted these lands so long. But the ample extent of such lands was soon increased by the rebellion of Sir Cahir O'Doherty and the treason of Nial Garve O'Donnell. At the death of O'Doherty's father, his uncle rather than himself had been appointed chief by O'Donnell, and so enraged were Cahir and his foster father MacDevitt that they went over to the English. And so pleased was Dowcra at the spirit shown by the young man in the final struggle against Tyrone that he procured him the honour of knighthood; and in the patent by which the new Earl of Tyrconnell got his lands, young O'Doherty, invested with all the lands of Inishowen, was specially exempt from his rule. As time passed, the good opinion entertained of him at Dublin increased; and his marriage with a daughter of Lord Gormanstown (1607) accentuated his loyalty to England. Indeed O'Doherty was so highly thought of that he was foreman of the jury which found a true bill against the fugitive Earls. ⁵⁵ Yet only three months later he was in open rebellion. At some social gathering in Derry he in some way offended the Governor, Sir George Paulet; and Paulet, a coarse, choleric man, struck him in the face with his clenched fist. A young man of spirit would have instantly drawn his sword and revenged the insult; but O'Doherty, then but 21 years of age, had no such spirit. He brooded secretly over the matter and was advised by his friends, the Mac Devitts,

⁵³ Russel's *Calendar*, p. 331.

⁵⁴ *Four Masters*.

⁵⁵ Meehan, pp. 292-3; Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 389-90.

to wipe out the insult in blood, and that they would stand by him in his rebellion.⁵⁶ In the month of April, 1608, he invited the governor of Culmore, Captain Hart, with his wife and child to his own house at Buncrana, and then demanded the keys of the fort, threatening him with instant death if he refused. But Hart was a brave man, and refused, even though O'Doherty had drawn his sword, and Hart himself was unarmed. O'Doherty's wife implored her husband to desist; Hart's wife implored her husband to yield, and ultimately she accompanied O'Doherty to Culmore, where she told the guards that her husband was lying a short distance off with a broken leg. The stratagem was successful. The guards rushed out; O'Doherty and his friends rushed in and seized all the arms and military stores.⁵⁷ Thus armed, they instantly marched on Derry and captured it at break of day, among the killed being Paulet, the Governor, among the prisoners being Montgomery, the bishop, and his wife and child; the town itself was ransacked and burned.⁵⁸ O'Doherty's further operations were desultory and unimportant; the rebellion had at no time a prospect of being successful; and in the following July he was killed in an obscure skirmish at Kilmacrenan.⁵⁹

In much of what he did there is little doubt that O'Doherty was directed by Nial Garve O'Donnell, who at the same time took care to give him no open assistance. He probably egged him on, knowing that his rebellion would end in ruin, that his lands would be confiscated, and hoping that he himself might become a sharer in the spoils. With this object in view Nial wrote to the Deputy, telling him of the capture of Derry, complaining that the English commander held himself in suspicion, and protesting before God that he was a faithful English subject. And he begged that all Tyrconnell should be given him, and also O'Doherty's lands. But the Deputy, distrusting him, advised him to attack and defeat O'Doherty, after which his reward would come.⁶⁰ This advice Nial had no intention of following; he was in fact just then in collusion

⁵⁶ Meehan, p. 295.

⁵⁷ Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 503-5.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 495.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 607; Gardiner, pp. 419-25.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 508-13, 516-20, 574.

with O'Doherty, nor was this unknown at Dublin.⁶¹ But he was tolerated until the rebellion was crushed, and then he was arrested and lodged in Dublin Castle, where he soon had as his fellow prisoner Donall O'Cahan and Cormac MacBaron, brother of the Earl of Tyrone. The former had quarrelled with the bishop of Derry ; it was said also that he had aided O'Doherty, and that, further, he was in sympathy with his father-in-law's flight, and would aid him if he returned.⁶² As for MacBaron, he had hastened to Dublin to tell of his brother's flight, and wished as a reward that he should get the custodiam of his brother's lands. But instead of his loyalty being appreciated, his disloyalty was assumed, and instead of getting the custodiam of his brother's lands Davies rejoiced that the constable of Dublin Castle had the custodiam of him.⁶³ After being nearly two years in Dublin Castle, Nial Garve and O'Cahan made an attempt to escape, and all but succeeded.⁶⁴ They were then taken to London and lodged in the Tower, where they remained till they died. More than any others these two had effected the ruin of the Earl of Tyrone. If they earned thereby the hatred of their own countrymen, they also earned the contempt of their enemies, who never respected or trusted them. When no longer useful they were cast off with disdain ; and for all their treachery, nearly twenty years imprisonment was the reward.

While these events were in progress in Ireland, many misfortunes had befallen those who had accompanied the Ulster chiefs in their flight. Their most urgent motive for going abroad was to escape destruction at home ; they had learned from bitter experience what was the character of the English officials with whom they had to deal ; and they believed they could more safely plead their innocence before the King even from their place of exile. From Louvain both the Earls sent a long statement of their grievances. They detailed how every right guaranteed to them had been invaded, every promise made to them broken ; how witnesses were suborned to

⁶¹ Russel's *Calendar*, p. 594.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 590 ; Meehan, p. 289.

⁶³ Meehan, p. 271.

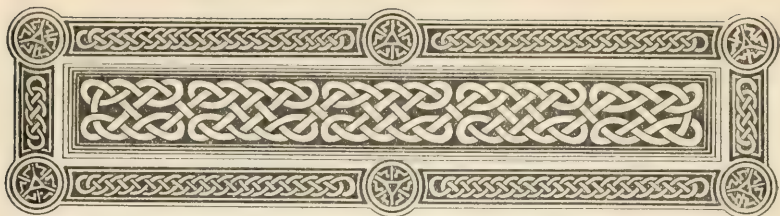
⁶⁴ Meehan, p. 319.

swear away their liberties and their lives ; how nothing which they stated was believed, and nothing their enemies or treacherous friends stated was disbelieved ; how even the highest officials of the King insulted them and provoked them beyond endurance.⁶⁵ If James had been advised by a fair-minded minister, he might have believed these statements, or at least he would have investigated them. But his chief adviser, Cecil, was a trickster and a bigot, understanding no motive except self-interest, unscrupulous as to means, and foremost in every measure of persecution against the Catholics. He hated these Irish chiefs, and under his advice the King did not deign to reply to the statement of the exiled Earls. Worse than this, he encouraged his ambassadors abroad to blacken their characters, and this was done with such success that they were prevented from going to Spain as they had intended ; that their continued presence in the Low Countries was not regarded with favour ; and that on their journey to Rome they were refused permission to enter Venice. But at Rome their reception was cordial. The Pope treated them with the honour due to princes. Both Earls had palaces placed at their disposal, and Tyrone was given an allowance of 100 crowns a month, augmented, a little later, by an allowance of 500 crowns from the King of Spain. Soon afterwards, Tyrconnell contracted malarial fever and died at Rome, while Maguire the same year (1605) died at Genoa. The surviving chief was the greatest, and by the English the most feared, and many were the spies who watched his movements. Perhaps he expected that Spain or France might have interceded for him with the English King and restored him to his country and his lands. In this he was disappointed, and equally futile was his hope that Spain and England might go to war ; and as for returning to Ireland, where the natives were goaded to madness by their rulers, and would have flocked to his standards, this too was impossible, for the spies gave the earliest information of his plans, and they were thwarted as soon as they were formed. After the death of Cecil, in 1612, he made a personal appeal to the new minister, Somerset, but in vain ; not even a reply was sent. Finally, in 1616,

⁶⁵ Meehan, pp. 193-225.

his hopes ceased, his plans were no longer formed. In that year he got seriously ill, as a result of which he became blind. Old, weary, and sightless, and, far away from his own Tyrone, he died, in July of that year, and was laid to rest beside O'Donnell in the Franciscan Church of St. Pietro in Montorio, on the summit of the Janiculum Hill.

In him the Irish lost their greatest leader, the greatest that had ever led them into battle or presided over their councils. Both Red Hugh and Art MacMurrough were daring chiefs ; but the former wanted steadiness and patience, while the latter confined his efforts to Leinster alone. Unlike O'Donnell, O'Neill was cautious and foreseeing, laying his plans with care, and refusing to be led by impulse or passion, and unlike MacMurrough, his activity extended to the whole country, and his purpose was to combine, against the common enemy, the scattered fragments of the nation's power. Had he been born a century earlier, he would probably have driven the English from Ireland, broken up the clan system, and erected a powerful monarchy on its ruins. In his own day, against the whole forces of England, he all but succeeded ; and failed only because of the universal treachery which surrounded him, a treachery so appalling, so shameful, that, except O'Donnell and Maguire, there was not one on whom an honest man could rely, none that was not a trickster or a cheat. Amid such leaders he towers as does the Pyramid over the plain. Later ages were not slow to recognise his worth ; and in seasons of stress and storm his countrymen sought, but they sought in vain, for another Hugh O'Neill.



CHAPTER XIII.

The Plantation of Ulster.

AT the accession of the Stuarts, the long struggle between Irish and English civilisation was still maintained; but in three provinces out of four Irish institutions were disappearing, as English power was unmistakably predominant. In Connaught the Burkes flourished and were often as turbulent as their neighbours; yet they remembered their English descent and were susceptible to English influences; they accepted the Composition of Connaught and induced others to accept it. The head of their family, Clanricarde, was the champion and pillar of the English interest; and by his example and authority Connaught became familiar with English tenures, sheriffs were appointed, judges went circuit, jails were erected, and juries were empanelled.¹ Equally zealous in the same direction was the Earl of Thomond, whose County of Clare since 1602 was annexed to Munster; and over the wide extent of territory once subject to the Earls of Desmond the relations between chief and clansmen were being gradually, but effectually, extinguished. As for Leinster, it was the province of the Pale, the source and centre from which English influences radiated and effected change. But in Ulster the weakness of the Central Authority at Dublin in the 15th century, had enabled the chiefs to regain what they had lost, and to undo the work of De Courcy and his

¹ Russel's *Calendar* (1606-8), p. 485.

successors, until the tide of conquest was rolled back almost to the gates of Dublin. The ability of Shane O'Neill, and the still greater ability of his kinsman Hugh, postponed the Anglicising of their native province; and even at the submission of Mellifont it was the O'Neills and the O'Donnells and the Maguires who were still masters of Ulster.

It was the dream of Lord Burleigh to have English law and customs prevail throughout Ireland, yet he effected little, for the arrangement by which the chiefs received their lands by English tenure only turned them into powerful vassals of the crown, while the relations between them and their tenants remained unchanged. These tenants still held by Irish tenure and had no certain lands, but were allowed to graze a certain number of cattle on the common lands of the septs. They tilled but little; they ploughed with short ploughs tied to the horses' tails; their houses were of boughs coated with turf.² Even the chiefs dwelt in clay houses; and one of these chiefs, Conn O'Neill, advised his people not to learn English, nor sow wheat, nor build houses, for the first, he said, breeds conversation, the second commerce, and with the last they should speed as the crow that builds her nest to be beaten out by the hawk.³ The people's wealth consisted in their cattle, in tending which most of their time was spent. These cattle were numbered from time to time on behalf of the chief; and according to the number each man had, was his rent assessed, and the rent was paid partly in money, partly in oats, oatmeal, butter, hogs and mutton.⁴

The son of Lord Burleigh, Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, was as anxious as his father that these customs should cease; that the right of the King as supreme Lord of all the lands in Ulster should be recognised; and that the chiefs and sub-chiefs should hold their lands by freehold tenure. By trusting the Earl of Tyrone, by kindly treatment of him, he might have carried out his policy. But he never trusted the Earl or the other Ulster chiefs; he rancorously remembered their long resistance and the expenses

² Russel's *Calendar* (1611-14), pp. 431-2.

³ *Ibid.*, Preface.

⁴ *Ibid.*, (1608-10), pp. 532-4.

thereby entailed on England ; he suspected their loyalty, hated their religion, and excluded them from every branch of the executive government. His zeal was equalled and even exceeded by the Deputy and his subordinates, and hence was O'Doherty freed from dependence on the Earl of Tyrconnell, and O'Cahan from Tyrone ; hence were the bishops supported when they laid claim to church lands ; and Tyrone's tenants on one pretext or another were given their lands in freehold.

By the flight of the Earls and the rebellion of O'Doherty the main obstacles were removed to the most sweeping changes in Ulster. But it was necessary to proceed cautiously. The fugitive Earls were thought on the Continent to be deeply injured men, and they should, if possible, be declared guilty, and by a jury of their own countrymen. Nor was there much difficulty in this ; and at Lifford, a jury, mostly Irish and Catholic, and with Sir Cahir O'Doherty as foreman, and at Strabane a jury similarly composed, presided over by Sir Henry O'Neill, found the Earls guilty of conspiring against the King, of intending to seize the Castle of Dublin, and of departing from the country with intent to return with foreign arms. They found also that the Earl of Tyrone had assumed the name of "The O'Neill," and that he was guilty of 19 murders. This referred to persons he had put to death by martial law.⁵ The jurors at Lifford had some scruple about finding that the Earls plotted the King's death ; but the arguments of Davies satisfied them—that if the Earls were rebels, then it necessarily followed they wished the King's death, for he that would take off his crown would take off his head, if he could. As to O'Doherty's treason, there was little delay in establishing that ; there was an inquiry "*super visum corporis* ;" his head fixed over the gates of Dublin Castle was the head of a traitor taken in open arms, and as such his lands also were forfeited to the crown.⁶ The guilt of Nial Garve O'Donnell and of O'Cahan was taken as sufficiently established, and the guilt of Cormac O'Neill could not be established, but was assumed.⁷

⁵ Russel's *Calendar* (1606-8), pp. 389-93, 555-6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 613.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 590-1.

Early in 1608, a Commission was appointed to ascertain what was the extent of the escheated lands in the six counties of Armagh, Cavan, Fermanagh, Donegal, Tyrone, and Derry, then called the county of Coleraine; what lands belonged to the church and to the chiefs; and what was to be done with these lands. The Commissioners, of whom the Bishop of Derry and Sir John Davies were members, drew up a project for the division of these lands, pointing out what were the classes to whom lands should be given, and in what proportion they should receive them.⁸ Later in the same year, the Deputy and Davies were again in Tyrone, surveying that county. Thence they passed into Coleraine through the valley of Glenconkeine, where the wild inhabitants, says Davies, wondered as much to see the King's Deputy as the ghosts in Virgil wondered to see Eneas alive in Hell.⁹ The lands of O'Doherty and O'Cahan, in the meantime, were added to those already escheated, and thus was the whole country from the Bann to Ballyshannon at the King's disposal. When the Deputy returned to Dublin, he sent Davies and Sir James Ley to London, giving them the Commissioners' project or plan for the settlement of Ulster; it was laid before a Committee of the English Privy Council, and debated and discussed by them, often in the presence of the King; and early in the next year Davies returned. Maps of the escheated counties were then made out, and in the following year (1610), a Commission was appointed to see that the project, as finally settled in London, was carried out.

It was to be a new Plantation, more thorough, more sweeping, more complete than any which had yet been attempted. The object of all such projects was to make the territories so settled English and Protestant, but so far each Plantation had failed to effect the purpose of its promoters. In the King's and Queen's Counties, the planters and the Irish were side by side, and so badly did they agree that it was thought necessary by the Government to remove the remnant of the O'Mores and the other native septs from the Queen's County to the County of Kerry (1609), a

⁸ *Carew Papers*, pp. 13-22.

⁹ *Russel's Calendar*, p. 16.

measure of severity and injustice. In Munster, the English Undertakers got tracts of land too large for them to occupy and till ; they found it impossible to obtain a sufficiency of English and Protestant dependents, and had to employ Irish ; some of them succumbed to native influences, and those who did not were overwhelmed in the disturbances that followed. Such mistakes as these, Davies and his fellow Commissioners were determined should not be repeated in Ulster. The land was to be divided between Undertakers, partly English, partly Scotch ; servitors, that is, those who had served the government in Ireland in a civil or military capacity, all, or nearly all of whom were natives of England ; and, lastly, the natives of Ulster. No Undertaker was to get more than 2,000 acres of land, others but 1,500 acres, others but 1,000 ; all were to be Protestants and to frequent the Protestant churches, and they were to employ no Irish in any capacity. They were to build stone houses, to plough and till after the English fashion, to enclose and fence their lands ; and to have a certain number of freeholders in proportion to the lands they held. Some of these freeholders had 200 acres, some half that amount ; some had even less than 20 acres ; some held only under lease ; all paid the Undertaker a fixed rent, and owed him no other service. The planter himself held from the crown, not by knight's service but by common socage ; and what lands he had not parcelled out to tenants he held himself as demesne lands.¹⁰ The servitors were placed in the most dangerous places. Their experience in native warfare would enable them better to watch the Irish and to defend the posts of danger. Like the Undertakers, they should build and sow in the English fashion, rigidly eschew Irish customs, employ no Irish except in menial occupations ; nor were they to intermarry with them. The principal Irish were to get grants of land in the same way as the servitors and the Undertakers, and were to portion out part of these lands to their fellow-countrymen, to be held in freehold. They were to be placed in the plains, so that they could be more easily under the eyes of the servitors.

¹⁰ For each parcel of 1,000 acres the Undertaker paid a Crown rent of £5 6s. 8d., the servitor, £8, the native Irish, £10 13s. 4d.

Zealous for Protestantism, the King and his advisers provided liberally for the Church. The ancient termon lands of Ulster were considerable, and these were given to the Protestant bishops to erect and support their churches. In addition to these, Chichester himself got all Inishowen; the City of London got the whole county of Coleraine, the name of which was changed to Londonderry; the Clothworkers got lands on the eastern shore of Lough Foyle; further south were the Haberdashers, and Grocers and Goldsmiths; on the western shore of Lough Neagh were the Salters and Drapers, and further inland were the Ironmongers and Skinners.¹¹ These corporations, like the bishops, were bound to have their lands peopled by English or Scotch, who would be good Protestants, and avoid and abhor the Irish.¹²

It was at first intended that the Undertakers should draw lots for their lands,¹³ but Chichester disapproved of this method. It was better that they should be grouped together, so many in each group, and made up of those who were bound together by ties of friendship, or race, or blood. They would thus be more likely to combine for mutual defence against the common dangers to which on a strange and hostile country they might be exposed.¹⁴ This suggestion was adopted, and each group of Undertakers, or rather the territory they occupied, became known as a precinct. Exclusive of the lands assigned to the London Corporations and of the Church lands, there were 28 such precincts, of which 8 were exclusively English, 8 exclusively Scotch; the remaining 12 being either servitors or natives.¹⁵ Chichester pleaded that the better sort of the natives should be given substantial portions of lands; there were numbers of swordsmen in Ulster, sons and brothers of chiefs, men who had fought in the late wars, and whom it would be highly dangerous to provoke. Some of these had fought on the English side, and had been promised special treatment. But the Deputy pleaded their cause in vain, and in the final settlement the natives

¹¹ *Carew Papers*, p. 15; *Russel's Calendar*, p. 136; *Hill's Plantation of Ulster*, p. 432.

¹² *Russel's Calendar*, pp. 54-65; *Harris's Hibernica*, pp. 105-38.

¹³ *Carew*, p. 14.

¹⁴ *Russel's Calendar*, pp. 159.

¹⁵ *Russel's Calendar*, p. 411.

got only a miserable share out of all proportion to what they expected, and out of all proportion to what, in Chichester's view, they should have got. And when these Commissioners announced their decision at Cavan (1610) there was grave dissatisfaction. The natives had employed a lawyer to plead for them, and he claimed that they had estates of inheritance and were not involved in the treason of their chiefs. But Davies, who grudged them anything, held that their tenure was only Irish tenure, which had been declared void in law ; that they never built houses or orchards, which was an admission on their own part of the uncertain nature of their tenure ; and that they were only a pack of bastards, as they never respected lawful matrimony ; and he concluded, and satisfied his fellow Commissioners, that the King was free to dispose of their lands in law, in conscience and in honour. ¹⁶ In Fermanagh, Conor Maguire as the Queen's Maguire, complained of his treatment, and in Tyrone the O'Quinns and the O'Hagans did the same ; but there was no further trouble. Powerless to resist, the natives resigned themselves to the inevitable ; the Plantation of Ulster became an accomplished fact ; English and Scotch were put in possession of their new estates ; and the Irish sullenly abandoned the fields they loved, in whose earth the bones of their fathers were laid, and in whose bosom they hoped to rest, when the joys and sorrows of life were over. The swordsmen who were most feared by the English were in part shipped away to Sweden, to fight the battles of a Protestant King, and Chichester claimed that 6,000 of these had been sent away during his term of office. ¹⁷ Ireland was peaceable because it was helpless, and Davies and men like him rejoiced at the work they had done, and pronounced that it was good. But Carew, the former President of Munster, who was then in Ireland (1614) saw further than they did. He thought that if a rebellion did arise in the future it would be much more dangerous to the State than any that had preceded it ; that the new Plantation of Ulster and of other parts with English and Scotch would greatly embitter the quarrel. ¹⁸ And the rebellion of 1641 and the torrents of blood which on many

¹⁶ Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 497-501.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* (1611-14), p. 479.

¹⁸ *Carew Papers*, Preface.

occasions since have been shed show how clear was his foresight and how amply his prediction was fulfilled.

During all these events, no Parliament was held at Dublin ; but when Ulster was settled and Ireland at peace it was thought well that one should be summoned. For the first time it would be the Parliament of all Ireland, and it would be important if this national assembly would approve of what had been done. In 1612, Heads of Bills were sent to England, to be examined and approved of in accordance with Poyning's Act. The desired measures were examined and sent back ; 38 new boroughs were created, thus making 226 members of Parliament in all ; writs were then sent out, and in May of the following year the Parliament so summoned and constituted assembled in Dublin. In the counties and boroughs, the number of voters was small, but they were overwhelmingly Catholic except in the newly planted districts of Ulster. A Parliament with a large Catholic majority ill-suited the King and his advisers, and hence so many new boroughs were formed, for the purpose of securing a Protestant majority. The Catholics, fearing new penal laws, protested against the new boroughs and against many irregularities in the elections ; and six Catholic Lords addressed a letter to the King complaining that they had not, contrary to custom, been consulted by the Deputy in preparing the Heads of Bills ; that some of the new boroughs did not pass the rank of the poorest villages in the poorest country in Christendom ; that an assembly so constituted was not the voice of the people ; and they asked the King not to have as Parliamentary boroughs places consisting of a few beggarly cottages ; to order that Parliament should be conducted with moderation ; and to withdraw such laws as might tend to forcing the people's consciences in matters of religion.¹⁹ No answer was sent to this petition ; the few beggarly cottages were constituted boroughs ; and when Parliament met, the Protestants had a majority in the Upper House, and in the House of Commons they had 128 to 98, counting all the new boroughs, and all returned by the new sheriffs, though the returns in many cases were matters of dispute,

The first business in the House of Commons was to elect a

¹⁹ Russel's *Calendar*, Preface.

Speaker, and after an undignified squabble, in which force was used, Sir John Davies was elected. As a protest the Catholics withdrew, and would take no further part in the proceedings of Parliament;²⁰ the Catholic lords followed their example; and both drew up petitions to the Deputy, the English Council and the King. Parliament was then prorogued, six Catholic delegates went to London, while the Irish Council sent three; and in London there was much debate before the King and Council, about the general grievances of the Catholics, about the abuses of Irish administration, and about the irregularities at the recent elections. Commissioners were sent by the King to Ireland to inquire on the spot, and when they returned there were further debates and complaints, and finally the King announced his decision, in April, 1614.²¹ A report had gone abroad that he meant to tolerate the Catholic religion—he had said so to Sir James Gough—but the alarm among the Protestants became so great, that the King now declared he meant no such thing, that his words had been misconstrued; and Gough was cast into prison. And perhaps these facts will partly explain the character of the King's speech in giving his decision. He told the Catholic delegates that they had carried themselves tumultuously; that their proceedings were rude and disorderly and worthy of severe punishment, which could only be redeemed by their future good behaviour; that the Catholics in Parliament were a body without a head, a "very bugbear." He asked them what right had they to question what boroughs he created, or peers; he could have made 40 peers and 400 boroughs if he wished, "the more the merrier, the fewer the better cheer;" as Catholics he considered them as half subjects, for the Pope was their father in spirituals, himself only in temporals. As to the 14 returns they complained of, only two were proved false, and in his judgment nothing was proved faulty, unless indeed they would have the kingdom of Ireland like the Kingdom of Heaven.

After this long interval, Parliament resumed its sittings, and Davies was recognised Speaker by all parties, and took special care

²⁰ Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 392-405; *Carew Papers*, pp. 270-5.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 373-81, 387-8, 472, 456.

to conciliate the Catholics. The Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell were then attainted; the bill recognising the King's title to their lands was passed, and, these things done, Parliament was prorogued. And Davies rejoiced that it had done good work; for the newly erected boroughs, which Parliament recognised, would be perpetual seminaries of Protestant burgesses, it being provided in their charters that the provost and twelve chief burgesses who were to elect all the others should take the Oath of Supremacy; next, both Catholics and Protestants had attainted the Earl of Tyrone, and foreign nations would note this, because it had been said that only the Protestants plotted his ruin; lastly, laws had been passed to root out felons on land and pirates on sea, and the King's title to the Ulster lands was recognised, though Davies added, in the spirit of a courtier, that this added nothing to his Majesty's undoubted rights.²² In this better temper of all parties, no penal laws were enacted against the Catholics, and those in existence were not enforced; while the provisions of the Statute of Kilkenny in regard to intermarriages and fostering between English and natives, were repealed. The Catholics expressed their gratitude by voting a subsidy to the King, which was taken thankfully, and James declared that the differences which had lately arisen between the contending parties in Parliament were the result of ignorance and misunderstanding, that he had cancelled the memory of them, and that henceforth he would be as careful of all his subjects in Ireland as he was of the safety of his own person.²³ Parliament was then dissolved (1615), and the next year Chichester, raised to the peerage as Baron of Belfast, retired from the viceroyalty, and went to London, where, in 1625, he died.²⁴

During his long term of office he had treated the Catholics with great severity; cruelly put to death the aged Bishop of Derry, O'Devanny, whose only crime was that he was a Catholic Bishop and refused to change his faith; and many were the officials he had dismissed from office because they refused to take the Oath of

²² Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 514-17.

²³ Gardiner's *History of England* (1603-42), Vol. II., pp. 285-303.

²⁴ Meehan, pp. 411-13.

Supremacy.²⁵ In retiring from office he could truly say that he had laboured hard for the extirpation of Popery, but had to confess that he had failed, though not through any fault of his own.²⁶ His successor, Sir Oliver St. John, was even more rabidly opposed to the Catholics, and evidently hoped to succeed where Chichester had failed. Before he became Deputy he had sat in the Irish Parliament; and in the session of 1615 unsuccessfully endeavoured to have the 5th of November made a religious festival. After he became Deputy, his zeal had freer scope; and a stupid rebellion in Ulster (1616), in which it was sought to liberate from his prison at Charlemont the Earl of Tyrone's son, gave him a plausible excuse for fresh measures of severity. A proclamation of banishment was then published against the regular clergy;²⁷ all magistrates and officers of justice were required to take the Oath of Supremacy, on pain of dismissal from office; and the Corporation of Waterford, because they persisted in electing a Catholic mayor, were deprived of their charter.²⁸ Chichester had already attempted to repeat in Wexford what had been done in Ulster, and nearly half its lands were taken from the natives and handed over to Undertakers. Not satisfied with this, St. John wanted to plant Longford and Ely O'Carroll; and he suggested that little land be allowed to the natives anywhere.²⁹ These measures, in a country which was almost exclusively Catholic, and in which there was no disturbance which could justify further confiscations, produced widespread discontent, and everywhere the Deputy was regarded as a tyrant and a bigot. In addition to this, he had offended some of his co-religionists who were in occupation of Church lands, which he sought to take from them.³⁰ Their complaints were joined to those of the Catholics; under such a Deputy peace seemed impossible and discontent might ripen into rebellion. It was thought better to have a man of different temperament in charge of the Irish Government, and, in 1622, St. John was recalled to England;

²⁵ *Four Masters. Spicilegium Ossoriense*, Vol. I., pp. 124-6.

²⁶ Russel's *Calendar*, (1615-25), pp. 19-20, 69.

²⁷ Leland's *History of Ireland*, Vol. II., p. 461.

²⁸ *Carew Papers*, pp. 335-41.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 367-8.

³⁰ Leland, p. 462.

but lest he might feel hurt at his treatment, he was created a peer, with the title of Viscount Grandison.³¹

In 1593, a Protestant College was founded at Dublin. It was endowed with the lands of the Monastery of All Hallows, and subsequently got several thousands of acres of the escheated lands of Ulster, and under the name of the College of the Undivided Trinity it was to be a centre and stronghold of Protestant instruction. The sons of the native chiefs who might be detained in Dublin as hostages, and who being under age, were Government wards, were educated within its walls. At the most impressionable period of life, their minds were moulded and their principles formed there, and if they were allowed back to their own people, they went, hating the religion in which their fathers had died and which was still professed by the people around them. Thus was one object of the new College attained. Even a more important object was to train a capable ministry who would rescue Protestantism from the disrepute of being preached to the people by stablemen and horse-boys. Among the first so trained was James Usher. In ability and learning he was easily first among Irish Protestants of the time. But his great intellect was darkened by religious bigotry, and in an age which did not practise toleration, or believe in it, none was more intolerant than he. He favoured that sect of the Protestant Church in England which had grown into prominence under the name of the Puritans, a narrow, illiberal, intolerant sect which followed Calvin rather than Luther. They sought, in 1595, to impose their peculiar tenets on the Church of England, and drew up a formulary of faith under the name of the Lambeth Articles; but their formulary was rejected both by Queen Elizabeth and by James I. Yet, swayed by the learning of Usher, the Convocation of the Irish Church adopted the spirit, almost the very words, of these articles (1615), and in a formulary drawn up by them, and approved by the Deputy, it was declared, following Calvin, that some were predestined to be saved and others to be damned; that the Sabbath day is to be entirely dedicated to God and not even necessary works performed; that the Pope was the Man of Sin

³¹ Leland, Vol. II., p. 463; Cox, p. 36.

foretold in the Scripture.³² To such a man as Usher, the bare thought that the policy of intolerance and persecution pursued by St. John was to be reversed under his successor, was little short of a scandal; and when the new Deputy, Falkland, came to Dublin, Usher, then Bishop of Meath, preached before him, and taking his text from the Epistle to the Romans—"He beareth not the sword in vain"—he delivered a violent attack on the Catholics, winding up with the curious declaration that he abhorred all cruel dealings against them, and wished that effusion of blood might be held the badge of the Whore of Babylon rather than of the Church of God. This heartless language towards a people already grievously afflicted was condemned by the aged Protestant Primate of Armagh, in language the mildness of which was not unworthy of an Apostle. Usher got ashamed of his words, and tried to explain them away, and for the moment the Catholics were left in peace.³³ But it was not for long, and in the next year (1623), a proclamation was issued ordering the clergy, secular and regular, to quit the kingdom. In the next two years they were by turns persecuted and favoured. The son and heir of King James was negotiating a marriage with a Spanish princess, which finally came to nothing, and during the negotiations his failure or success was reflected in the treatment of the Irish Catholics. If he was on the point of succeeding they were treated kindly, if on the point of failure the penal laws against them were enforced.³⁴

It was at this date (1625) that James I. died. He was but little regretted in England, where his passion for unworthy favourites excited displeasure, his pedantry contempt, his low habits disgust; while the earnestness with which he asserted the absolute power of a sovereign, and the duty of the subjects to blindly obey him, was little in harmony with the rising spirit of liberty.³⁵ In Ireland, he was regretted still less. He could have interfered to see that the Catholics were treated with fair play, as long as they

³² Mant, pp. 384-7.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 408-12; Cox, pp. 35-9.

³⁴ Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 433-60.

³⁵ Lang. *History of Scotland*, Vol. II., pp. 477-8.

were loyal ; yet he allowed them to be worried by penal laws. When Tyrone and those in rebellion submitted, he pardoned them for all they had done ; yet, without any crime being proved against them, he confiscated their lands, as he did the lands of the natives in Wexford and Longford, and at his death he was contemplating further confiscations.³⁶

From the new King, Charles I., the Irish expected better than plantations and persecutions, and therefore regarded his accession with pleasure. He was young, his bad qualities were not yet developed, and the year he became King he married a Catholic princess ; and it was not likely that he would persecute his subjects because they professed a creed which was also professed by his own Queen. Next to their religious grievances was the question of the land. Possession for centuries, pardon for offences committed, even services rendered to the Crown, seemed to give no security. A crowd of hungry adventurers spread themselves over the country, and held inquisitions as to the titles by which the natives held their lands ; venal themselves, they were able to get juries who were venal and corrupt ; and under pretence of advancing the public interest and increasing the King's revenue, they dispossessed many Catholic proprietors and seemed bent on dispossessing many more. In this matter, those of English descent were as badly off as the old Irish, and all were anxious for some guarantee that they should not be disturbed, nor did it suit the King to drive them to desperation. England was at war with Spain ; there was talk of a descent of the Spaniards on Ireland ; and if the Spaniards did come, the Irish would hail them as deliverers.³⁷ In order to make the Catholics more loyal, some toleration in religion must be given them. But the bare mention of toleration scandalized the Protestants, and Usher, now Archbishop of Armagh, summoned all the bishops and vehemently denounced it (1626), declaring that Catholicity was superstitious and idolatrous, and that to tolerate it, especially for money, was to participate in sin and to set religion to sale. The English Parliament, dominated by Puritans, were

³⁶ Russel's *Calendar*, Preface.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 537.

equally bigoted, and remonstrated with equal vehemence.³⁸ Yet to a needy sovereign such as Charles the offer of the Catholics was alluring, for they offered to give the King a subsidy of £120,000, to be paid in three yearly instalments. Charles accepted the offer, and in exchange promised them certain privileges called *graces*. By these lawyers might practice in the courts without taking the Oath of Supremacy; titles to lands held for 60 years were not to be raised; and the inhabitants of Connaught, who were especially menaced, might make a new surrender of their lands, get new letters patent for them, and have these patents enrolled in the Court of Chancery, paying the same fees as were paid in the preceding reign; and this done, their titles should never again be questioned. These "*graces*" and others were to be brought before Parliament and to receive Parliamentary sanction; but the time passed; the money instalments were paid by the Catholics; nor had the "*graces*" been granted when Falkland, in 1629, was recalled. In the meantime, a fresh proclamation was issued that "*Popish rites and ceremonies*" were to cease; St. Patrick's Purgatory in Donegal was dug up and desecrated (1630); fifteen religious houses were seized for the King's use, and a Catholic College lately erected at Back Lane in Dublin was handed over to Trinity College. Under the stern rule of the succeeding Deputy, and no doubt by his advice, the King, having got the money, failed to keep his word; and the "*graces*" were never given, and never even brought before Parliament.³⁹

The new Deputy, the ablest, the boldest, the most unscrupulous who ever yet filled the office, was Lord Wentworth, better known as the Earl of Strafford. For more than ten years his position had been a prominent one in the English Parliament, where he had resisted the arbitrary proceedings of the King. Yet he did not want revolutionary reforms, nor did he want to set up the despotism of Parliament in place of the despotism of the Crown. He was a staunch supporter of Episcopalian Protestantism, and had no sympathy with the Puritans; and when these latter, not satisfied

³⁸ Cox, pp. 43-4.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 55; Mant, Vol. I., p. 433.

with the concessions they had obtained, wanted the undue limitations of the royal prerogative, and the abolition of episcopacy as an evil, he deserted them, and ranged himself on the King's side.⁴⁰ Nor was he less zealous henceforward as a defender of the King's rights, than he had been as a champion of popular liberty. In Ireland he found many things which required immediate attention, many abuses which required to be reformed, much discontent which it was necessary to allay. The officials were insolent and overbearing, the army ill-paid and inefficient, pirates insulted and plundered the coast-towns; ⁴¹ there were many monopolies which pressed hard on the people. In Ulster the planters did not observe the conditions under which they had obtained grants of land. in the Protestant Church the ministers were uneducated, some non-resident and holding a plurality of benefices; the churches were in ruins, the church lands alienated to laymen, church ceremonies a burlesque of what church ceremonies ought to be.⁴²

Under the inspiration of Usher, Protestantism had adopted some of the doctrines of Puritanism; and there were cases in Ulster where bishops had accepted the services of ministers who were Presbyterians, and who vigorously and openly rejected an episcopal form of church government.⁴³ The Catholics were especially discontented. The vast majority of the nation, they were excluded from all share in the executive government; the laws requiring them to attend the Protestant services and to take the Oath of Supremacy at any time might be enforced; and while they had paid the subsidies, none of the "graces" had been given them. As to their lands, there was universal insecurity. It was an age of adventurers and freebooters, and if some men went to America to make their fortunes, others went to Ireland. Their object was to get land; they were not scrupulous as to means or methods; and the officials in Dublin were ready to encourage them, and were often acting in collusion with them. Under the specious plea of increasing the King's revenue all manner of frauds were

⁴⁰ Lingard, Vol. vii., pp. 164-8.

⁴¹ *Calendar of the Ormond MSS.*, Vol. i., p. 25.

⁴² Stafford's *Letters*, Vol. i., pp. 90, 96, 171.

⁴³ Mant, Vol. i., pp. 454-60.

perpetrated. It might be that when the natives surrendered their lands to get them back by English tenure, they neglected to take out the requisite letters patent; or, if they took out letters patent, these documents were not enrolled in Chancery, as they should be; it might be that some flaw was subsequently found; the rents were not paid in the prescribed form, the name of a townland was not given correctly; and on such pretexts they were dragged before a court and fined, or deprived of all or of portion of their lands.⁴⁴

Or it might be that the landholder compounded with his tormenter by giving him money or part of his land, only to find that some fresh accusation was made, and the former composition left him still insecure. And if no defective title could be established, false charges against the landholder were put forth, as in the case of Phelim O'Byrne of Wicklow; in whose case criminals were reprieved at the gallows and prisoners set free so as to swear against him; others were tortured for the same purpose. Shane O'Toole and two others declared on the scaffold that they were asked to swear against O'Byrne, and because they refused, and for no other reason, they were thus hurled into eternity.⁴⁵

If these proceedings had increased the King's revenue, Wentworth would complain little; for he had no sense of law or justice, had little sympathy with the natives, and none at all with those who were Catholics.⁴⁶ It was not, however, the King who was enriched, but individuals, and Wentworth called a Parliament, as he wished to have its sanction for what he intended to do. It was difficult to get the Protestants and Catholics to agree. The former wanted more persecutions and more confiscations of Catholic lands; but Wentworth dexterously played off one party against the other, telling the Protestants he was of their Church and would defend its privileges, telling the Catholics that the "graces" would be granted. In the first session Parliament voted to the King six subsidies amounting to £100,000. In the second session the question of the "graces" was considered, and under the domination of

⁴⁴ Carte's *Life of the Duke of Ormond*, Vol. I., pp. 60-1.

⁴⁵ Belling's *History of the Irish Confederation*, Appendix; Miss Hickson's *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*, Vol. II., pp. 306-23.

⁴⁶ Green's *Short History of the English People*, Vol. III., p. 155.

Wentworth it was decided that some minor concessions might be granted, some others might be left to the King's good pleasure, but the one limiting the King's title to a period of 60 years, and the other for passing new letters patent for Connaught and Clare were absolutely refused, the Deputy declaring that they were not expedient for the kingdom just then, or necessary, or convenient to be enacted.⁴⁷

The next year (1635), Wentworth went to Connaught. He considered Ireland to be a conquered country, at the disposal of the King, who could tax the people as he pleased, and revoke or modify grants of lands made by preceding kings.⁴⁸ With such ideas, he proceeded to establish the King's title to the lands of Connaught. In Sligo and Roscommon and Mayo he had little difficulty. He frightened the sheriffs, and browbeat the juries; and in each case it was found that the lands belonged to the King.⁴⁹ In Galway, they were not so complying. When they accepted the Composition of Connaught and surrendered their lands, they got them back by English tenure, as they did in other counties. But some had neglected to take out the necessary letters patent. In the reign of James, however, the offer of such letters was given them, and fees were paid to the amount of £3,000 to have the documents enrolled in the Court of Chancery. But, whether through carelessness or dishonesty, the court officials neglected to do their duty; and one of the "graces" had special reference to these cases, and provided that the enrolments should be made without any further charge, a concession which Wentworth was careful to refuse. The Galway jurors remembered these facts, and failed to find the verdict Wentworth required; and so enraged was he at their obstinacy that he prosecuted them for a conspiracy with the sheriff, and each was fined £4,000, and was to be kept in prison until the fine was paid.⁵⁰ What he meditated was a Plantation of Connaught; but the time was unpropitious for such a scheme; it would certainly mean war; civil war in England was threatened; and

⁴⁷ Strafford's *Letters*, Vol. I., pp. 259, 277-9; Carte's *Ormond*, Vol. I., p. 81.

⁴⁸ Lingard, Vol. VII., pp. 200-1.

⁴⁹ Carte, p. 82.

⁵⁰ Strafford's *Letters*, Vol. I., pp. 443-4, 451-4.

that prospective trouble was enough for the King, without having a war in Ireland as well. It was, therefore, thought best to accept the advice of the Earl of Clanricarde; and, to the disgust of Wentworth, the projected Plantation was abandoned, the fines imposed on the Galway jurymen were reduced, and they were set at liberty.⁵¹ But the landholders throughout the province had to make a new composition, and take out new letters patent; and the landholders throughout Ireland, about whose titles any question might be raised, hastened to do the same. The King's treasury was thus enriched; in addition, the Court of Wards, which regulated the affairs of minors, was reorganised and contributed to the revenue; and the Earl of Cork, for having seized some church lands, was fined £2,000 a year, and the London Corporation, for not having fulfilled its covenants, was fined £70,000.⁵² To these harsh measures it may be added that the Deputy prohibited woollen manufacturers in Ireland, fearing that the English manufacturers would suffer; and such was his despotic character that, for some disparaging words used towards himself by Lord Mountmorris, he had that nobleman tried by court martial and sentenced to death, though the sentence was not carried out.

Yet, if his rule was that of a tyrant, it was not always unjust, and Ireland during these years enjoyed a prosperity which for years before she had not known. The army was made efficient, justice impartially administered, petty persecutions of the people ceased, the trade of the inquisitor for defective titles was no longer plied. Some monopolies were withdrawn and no fresh ones granted; the duty on coal imported from England was taken away. In place of the woollen manufactures he established linen manufactures in Ulster, and brought suitable flax seed from Holland and skilled workmen from France; and he spent in this project £30,000 of his own private fortune. Finally, when he left Ireland, in 1639, industry flourished, some sense of security existed, and over the whole country was profound peace.⁵³

⁵¹ Strafford's *Letters*, Vol. II., p. 381.

⁵² Carte's *Ormond*, p. 83.

⁵³ Carte, Vol. III., pp. 8-11; Cox, pp. 56-8; Strafford's *Letters*, Vol. II., pp. 8, 9, 17-21.



CHAPTER XIV.

The Rebellion of 1641.

It is the testimony of Sir John Davies that no nation under the sun loved evenhanded justice better than the Irish, or would rest better satisfied with the execution of it, even though it were against themselves.¹ But if they were quick to appreciate just laws, justly administered, they were equally quick to perceive and resent injustice, and their sense of justice was shocked and outraged by the treatment of the Earl of Tyrone. Had he joined in any conspiracy to overturn the government, the Act of Attainder passed against him, and the confiscation of his lands, would not excite surprise; but, except some vague and indefinite charges, nothing was proved against him before any impartial tribunal. The jury which convicted him at Strabane was browbeaten, and the acts of which he was found guilty were either committed in war, and, therefore, forgiven by the terms of his submission, or they were done by martial law, and only during the period he was allowed by the government to exercise it. As for the plot to seize Dublin Castle, even the informer Howth could do no more than suspect him; ² and if Tyrone were guilty, the others named by Howth—Mountgarret, Burke, and McDonnell—were

¹ *Historical Tracts*, p. 227.

² Meehan, pp. 105-12.

equally guilty; yet so far from being attainted or otherwise punished, they were secured in their possessions and ennobled, Burke becoming Viscount Mayo, and MacDonnell Earl of Antrim, Tyrone's crime was that he had fought for Ireland, and for the Catholic Faith, and still more, that he had thousands of broad acres which were coveted by English and Scotch.

Again was justice outraged in the Plantation of Ulster, for not only were many dispossessed of their lands who had no share in Tyrone's supposed designs, and could not, therefore, be partakers in his supposed guilt; not only were these lands given to others of an alien race and creed, but the small portion of the lands reserved to the Irish was often, by force or fraud, still further curtailed, and many of them were cast forth, without a house to shelter them or lands to till. And while the natives who got lands were punished, if they violated the prescribed conditions, the planters ignored these conditions when it suited them, and they did so with impunity. In spite of the regulation that nobody was to get more than 2,000 acres, and that on this they were to build stone houses, and plant freeholders, Lord Ochiltree was found by Pynar (1619) to have 3,500 acres, Lord Castlehaven 9,000 acres, Sir William Stewart 5,000 acres, Sir Ralph Bingley 4,000 acres; and Sir John Davies, so quick to lay down laws for others, and to impose conditions on them, had 2,000 acres in Tyrone, 1,500 in Fermanagh, and 500 in Armagh; and on this latter estate, nothing whatever was built, nor was there a single English tenant.³ Lord Castlehaven had no freeholder on his estate, and not only raised his tenants' rents but deprived them of portion of their lands; on the estate of Sir Thomas Ashe, the buildings were of sods, and there were no freeholders; and on the estate of Sir John Drummond his tenants could get nothing from him but promises. Lastly, Trinity College, which was granted 10,000 acres, was found to be possessed of 96,000 acres; and side by side with this we have the case of Connor Roe Maguire, who was promised the six baronies of Fermanagh, and got in reality but portion of one barony for his share.⁴

³ Harris's *Hibernica*, pp. 140-241.

⁴ Hill's *Plantation of Ulster*, p. 61

The natives of Ulster were taught in those early days of the Stuarts that to be peaceful and law-abiding availed them nothing ; that, being Irish and Catholic, they were considered aliens and outcasts in their native land. They saw their fields given over to English and Scotch, and this while they were unconscious of crime ; they saw the religion to which they clung, and on which they placed their hopes of eternal salvation, proscribed and persecuted, their churches in ruins, or used by ministers of an alien creed, while their own bishops and priests were declared to be public enemies ; and they saw the lands which the piety of their ancestors had given to the monasteries, now handed over to a church, zealous only to wean them from the faith in which they were born.⁵ Some of these Ulstermen, who had once known affluence, were forced to farm a wretched patch of land, from which they eked out a wretched existence ;⁶ some went into exile ; others wandered about the country without either land or home. Bitterly did they regret that, in his hour of need, they had deserted the Earl of Tyrone, and gone over to the ranks of his foes. They had been cruelly deceived ; and from the Bann to Ballyshannon every Irishman's heart was filled with rage, and only a leader, and an opportunity, were required to have the whole province again in arms.

Disaffection was not confined to Ulster. The Plantation in Wexford, in which over 14,000 people were sent adrift, had unsettled that county, and filled its inhabitants with terror, and the means employed to convict Phelim O'Byrne shocked every man with the most elementary conception of justice ; and the scandal was all the greater when it was found that bribery and perjury, and the hanging of innocent men, were the weapons used by a man in the position of Sir William Parsons, who afterwards got part of O'Byrne's lands.⁷ In King's County, and Leitrim, and Westmeath, Plantations were either attempted or effected, and discontent followed ; in Longford some of the dispossessed went mad, and others died of grief.⁸ And some of the O'Farrells of that county,

⁵ Mahaffy's *Calendar* (1633-47), pp. 31-2, 47, 87-8.

⁶ Hill, p. 349.

⁷ Russel's *Calendar* (1615-25), pp. 124-6, 303-6 ; Carte, Vol. I., p. 32.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 230-2, 263-4, 280-1.

being on their death beds, asked their friends to carry them out in the open air, so that before they died they could once more get a sight of the fields they had lost.⁹ In Connaught, there was a large number of the old English ; but they found under the government of Strafford that their rights were no more sacred than those of the O'Connors and the O'Rorkes ; and thus was the circle of disaffection ever widening ; thus, menaced with confiscation of their lands, and persecuted for their religion, were Anglo-Irish and Irish united by a common danger, all equally alarmed and equally insecure.¹⁰

Hampered by the provisions of Poyning's law, the Irish Parliament was ill-fitted to be the medium of reform, yet, if it was freely elected, even on the most limited franchise, it would have given voice to the people's discontent, and provided a redress for the wrongs under which they groaned. But the reckless creation of boroughs by James I., and the irregularities of the elections of 1613, showed that it was not intended that it should represent the whole nation, but should be the representative of a dominant caste ; and the treatment of the Catholic party, who were punished and insulted, because they gave utterance to their views, showed that, to the vast majority of the nation, liberty of speech and constitutional action were forbidden. It seemed useless for the members to introduce measures of reform, if these measures would on no account be allowed to pass ; useless to remonstrate against injustice when remonstrance was considered treason ; nor could there be any confidence in a Parliament which was used as an instrument to oppress the people rather than to give expression to the people's will. For a moment the prospect seemed to brighten when Falkland came as Viceroy, for Falkland was sympathetic, and the King wanted money ; and it was in these circumstances the Irish voted the subsidies, and the King granted the "graces." If the royal promise had been fulfilled the Catholics would have got security of their lands and toleration of their religion, and tranquillity would have supervened. But the perfidy of Charles and of Strafford brought on fresh disappointment, and still

⁹ Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 47.

¹⁰ Mahaffy's *Calendar* (1625-60), pp. 213-15.

further embittered the popular mind ; more subsidies were granted by the Catholics, but no substantial concession was granted in return ; and Strafford, with little regard for the Irish Parliament, or for any Parliament, governed without its assistance.

During these years, his rule was a despotism, in which, however, he tyrannised with impartial severity, for if he did not love the Catholics, neither did he love the Puritans.¹¹ He would have them accept the doctrines of Episcopalian Protestantism ; he would have no " Tom Loodle's Commonwealth," no government by the multitude in religion ; and he considered the peculiar notions of the Puritans in church government as nothing better. Both Catholic and Puritan, so long at enmity, were now equally oppressed ; if they could not agree in matters of religion, they could agree at least in detestation of the power which oppressed them.¹² And when Strafford left Ireland, and a Parliament was called (1640), it seemed as if mutual hatreds were laid aside, and that both parties, welded together into one national party, were determined to have their grievances redressed. On the Catholic side the leader in these proceedings was Roger Moore. Belonging to the O'Mores of Leix, he was one of the few of that ill-fated race who secured even a small portion of his ancestors' estates. He was in possession of some landed property in Kildare, was connected by marriage with some powerful Anglo-Irish families, had travelled much, was well educated, with fascinating manners and a handsome face. A Catholic, but no bigot—he sought to allay sectarian rancour and promote toleration—and in his place in Parliament endeavoured to bring Puritan and Catholic together. He was the chief agent in inducing his co-religionists to vote the subsidies ; but though disappointed at what followed, he bided his time, watched Strafford's conduct towards the Ulster Puritans, and noted their discontent ; and in the Irish Parliament in 1640, he endeavoured to obtain the co-operation of all those who had felt the heavy hand of the despotic Deputy.¹³

¹¹ Mahaffy's *Calendar*, (1633-47) pp. 131-4 ; Carte, Vol. III., p. 20 ; Mant, Vol. I., p. 488.

¹² Mahaffy, 239, 302-3.

¹³ Carte, Vol. I., pp. 156-7.

Meanwhile, England was in a ferment. No Parliament had been held for more than ten years. With reluctance the King had consented to the Petition of Right, and with reluctance and insincerity he carried out its terms. But when the Parliament in return showed no gratitude; when its members refused to vote the necessary supplies, and spent their time wrangling over questions of theology, over the 39 Articles, and the creed of the Arminians, Charles lost all patience, and dissolved the unruly assembly, and for many years he governed without a Parliament. And during these years he acted as if the Petition of Right never existed. He levied tonnage and poundage, raised forced loans, imprisoned arbitrarily, condemned without trial, billeted soldiers on the people, put the Star Chamber and High Commission Court into operation; and for the purpose of protecting the coast a tax, called ship money, was levied, against which the most violent outcries were raised. And while this tax bore heavily on the people, the coasts were so insufficiently protected, that pirates infested the English seas, English subjects were captured by the Moors, and sold as slaves; the Dutch and French fleets were each becoming more powerful than the English, and a combination of both threatened to sweep England off the sea.¹⁴ Without a Parliament there was no medium through which popular discontent might obtain utterance; but if it was not expressed it was nevertheless existent, and was deep-seated and bitter.

The discontent was not confined to England, but spread to Scotland, where it found expression in a menacing and aggressive form. Anxious, like his father, to have the Church of Scotland conform to that of England, Charles had a new Liturgy and a new Book of Canons compiled, almost similar to those in force in England; and he ordered that these should be published and observed in Scotland. But the Scotch were in no humour to accept their liturgy or church government from England. Devotedly attached to Presbyterianism, they wanted no bishops, nor any set form of liturgy, believing rather in personal inspiration, and the efficacy of extempore prayer. And when the Bishop of Edinburgh and

¹⁴ Hume's *History of England*.

the Dean attempted to perform the new service in Edinburgh, they were hissed, and hooted, and groaned; the Mass, it was said, was entered and Baal was in the church; nor was it without difficulty, and even danger of his life, that the bishop passed through the streets of the city.¹⁵ Nor was this all. The various classes formed themselves into committees or Tables, as they were called, and a form of covenant was devised to which everyone eagerly subscribed, and which bound them to cling firmly to their faith, and to resist every form of innovation either in its doctrines or church government. And in the general assembly of the Covenanters at Glasgow (1638), it was resolved that the Kirk in spiritual matters was independent of the civil power, episcopacy was abolished, and the new Liturgy and Book of Canons, as well as the High Commission Court, were condemned.¹⁶ They protested their loyalty to the King, but they did not trust him, and even while they were negotiating with his Commissioners, they organised an army, took possession of the fortresses of Scotland, and placed the army thus organised, and animated by the fiercest enthusiasm, under the command of General Leslie, a Scotchman, who in the army of Sweden had earned distinction in the German wars.¹⁷ To chastise these rebellious Scots, Charles marched north with an army of 23,000 men, and on the banks of the Tweed came face to face with Leslie, and the army of the Covenanters. He intended to put down the Covenant by force; but the enthusiasm, it might be said the fanaticism, of the enemy appalled him. Instead of fighting he negotiated, withdrew his army south, agreed to abolish the obnoxious Liturgy and Book of Canons, as well as the High Commission Court and episcopacy, while the Scots on their side were to disband their army, and surrender the fortresses they had taken.¹⁸

It was at this stage that Strafford was summoned from Ireland. The Scotch were not observing the terms of their recent treaty;

¹⁵ Burton's *History of Scotland*, Vol. VI., pp. 376-8, 443-4.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 485-90.

¹⁷ Lingard's *England*, Vol. VII., pp. 206-12.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII., pp. 213-19; Lang's *History of Scotland*, Vol. III., pp. 25-64.

the King and Strafford resolved to make war on them ; and the latter returned to Ireland to obtain money and men. The money was voted in four subsidies amounting to nearly £100,000, and all parties, Presbyterians and Catholics, condemned the disaffected Covenanters. And they thanked the King in effusive terms for having placed over them such a wise and vigilant governor as the Earl of Strafford.¹⁹ These professions of loyalty Strafford did not value from the Ulster Presbyterians, and when he got together his army it was almost entirely made up of Catholics. He knew that these Ulstermen and the Covenanters were allied by blood ; that Popery was equally abhorrent to both ; that their religious doctrines and their notions of church government were the same ; and that the Ulstermen would aid the Covenanters if they dared. To put this out of their power he tendered them an oath declaring that they disapproved of the Scotch rebellion, and those who refused to take the oath were punished. He sent the Irish army to rendezvous at Carrickfergus, and he sent two armed vessels to watch the coasts of Ulster and Cantire ; he sent the King a sum of £30,000 and a regiment of 500 men ; and, this done, he appointed Sir Christopher Wandesforde his deputy, and early in 1640 returned to England.¹⁹

The King's affairs did not prosper. The Parliament he summoned, instead of voting supplies to crush the Scotch rebels, spent their time in complaining of the innovations made in religion, of invasions of private property, and breaches of parliamentary privilege ; and when the King dissolved it and summoned another, the new assembly was as intractable as the old. The truth was that the majority in Parliament were in secret sympathy with the Covenanters. Nor were Strafford's expectations realised. The Marquis of Hamilton, who was to fall on the Covenanters from the Highlands, did nothing ; the Irish army which was to cross to Scotland, was not embarked ;²⁰ and Leslie, instead of waiting to be attacked, crossed into England, with 23,000 foot and 3,000 horse. The English army which disputed the passage of the Tyne was driven

¹⁹ Carte's *Ormond*, Vol. I., p. 89.

²⁰ Carte, Vol. I, pp. 104-5.

back in confusion, and fled to Yorkshire, and the two northern counties of Northumberland and Durham were overrun.²¹ Popular resentment was directed against Strafford. Accusations were made against him from many quarters; a secret correspondence was opened between the English and Irish Parliament, and a committee of the latter body proceeded to England, bringing with them a "Remonstrance from the Irish Parliament against the Earl of Strafford." That body, which had so lately lauded him, now declared that under his government excessive taxes had been imposed and trade discouraged; that the decisions of the courts of law were arbitrary, oppressive, and illegal, and the fees charged to litigants excessive; that monopolies were increased and patents made void; and that as a result of these and many other such grievances, loyal subjects were brought to ruin, and officials were enriched.²² This catalogue of complaints was listened to with pleasure in the English Parliament, as it served to still further darken the character of Strafford. Nor was this all. Lord Dillon, who was one of the Lords Justices after Strafford's departure from Ireland, was objected to by the Irish Committee, and dismissed from office, because he had been the friend of the now fallen Earl, and the Lord Chancellor and Chief Justice, and the Bishop of Derry, were impeached in the Irish Parliament.²³

In these proceedings the Catholics and Ulster Presbyterians had acted together, but when Strafford's ruin was effected, unity ceased, and old antagonisms were revived. The Ulster Presbyterians had the same fierce hatred of Catholicity as their kinsmen of Scotland, whose revolt was in great part due to hatred of everything which savoured of Catholicism; and while these Scotch saints, with texts of Scripture on their lips, occupied the northern counties of England, they robbed and plundered the Catholic inhabitants.²⁴ Their view seemed to be that the Catholics ought to be exterminated. The English Puritans, who had risen to power, and who had hunted down Strafford, were equally

²¹ Lingard, Vol. VII., pp. 224-5.

²² Mahaffy's *Calendar*, pp. 260-4, Cox, pp. 60-5.

²³ Cox, p. 65.

²⁴ Gardiner, *History of England*, Vol. IX., p. 294.

intolerant of Catholicism ; and they were strong enough to compel the King to order that the army enrolled by Strafford, and then at Carrickfergus, should be disarmed and disbanded.²⁵ In a similar spirit, Captain Marven, an Ulster Presbyterian member, made it a grave charge before the English Parliament, that Sir George Ratcliffe had in Ireland countenanced the erection of Papist monasteries.²⁶ On every side, therefore, the Irish Catholics were menaced with dangers ; those in power in England and in Scotland seemed leagued together for their overthrow. The question was how to avert this threatened destruction ; and, slowly and with reluctance, the conviction was forced on Roger Moore, that no weapon was left to them but force.

It was necessary to proceed with the greatest care ; nor did he broach his plans to anyone without imposing on him in advance an oath of secrecy. With these precautions, he took council with the principal men of Leinster and Connaught, and afterwards with those of Ulster. He reminded them of the robbery of their lands, the refusal of the "graces," the inquiries into defective titles, the persecutions for religion. He instanced the case of Scotland, where a resolute and united nation had asserted their religious freedom ; nor was there anything to prevent the Irish from attaining similar success. The army organised by Strafford would be the nucleus of a great army ; there was abundance of fighting material throughout Ireland in the swordsmen, who would eagerly take up arms for the recovery of their lost lands ; and there was the certainty of getting aid from abroad, from Spain, from France, from the Pope ; and the certainty that Irish soldiers who had earned distinction in foreign armies would come back to fight for their native land. It was soon ascertained that the Earl of Tyrone was ready with officers and arms ; and when he died in 1641, his nephew, Colonel Owen Roe O'Neill, sent a message to bid them be of good cheer, and that within a few weeks he would be in their midst, and was confident of getting aid from Richelieu.²⁷ The difficulty of obtaining money to pay their soldiers, and of

²⁵ Carte, p. 134.

²⁶ Cox, p. 65.

²⁷ Hickson's *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*, Vol. II., pp. 341-54

inducing the Catholics of the Pale to join them, was not overlooked by Moore and his friends ; but they were confident that this difficulty would disappear with the first striking success of the rebellion.²⁸

To rise without sufficient preparation was dangerous ; but to delay was more dangerous still, for the Scotch had declared they would have uniformity of religion, and would not lay down their arms until the Irish had abandoned Catholicity, or had been destroyed.²⁹ The army at Carrickfergus was to have gone to Scotland, but this design was not carried out, for the Presbyterians in the Irish Parliament did not want to put down the Covenanters, and the Catholics wanted the army at home, as it was their main reliance. Great, then was their disappointment when the King's order came in May to have this army disbanded and disarmed, and greater still when it was proposed to have the soldiers enlisted for the service of Spain.³⁰ But the officers from Spain were Irish, and entered into the views of their countrymen at home ; and if they brought the soldiers together, it was not to fight for Spain, but for Ireland. These officers, Colonels Byrne and Plunkett, and Captains Fox and O'Neill, in consultation with the leaders at home, Moore, Maguire, MacMahon, and Sir Phelim O'Neill, fixed on the 23rd of October for the rising ; and, with few exceptions, the people everywhere outside the Pale joined the project with enthusiasm.³¹

When they contemplated their present condition, and remembered all that they and their ancestors had suffered, their minds were crowded with bitter memories. Sixty years had passed since Pelham and Grey had wasted Munster ; and the Munstermen remembered how their fair province had been turned into a desert ; how famine had been deliberately provoked ; how neither age, nor sex, nor innocence could protect the people from the soldiers' fury. The O'Mores in their exile in Kerry sighed for the lands of Leix, from which their ancestors had been driven ;³² the O'Connors

²⁸ *Relation of Lord Maguire.*

²⁹ *Journals of the Irish House of Commons*, Vol. I., p. 311

³⁰ Carte, Vol. III., *King's Letters.*

³¹ Carte, Vol. I., pp. 158-64.

³² Strafford's *Letters*, Vol. I., pp. 68-9

looked back to the days when their ancestors ruled in Offaly, and both these families recalled with bitterness the massacre of Mullaghmast. The lands of the Kavanaghs and the MacMurroghs had passed into strangers' hands; the O'Byrnes had but recently been defrauded of their fields; the O'Farrells mourned over their lands of Annally; and in Connaught, the attempted Plantations and confiscations of Strafford were but of yesterday, and the savageries of Bingham, though long past, were still bitterly recalled. But in Ulster all these causes of animosity could be found, and in an aggravated form. The people had seen war, wasting of crops, destruction of houses, universal famine, men and women feeding on docks and nettles, children eating the carcase of their dead mother, O'Cahan's country covered over with the unburied corpses of the starved. They had seen a whole province planted by foreigners, to make room for whom, those who fought against England, and even those who fought for her, were dispossessed. Of those dispossessed some were in exile, some had perished in foreign wars, some had died of sorrow at home, some wandered about the country, houseless and homeless, some had small patches of land, and lived as cottiers or day labourers; while the fields which their ancestors owned were tenanted by English and Scotch, prosperous, proud, arrogant, insolent, and overbearing; regarding the natives in their midst with that haughty disdain with which conquerors look upon the conquered; regarding Catholicity as superstition, and Catholics as idolators, and priests and bishops as public enemies, unworthy of the most elementary rights of subjects. Such were the feelings with which the Irish Catholics rose to arms, and in such circumstances it was inevitable that they should have been guilty of cruelties and crimes.

The plan of the leaders was to have all the garrison towns attacked wherever practicable; and a force of 200 was to capture the Castle of Dublin, in which great stores of arms were kept. For this exploit, on which so much depended, Moore, MacMahon, Maguire and others came; but it was discovered that, instead of 200, they had but 80 men. Yet even this small force would have been sufficient, for the defences of the Castle were of the weakest, and but a few soldiers were in garrison, the

authorities being quite off their guard.³³ To carry out their plans secrecy above all was necessary; but MacMahon, under the influence of drink, as it seems, confided the whole design to a disreputable Irishman named O'Connolly, who straightway made his way to the house of Parsons, one of the Lords Justices. It was late on the night of the 22nd, but the matter was urgent; Parsons consulted his colleagues: a council was called; the defences of the Castle were strengthened; and on the following day it was not the authorities that were surprised, but their opponents.³⁴ MacMahon and Maguire were arrested, and afterwards executed; the others escaped. In Munster and Leinster the rising was unimportant; the mass of the people remained quiescent, waiting for a lead from Dublin; but in Ulster the rising did take place as planned, and with important results. Some towns, indeed, successfully resisted, Coleraine, Ballymena, Belfast, and Antrim; Carrickfergus under Chichester defied all their attacks, and Enniskillen, defended by Cole, and Londonderry, which the same Cole had forewarned; but on the other hand, the whole open country became theirs. Dungannon and Charlemont Castles were captured by Sir Phelim O'Neill; Moneymore was taken by the O'Hagans; Mountjoy by the O'Quinns; Monaghan by MacMahon; Tanderagee by O'Hanlon; the O'Reillys possessed themselves of Cavan; the O'Farrells of Longford; the Maguires of Fermanagh; while Sir Conn Magennis took Newry, with the arms and stores it contained; and on the 4th of November, Sir Phelim O'Neill arrived there with all his forces, and was recognised as the head of the army of Ulster. He stated that he was commissioned by Charles I. to take up arms in his name, and in defence of his royal prerogatives; that he might arrest and seize the goods and persons of all the English Protestants, but must leave the Scotch planters unmolested. There was, in fact, no such commission; it was a forgery concocted by Rory Maguire, who had found in Charlemont Castle an old royal seal, and affixed it to the paper, and thus imposed on the public, who believed the document to be genuine.³⁵

³³ Carte, Vol. I., pp. 168-9.

³⁴ Temple's *History of the Rebellion*, p. 19; Ormond MSS., Vol. II., pp. 1-6.

³⁵ Carte, Vol. I., pp. 180-2; Hickson, Vol. I., pp. 112-15.

This rebellion has often been described as the massacre of 1641. It has been said that the purpose of the Catholics was to exterminate the Protestants, and so well was this purpose carried out, that, in the first weeks of their triumph, the Catholics murdered the Protestants by thousands. Temple puts the number murdered at 105,000, others as high as 300,000; Clarendon reduces the figure to 40,000; Sir William Petty puts the number at 37,000; Miss Hickson is quite certain that, in the first three or four years of the rebellion 25,000 at least were murdered; while Warner, an English Protestant, after careful inquiry, declared that the exact number killed within two years after the rising was 4,028, a number amounting to 8,000 more being killed by ill usage. Gardiner's figures are 4,000 or 5,000 murdered, and 10,000 died of ill usage.³⁶ The numbers given by Temple and Borlase are grotesque exaggerations; for the number of English Protestants in Ulster was not more than 20,000, the Scotch about 100,000; and at first the Scotch were unmolested.³⁷ And of the English many lived in towns which were not captured; many fled to the towns for shelter; many reached Dublin, so many that there was scarcity of provisions in the city; many fled the country and never returned; in Fermanagh, Captain Marven saved the lives of 6,000 women and children; and of those who were taken prisoners, not the most ferocious partisan can affirm that all were put to death.³⁸ How many were killed, as distinct from those who fell in battle, or perished of ill-usage, has not been, and can not be, ascertained. Lord Chichester told the King on the 24th of October, that so far only one person had been killed by the rebels; and in the letters of the Lords Justices in the end of October there is no mention made of murders committed, though it is said there was much loss of life.³⁹ The letters of Lords Ormond, and Clanricarde, and of the President

³⁶ Carte, 177-8; Temple, p. 97; Gardiner, Vol. x., pp. 64-9; Warren's *History of the Rebellion*, 296-7; Hickson, Vol. I., p. 163; Petty's *Tracts*, pp. 312-313. (*The Political Anatomy of Ireland*.)

³⁷ Carte, p. 178. In 1633 there were in Ulster but 13,000 persons between the ages of sixteen and sixty (Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 55.)

³⁸ Curry's Letter to Harris.

³⁹ Ormond MSS., Vol. II., pp. 7, 20, 35; Mahaffy's *Calendar*, p. 342.

of Munster, are in a similar strain ; and even Temple says that at first the rebels were intent on robbery rather than on murder.⁴⁰ A Government Commission was appointed in December, 1641, to ascertain what property was destroyed, but got no directions as to persons killed, nor was it until the following January that the terms of reference were extended.⁴¹ A further Commission with a similar object was appointed ten years later, and it is from the evidence given at these Commissions that the extravagant estimates of Borlase and others have been drawn.

The first of these Commissions consisted of seven dispossessed Protestants ; the witnesses had also been despoiled ; and many of them and their friends had been the victims of great suffering and hardship ; nor is it likely that such witnesses could or would give impartial evidence, nor would the Commissioners be disposed to give an impartial verdict.⁴² Those who were accused got no opportunity of being represented at the inquiry, and could not, therefore, test the veracity of the witnesses, nor point out discrepancies and contradictions in the evidence they gave. When the Catholics demanded an impartial inquiry they were refused ; and when they published an account of the murders done on the Irish by the English, the book was ordered to be burned ; and a poor sailor was imprisoned for selling it.⁴³ The wildest statements were accepted. Many of them were hearsay. The same fact was narrated by different witnesses and told with additions and embellishments, until it no longer appeared the same, but a different event. Embittered by the memory of what they had gone through, filled with resentment against those who had wronged them, desiring to pose as martyrs, and so excite sympathy, anxious to recover what they had lost, and to be revenged on those who had despoiled them, they were not scrupulous or exact in what they swore. Those who escaped to Dublin, or perhaps left the country, those who died of cold and want, and hunger, those who fell in battle, were all put down as murdered,

⁴⁰ *Ormond MSS.*, pp. 49, 54 ; Carte, pp. 38-47.

⁴¹ Prendergast, p. 60.

⁴² Letter to Harris, pp. 65-6. The Chairman was Dr. Jones, afterwards Bishop of Clogher, and at one time scout-master in Cromwell's army, "a post," says Harris, "not so decent for one of his functions."

⁴³ Prendergast, p. 70.

and so also were some who forty years after were known to be alive and well.⁴⁴ One Michael Harrison had heard that an Irish soldier had killed an Englishman, but he could not remember the name of the man who told him ; Captain Hume was positive that at Tully Castle in Fermanagh, 75 Protestants were barbarously murdered, but he could only remember the names of twelve of them, and of the Catholics who murdered them he could not remember a single name,⁴⁵ and Peter Hill swore that the Irish sometimes eat the English, and sometimes eat one another.⁴⁶ Where interest, or bigotry, or race hatred failed to vitiate the deponent's narrative, terror lent its aid ; and it is difficult to believe that serious men could attach any importance to the ludicrous statements of some of these witnesses. An educated man like Dr. Maxwell, Rector of Tynan, declared that for three days no cock was heard to crow, nor dog to bark, though the rebels came around in great multitudes.⁴⁷ At Loughgall the waters of the river were turned into blood ; at Dungannon a vision was seen of a woman walking round the town with a spear in her hand ; at Lisburn, by the light of a house set on fire, a phantom battle was seen at night, in which between 1,000 and 1,500 horsemen were engaged ; at Portadown, there arose from the water the vision of a woman, her eyes shining, her hair dishevelled, her skin white as snow, who repeated often the one word, " revenge." When the Catholic priest interrogated it, the phantom answered nothing ; to the questions of the Protestant minister it only answered " revenge ;" but after the minister prayed it departed, and was not seen for six weeks, after which it returned with the one word " revenge " still on its lips.⁴⁸

But while it would be unjust to charge the Catholics with the intention of murdering all Protestants, it would be also unjust to deny that the Protestants suffered grievous wrongs, or that many of them perished besides those who fell in battle. Driven from

⁴⁴ Hickson, Vol. I., pp. 188, 200, 221 ; Castlehaven's *Memoirs*, p. 16.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 228, 215.

⁴⁶ Fitzpatrick's *Bloody Bridge and other Papers Relating to the Rebellion of 1641*, p. 89.

⁴⁷ Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 56.

⁴⁸ Miss Hickson, pp., 194-5, 179-80 ; Temple, pp. 121-3 ; Fitzpatrick, p. 202.

their homes in wintry weather, robbed of their cattle and money, and even clothes, numbers of them perished of cold and hunger. Some in trying to defend their property were probably struck down, some in trying to defend their relatives; some were struck down through revenge by one whom they might have injured in the past. The army of the Catholics was little more than an undisciplined mob, and necessarily contained men with the instincts of the robber, and even the murderer; and unawed by a great leader, and without the soldier's sense of obedience, avarice and cruelty and revenge could not be altogether restrained. When they captured the Castle of Lisgoold, they put its garrison of 50 to the sword, at Tulla its garrison of 30; at Portadown at least 80 persons were precipitated into the river, and an equal number at Corbridge. A Presbyterian minister saw them kill 25 persons; 14 or 15 were killed at Monaghan, 30 near Clones, in Longford a Protestant minister.⁴⁹ In Fermanagh 40 persons were compelled to renounce Protestantism, and then were killed; between Armagh and Kinnard many were put to death; at Donaghmore, three Protestants; and a Scotchman, who had formerly wronged an Irishman, was taken to a public house, by his former victim, made drunk, and then hanged.⁵⁰ At Lurgan, when the place surrendered on terms, Sir William Bromley and his family were allowed to depart in safety, but his servants were put to the sword.⁵¹

These acts are disgraceful enough, but are not remarkable in a country where the fiercest animosities were aroused, where anarchy reigned, and where an undisciplined army was practically uncontrolled; and the number murdered fell far short of the thousands which it was the business of partisan historians to create.⁵² Nor were there wanting many cases in which the feelings of humanity, and the virtues of charity and hospitality, were displayed. Sir Phelim O'Neill, in his proclamation of the 24th October, avowed that he wanted to hurt no subjects, English or Scotch, and had recourse to

⁴⁹ Carte, p. 189; Lecky's *History of Ireland*, Vol. I., pp. 61-2; *Ormonde MSS.*, Vol. II., p. 38.

⁵⁰ Lecky, pp. 63-4.

⁵¹ Carte, p. 188.

⁵² Letter to Harris, p. 64. Even Temple admits that in the early stages of the war the rebels were more intent on robbery than on murder.

arms only for the defence of the liberty and the lives of the native Irish.⁵³ Nor did he in the early stages of the war countenance any atrocities. His mother sheltered many of the plundered Protestants; O'Reilly sent 1,500 from Belturbet to Dublin with an escort, and though some were plundered on the way, no lives were sacrificed; and the same was done with Clogy, son-in-law to Bedell, who, with 1,200 English, was sent to Dundalk.⁵⁴ When the Castles of Balanenagh, Keilagh and Croghan surrendered on terms, the terms were scrupulously observed; Mr. Conway, when he surrendered his castle, was allowed to depart, bringing his money and valuables with him.⁵⁵ Bedell, the Protestant Bishop of Kilmore, was kept in prison in Lough Coutra Castle in Lough Erne, and allowed to see his friends, and to protect them. He had little respect for the Catholics or their religion, yet they on their part respected him, his honesty, his earnestness, his zeal, his intense religious convictions; when he died the Catholic army attended his funeral, and fired a volley over his grave.⁵⁶

The government of Ireland was then in the hands of Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase as Lords Justices. The latter was a weak man of little capacity, and the guiding hand was that of Parsons.⁵⁷ He was of mean extraction, had little education, was plodding, assiduous, and indefatigable, greedy of gain, and eager to raise a fortune, cunning, heartless, cruel, and corrupt, and much less intent on advancing the King's interest than his own.⁵⁸ And so well did he succeed that, though he came to Ireland poor, he soon became a wealthy man, with large estates in Tyrone, and Wicklow, and Fermanagh. He hated the Irish, and he hated the King; he was a Puritan, and owed his position to the Puritans in the English Parliament; and during the rebellion in Ireland, he did his best to serve the Parliament, and was faithless to the King.⁵⁹ Warned that great numbers were coming from Spain to Ireland,

⁵³ Mahaffy's *Calendar*. p. 342.

⁵⁴ Clogy's *Life of Bedell*, pp. 241-4.

⁵⁵ Carte, pp. 173-4, 188.

⁵⁶ Clogy, pp. 44-5, 179-81, 205-6, 230.

⁵⁷ Carte, Vol. I., p. 263.

⁵⁸ Gardiner's *England*, Vol. x., p. 45.

⁵⁹ Carte, 190-1.

he took no heed, nor did he pay any attention to the warning of Sir William Cole in October that a rebellion was imminent.⁶⁰ When the King conceded two of the "graces"—viz., that limiting the King's title to lands to a period of 60 years; and the abandonment of his claims to the lands of Connaught and Clare; and when nothing remained to give these concessions the force of law, but their passage through Parliament, Parsons prorogued it rather than grant them; and this contrary to the respectful remonstrance of the Parliament itself.⁶¹ Nor would he even issue a proclamation that these "graces" would be passed into law, so that thus the public mind might be appeased; and when Parliament was again summoned in November, he again capriciously prorogued it to February, without the "graces" being passed, or even without taking measures to suppress the rebellion.⁶²

It seemed as if he did not want the rebellion ended. It afforded his friends, the English Parliament, a pretext for raising an army, and it would involve more forfeitures of Irish estates, in which the cupidity of Parsons himself might be still further gratified; and instead of placating the rebels he proceeded to drive them to further desperation.⁶³ The King wished that those who submitted should be received to mercy; but Parsons refused to pardon any freeholders; and he hedged round any pardon with so many conditions that it was unacceptable to all.⁶⁴ At a public meeting in Dublin, he declared, that within a year all the Catholics there would be destroyed.⁶⁵ Nor were these empty threats. The Wicklow natives had risen in revolt, and captured some English castles. Parsons ordered Sir Charles Coote, even a more ferocious bigot than himself, and more blood-thirsty, to march into Wicklow and spare nobody, not even infants if they were above a span in length. The order was well carried out. Rarely did either commander or soldiers show any compassion; and when one soldier did, and protested against the murder of infants, a fellow soldier told him that it was safer have

⁶⁰ Carte, pp. 166-7; Miss Hickson, Vol. II., p. 361.

⁶¹ *Journals of the Irish House of Commons*, August 6th.

⁶² Carte, pp. 228-30.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 200-1; *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. II., pp. 27, 55.

⁶⁴ Carte, p. 296.

⁶⁵ Letter to Harris, p. 53.

them killed ; that nits would be lice. Coote saw a soldier with an infant writhing at the end of his pike, and only remarked that he liked such frolics ; and an officer hearing the Bishop of Meath preach that some mercy should be shown to children, threw up his commission in disgust.⁶⁶ When Ormond was sent against the rebels, in February, 1642, he was ordered to kill every man able to bear arms.⁶⁷ Coote did the same round Clontarf, and when 56 of the natives took to their boats, the soldiers took other boats and pursued them, and flung men, women, and children into the sea.⁶⁸

These proceedings profoundly alarmed the Catholics of the Pale. Loyal to the English connection, they were satisfied with even a mild toleration of their religion. The persecutions of recent years had brought discontent amongst them, and some had coquetted with Roger Moore about the rebellion, but drew back before it broke out.⁶⁹ After it broke out they went to the Lords Justices, and got arms to put down the rebels.⁷⁰ But they soon found themselves regarded as enemies ; the arms given them were demanded back, and they were ordered, on pain of death, to leave Dublin within 24 hours. When they heard the speech of Parsons, and saw the butcheries of Coote ; and when, in answer to a mild remonstrance from Longford asking for toleration of their religion, the English Parliament declared that they never would tolerate the Popish religion in Ireland, or in any part of his Majesty's dominions ;⁷¹ then the Catholics of the Pale felt convinced that what was aimed at was the destruction of their religion, the confiscation of their properties, and the sacrifice of their lives. Nor could they with safety any longer continue to defy the rebels. Except Londonderry, Coleraine, Enniskillen, and part of Down, all Ulster was overrun ; Leitrim, Longford, Westmeath, and Louth, were in flames, so also was Wicklow. Drogheda was besieged by a large

⁶⁶ Carte, p. 243 ; Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 58.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

⁶⁸ Letter to Harris, p. 98 ; *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. II., pp. 46-7.

⁶⁹ *Lord Maguire's Narrative* ; Temple, pp. 212-44.

⁷⁰ *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. II., p. 9.

⁷¹ Carte, pp. 218-19 ; Cox—Appendix 3. Cox calls this remonstrance scandalous, though they asked for nothing but the repeal of the penal laws against Catholicity ; they acquiesced in the confiscations of their lands, and they professed loyalty to the King.

army, and a party of 600 English soldiers sent from Dublin to relieve it, was met at Julianstown, and cut to pieces ; and as a result numbers deserted from the English to the Irish ranks.⁷² Early in December these Catholic lords were summoned to Dublin by the Lords Justices, ostensibly to consult with them. They refused, at the same time protesting their loyalty to the King, but declaring that if they came to Dublin, they were convinced they would be murdered. A few days later a party of them met to take counsel together at Swords, but the Lords Justices had their meeting proclaimed.⁷³

In this extremity nothing was left to them but to make terms with the old Irish, and a meeting was held at the Hill of Crofty in Meath, on December 17th, and five days later a further meeting at Tara. Moore, MacMahon, and Philip O'Reilly, were on one side, Lords Fingal, Gormanstown, Netterville, and Slane, and Sir Nicholas Barnewell on the other. On the question of religion both sides were agreed, but not on the question of attachment to the King. Yet Moore was keenly alive to the advantages of co-operation ; and if he could get for his countrymen toleration of their religion, and security of their properties and lives, under an English King, he would be satisfied. The Catholic Lords were convinced of his sincerity, and on the basis of freedom of conscience, defence of the royal prerogative, and making the King's subjects in Ireland as free as those in England, the alliance was formed.⁷⁴ The Catholic Lords drew up a petition, and an apology to the King for taking up arms, informing him of what they had borne, and of the dangers which menaced them ; assuring him of their loyalty, and of their willingness to sacrifice their lives in his defence, and of their readiness at any moment to lay down their arms, if their persons and property were protected, and their just grievances redressed. And the better to have their petition granted, they sent a letter to the Queen, so that she might plead on their behalf. Their apology, however, was little respected, their grievances not redressed, and an offer which they made to the Lords Justices to discuss by Commissioners the points

⁷² Carte, 240-3 ; Cox, 77-80.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 243-4 ; *Ormond MSS.*, pp. 36-40.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 248-9.

of difference was treated with contempt, and did not get the courtesy of a reply. Thus repulsed, they were compelled to continue in arms, and organised their forces as best they could. Lord Gormanstown became general-in-chief, and Lords Slane, Trimleston and Dunsany were assigned commands.⁷⁵

This defection of the Pale greatly increased the extent of the rebellion; the same object was promoted by the continued cruelties of the government officials. In January the government forces were strengthened by the arrival of 1,400 soldiers, and in the next month nearly 3,000 more came. This enabled Ormond to march out from Dublin with 3,000 men, and the whole country round Dublin was laid waste. He was to kill all able to bear arms, but Coote, who was in his army as Provost Marshal, even exceeded these instructions, and to such an extent that Ormond had to remonstrate.⁷⁶ The President of Munster, St. Leger, acted similarly in the south; executed 50 persons at Waterford by martial law; at one place killed three, at another four, at another eight, not one of whom he knew to be guilty of any crime. One of his officers, seeing some men and a woman standing inoffensively at their doors, put them to death, and a farmer named Ryan, going to the forge with his plough, was murdered; in addition to which St. Leger drove off the people's cattle, and burned the houses on his march. The local gentry had no sympathy with the rebellion, but they were shocked at this wanton sacrifice of life and property, and remonstrated. St. Leger's answer was that they were all rebels, and that it would be well if the best of them were hanged, an answer which drove them to rebellion. They took Cashel at the end of December, plundered the English, and murdered 13 of them. The others escaped with difficulty into Cork, and all of them would have been murdered but for the intervention of the Franciscan friars. Lord Mountgarrett gathered together a considerable force; captured Kilkenny and Waterford and the neighbouring towns; and swept the English out of the three counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary, though he was careful to discountenance plunder,

⁷⁵ Carte, Vol. I., pp. 249-53.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 277-83; Carte, *Papers*—Letter of Lord Ossory.

and none were killed by his troops except those who resisted them. Quarrels, however, arose between himself and Lord Roche, and Mountgarrett in disgust retired to Kilkenny. The English took courage ; fresh supplies and stores reached St. Leger from England ; and Cork was left in English hands.⁷⁷ Concurrently with these events, a party of Protestants, fleeing from Mayo to Galway, was set upon at Shrule, and every man murdered ; and all Mayo and Sligo, as well as Roscommon, was soon in rebellion, and so also was Galway county ; but the town was reduced by Lord Clanricarde, who through all these trying times steadfastly refused to join the rebellion.⁷⁸

In the meantime the Lords Justices continued their exasperating tactics. They refused to pardon those who submitted ; and when Lord Clanricarde, in order to pacify Galway, received the submission of those in revolt, they disapproved of his act, and ordered their commanders not to hold any intercourse or treaty with any Irish or Papists, but to prosecute all such rebels, harbourers or relievers of rebels with fire and sword.⁷⁹ Colonel MacMahon, who had been in prison for some months, they put on the rack, as they did also Mr. Patrick Barnewell of Kilbrew, a quiet, inoffensive, old man, more addicted to the pleasures of a rural life than to politics ; and they subjected to similar treatment Sir John Reade, an English Privy Councillor, and Colonel in the English army, guilty of no crime except that in his journey to England he carried with him a petition from the Catholics to the King.⁸⁰ In a similar spirit they threw Lord Castlehaven into prison, kept him there for twenty weeks without trial, and would perhaps have put him on the rack but that he was fortunate enough to make his escape.⁸¹ They were no doubt emboldened to act thus because of their accession of strength and the recent successes of their arms. Ormond and Coote, returning from Athy to Dublin, encountered the Leinster forces at Kilrush, and defeated them with the loss of 700 killed.⁸² In the previous month

⁷⁷ Carte, pp. 264-71.

⁷⁸ Miss Hickson, Vol. I., pp. 387-99 ; Carte, *Papers*.

⁷⁹ Carte, Vol. I., pp. 292-3 ; 320-3.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 300-1 ; *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. II., pp. 151-2.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 298-300 ; Castlehaven's *Memoirs*, pp. 29-30.

⁸² Carte, pp. 315-16.

(March), the siege of Drogheda had been raised. Since November it had been besieged by Sir Phelim O'Neill, and had gallantly repulsed all his attacks. Its governor, Sir Henry Tichborne, was a man of great courage and resource, always on his guard, and though more than once reduced to great distress for want of provisions, he continued to defend the town until the end of March, when the patience of the besiegers was exhausted, and the siege was raised.⁸³ Tichborne followed up his success by attacking and capturing Dundalk and Ardee; and Ormond, who had gone north, was anxious to attack Newry, which with the forces at his command he could easily have captured, but that he was peremptorily recalled by the Lords Justices to Dublin.⁸⁴ On his way he wasted and spoiled, and could boast that he had made desolate an extent of territory 25 miles in length, and 17 in breadth. To the Catholics it was but a poor compensation for all these miseries and defeats, that in some small encounter near Trim, Sir Charles Coote was killed.⁸⁵

It was plain, that they should change their plans; they should prepare themselves for a sustained, and not merely a spasmodic, effort. Between the army of the Pale and the army of Ulster there should be a better understanding, a more hearty co-operation, a closer union. Some central authority was necessary to guide and direct the Catholic forces and provide for their needs. Unity of purpose and plan was essential, else there would be no strength, and no successful resistance; individual effort was not enough; and if such action and effort were continued it would inevitably involve still greater miseries than those already experienced, and provoke still more crushing disasters.

⁸³ Temple's *Rebellion*, pp. 173-197; Cox, 87-92.

⁸⁴ Carte, pp. 287-91.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 303, 317-18.



CHAPTER XV.

The Confederation of Kilkenny.

THE Catholic Bishops of Ulster met at Kells in May, 1642, and after due deliberation declared the war in which the Catholics were engaged to be justified. At the same time they issued decrees against murderers and usurpers of other mens' estates, encouraged by a public address their countrymen to take up arms for their religion, their country and their King; and knowing that national consultation and national effort were necessary, they summoned the Bishops of Ireland to a national synod, to be held at Kilkenny.¹ This synod met on the 10th of May. Many of the Catholic nobility and gentry also came to Kilkenny, and between laity and clergy consultations were often held, after which by common consent the Catholics formed themselves into an association which came to be called the Confederation of Kilkenny, as its members were called the Confederate Catholics. Each member swore loyalty to the King, and bound himself to defend the "power and privileges of the Parliament of this realm;" the free exercise of the Catholic religion; the lives, liberties, possessions and rights of all those who took the prescribed oath and kept it; and further that he would obey the orders of the governing body of the association, and would seek for no pardon, make no arrangement, nor accept any peace without the consent of a majority of its

¹ Stuart's *Historical Memoirs of Armagh*, p. 219.

members. The synod of the clergy also decreed that no difference was to be made between old and new Irish. All who should forsake the Confederacy, having once taken the oath, were to be excommunicated, and the same penalty was meted out to murderers and thieves. - The whole executive government of the Confederate Catholics passed at once into the hands of a Supreme Council of 24 members. Each of the provinces was to be governed by a provincial council, consisting of two deputies from each county; each county to have a council of two members from each barony, to have authority in all purely local matters, and to name all county officers, except the high sheriff. From the county councils an appeal lay to the provincial councils, and the Supreme Council was the ultimate Court of Appeal.

All these councils were to derive their authority from the General Assembly of the Confederate Catholics, which was appointed to meet in Kilkenny.³ It was modelled on the Parliament of Dublin, but for fear of giving offence to the King it was not called a Parliament, but a General Assembly. Like the Parliament, it was to consist of two houses or orders; the first order consisted of all the bishops, mitred abbots, and lay lords who had seats in the Irish House of Peers, and the second of 226 members from the various counties and boroughs. Both orders usually sat together, but the first order might consult in private, and then communicate their views to the second order. The Supreme Council was to be selected by the Assembly from among its own members, and was to be responsible to the General Assembly, who might change its composition, and extend or curtail its powers. A provisional Supreme Council was at once established, and writs were issued for the elections. These took place in due course; and the General Assembly met at Kilkenny, in October. The Supreme Council of 24—six from each province—was then appointed; Mountgarret was appointed President and Richard Bellings became secretary. The Council was to have a guard of 500 foot and 200 horse; to have power over all military officers and civil magistrates; could decide all matters undecided by the General Assembly, and

² *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, Vol. i., pp. 262-8.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. ii., pp. 9-16.

could hear and judge all capital and criminal causes except titles to lands, and do all kinds of acts for promoting the common cause of the Confederacy, and the good of the kingdom.⁴

In the earlier stages of the war, the Ulster Catholics had refrained from interfering with the Scotch planters in their midst; they were strong in numbers, and it was best not to provoke them. Yet, it is not unlikely that some were confounded with the English and suffered with them; and perhaps it was for this reason that the garrison of Carrickfergus, mostly Scotch, issued from the town, in January, swept like a hurricane through Island Magee, and put every Catholic there, man, woman and child, to the sword. There is some dispute as to the number thus murdered, and also as to the time; but there is none as to the massacre having taken place, and none as to its being bloody and unprovoked.⁵ Henceforth the Scotch were even more dreaded than the English; and when General Monroe, with 5,000 Scots landed in April at Carrickfergus, the position of the Irish, already driven from Drogheda and Dundalk, became desperate, for there was then in Ulster an army, English and Scotch, of 12,000 men.⁶ With part of their forces Monroe and Lord Conway captured Newry and overran Down;⁷ while Sir William Stewart, who commanded in the north-west the army of the Lagan, fell upon Sir Phelim O'Neill near Raphoe and defeated him with great loss; and Lord Montgomery captured Armagh, Charlemont and Dungannon. And if Monroe had been sufficiently active, the Catholic army would have been speedily destroyed.⁸ But, even as matters stood, they felt themselves beaten; they lost all hope of being able to continue the struggle, and resolved to abandon the war. Each one was to make the best terms he could. In this condition were the Catholics, dispirited, cowed, hopeless, when Owen Roe O'Neill arrived in Ulster in July, and by the unanimous vote of the whole army was placed in chief command.

⁴ Meehan's *Confederation of Kilkenny*, pp. 43-4.

⁵ Miss Hickson, Vol. I., pp. 255-76.

⁶ Carte, Vol. I., p. 310.

⁷ Gilbert's *Contemporary History*, Vol. I., pp. 419-23.

⁸ Carte, p. 311.

He was nephew to the great Earl of Tyrone, and having left Ireland at an early age, entered the military service of the Spanish Netherlands. Like his uncle, and unlike most of his countrymen, he was cool and cautious, and painstaking, never boasted, spoke little ; and long before the rising of 1641 had come to be regarded as the greatest of the old Irish abroad and the hope of the old Irish at home. With these latter he was kept in touch through the priests who went to the Continent, and with the officers and soldiers who went from Ireland into foreign armies—Colonel O'Byrne and others, and most remarkable of all, his own nephew, Daniel O'Neill. Brought up in England, Daniel was educated a Protestant, and lived and died one ; was much about the English court ; was much trusted by the King ; and was, says Clarendon, much superior in subtlety and understanding to the whole nation of the old Irish.⁹ Through these various agents a constant correspondence was kept up between Roger Moore and Owen Roe, the work of organising the Irish at home was attended to ; and Owen's Irish legions in Flanders were being gradually increased. Owen himself was meanwhile gaining experience ; his great talents were being matured ; and the skill with which he defended Arras against three French armies spread his fame throughout Europe. The siege over, he retired to Brussels to perfect his plans for the contemplated rebellion in Ireland, and received there the disappointing news that Dublin Castle was not captured, as it could have been, if treachery had not intervened. Then he formed other plans, and, finally, left Dunkirk with three vessels, captured two small English vessels at sea ; and with 200 trained officers, and a good supply of arms and ammunition, arrived at Donegal, in July, 1642.¹⁰

When Lord Montgomery captured the town of Charlemont in June he was unable to capture its strong castle, which continued to be garrisoned by Irish troops. He meditated a second attack in conjunction with Lord Conway ; but Monroe refused to co-operate, and the attack was not made ; nor was Charlemont town held, and when Owen Roe arrived in Ireland it was there he met the Ulster

⁹ Gilbert's *Contemporary History*, Vol. I., pp. 428-9.

¹⁰ *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. II., pp. 186-7 ; Taylor's *Life of Owen Roe O'Neill*, pp. 107-12.

chiefs, and there was elected commander-in-chief.¹¹ With his large force Monroe continued idle at Carrickfergus, only sending out parties to waste the counties of Antrim and Down. Montgomery lay at Lisburn, unable to undertake any large operations; the Lagan forces, through lack of supplies, were in a similar condition, and were in garrison through the towns of Donegal.¹² And thus it happened that O'Neill was allowed to remain unmolested at Charlemont and draw supplies from the plains of Tyrone. He had but 1,500 men under his command, and at once set about strengthening his position, fully expecting to be soon besieged, for Leslie, lately created Earl of Leven, arrived from Scotland in August, and took supreme command, and with the forces he brought with him and those already in Ulster, he had more than 20,000 men at his disposal. Yet he effected little, though he threatened much. With a large force he crossed the Bann into Derry and then marched south to Tyrone. It seemed as if he who prided himself on being, next to Gustavus Adolphus, the first general of the age, was afraid to measure swords with O'Neill. And he contented himself with writing him a letter expressing surprise that so great a soldier should engage in so bad a cause; to which O'Neill answered that he had more right to come to relieve his country in its distress than Leslie had to enter England and make war on his lawful king. From Tyrone Leslie recrossed the Bann, and at Carrickfergus relinquished the supreme command to Monroe, telling him that if O'Neill could ever get an army together he would worst him.¹³

But for O'Neill to get such an army together and to put it in a state of efficiency was no easy matter. At the outset he expressed abhorrence of some of the outrages committed by the Catholics. Some, against whom serious crimes were proved, he executed; the houses of others he set on fire; and when murmurs arose at these stern measures, he told them that he would rather go over to the English than have these crimes go unpunished. English prisoners of war, if no serious charges were proved against them, he at once discharged,

¹¹ Carte, pp. 310-11.

¹² Gilbert, Vol. I., p. 475.

¹³ Carte, p. 349.

and in some cases compensated. His call to arms met with a hearty response, for there was much fighting material in Ulster. But these levies had to be drilled, and disciplined, and trained. It was necessary to organise a commissariat system; to avoid meeting in battle the trained and seasoned troops of Monroe; to guard against surprise. And thus did O'Neill spend the autumn and winter of 1642, training and drilling his men, making good soldiers out of raw levies, avoiding pitched battles, and engaging only in occasional skirmishes, and waiting patiently in his camp at Charlemont until he had an efficient army at his command, and until perhaps the prophecy of Leslie might be fulfilled.¹⁴

Connaught was, meanwhile, in a ferment. In December, 1641, a meeting of the principal Catholics was held at Ballintubber, at which it was resolved to take up arms, and all bound themselves by oath to maintain the prerogatives of the King, and the rights of Catholics to practise their religion. In the following month, O'Rorke with 1,200 men besieged Castlecoote, near Roscommon, but was so vigorously repelled by young Sir Charles Coote that he was compelled to raise the siege. A desultory war was carried on for some months without anything decisive being done until July, when the President of Connaught, Lord Ranelagh, came from Athlone with all his forces and attacked O'Connor Don at Ballintubber. The Roscommon men were aided by many from Mayo, even women fought in the ranks, but the trained soldiers prevailed over the tumultuous valour of undisciplined troops, and the Irish were defeated with heavy loss.¹⁵ This disaster was followed by others of less moment; but the English were insufficiently supplied with arms and provisions, and unable to pursue the enemy; and, besides, the President was urgently called to Galway. Captain Willoughby, the governor of St. Augustine's Fort, outside the walls of the city, a strong adherent of the Puritan faction, was bent, it seems, on goading the people to madness. Already, more than once, Clanricarde had reconciled the hot-headed captain with the irate townsmen, who were staunch royalists. Some of these latter took an English vessel in the harbour, brought away

¹⁴ Taylor's *Life of Owen Roe O'Neill*, pp. 118-22.

¹⁵ *O'Connors of Connaught*, pp. 236-9.

all the arms and heavy ordnance it contained, took possession of the town, disarmed all the English within the walls, and bound themselves by oath to defend the royal prerogatives and the Catholic religion. Willoughby got aid by sea from a certain Captain Ashby, who was as violent as himself, and then threatened to turn the guns of the fort on the town. Again Clanricarde made peace.¹⁶ But Willoughby would not have peace. He sent out parties of his soldiers to plunder, hanged some without any apparent cause, robbed many, insulted more, terrorised all in town and country, and set fire to the suburbs. Matters became worse when Lord Forbes landed in Galway, in August. He had with him 17 vessels, an abundance of provisions, and seems to have had a sort of roving commission from the English Parliament to attack the Catholics anywhere he found them. Landing his men, he set fire to all the houses outside the walls, killed men and women indiscriminately, disavowed every arrangement made with the town by Clanricarde, or even by Willoughby. He would have nothing but its unconditional surrender, nor would he listen to the remonstrances of Lord Ranelagh, who was seconding Clanricarde's efforts for peace. The townsmen continued to resist, and Forbes continued the siege, but his provisions began to run short, and it was necessary for him to leave. He took care, however, in a spirit of wanton brutality, to desecrate St. Mary's Church, which was outside the walls, to dig up the graves, and to set fire to the coffins and to the bones they contained. When he had thus glutted his rage, he sailed away to Limerick.¹⁷

In Clare the Catholics had also risen. The Earl of Thomond, a zealous Protestant, was unable to make headway against them; and by the time Lord Forbes left Galway all the strong places were in the hands of the insurgents, and the Earl himself had quitted the country and gone to England. In June, Limerick surrendered to Lord Muskerry and General Barry, and a good quantity of ammunition and heavy guns was taken, by which they were enabled to capture all the strong castles in Limerick county except

¹⁶ Hardiman's *History of Galway*, pp. 110-15.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

Askeaton.¹⁸ At this time, the President of Munster died, and Lord Inchiquin was appointed to the office. He was of the O'Brien family, and educated a Protestant and in hatred of Catholicity; was entirely devoid of mercy or pity; was cruel, coarse, brutal and ferocious, one of the cruellest men in times when there were many such. He had considerable energy and ambition, and no small share of military capacity, and desirous of pursuing the war with vigour, and perhaps of neutralising the effect of the fall of Limerick, he made earnest application to England for supplies. His application was in vain, and equally vain was a similar application he made to Lord Forbes, who had landed in the south of Cork, and was plundering as he went along. Inchiquin had then to rely on the force under the sons of the Earl of Cork, and all he could draw away from the garrisons of Cork, Youghal and Kinsale, and with these he marched through Cork, and encountered the Irish army at Liscarrol. He had but 1,600 men under his command; the Irish had 7,000, and the advantage of position; yet they were disastrously and shamefully beaten, with the loss of 700 men killed, 3 pieces of artillery, 13 colours, 300 muskets and 3 barrels of powder; while on Inchiquin's side the loss between killed and wounded was not more than 40. The victory, however, was not followed by decisive results; the country was wasted; and Inchiquin had to retire to Mallow, and there remain inactive through the winter.¹⁹

In Leinster, Ormond was created a Marquis, and put in supreme command of the army, subject to none but the King. But the English army at Dublin was ill-supplied with powder, or match, or clothes, or money, or provisions; and two commissioners sent over by the English Parliament were more intent on seducing the soldiers from the King's service than on helping on the war.²⁰ On the other hand, supplies had come to the Irish from abroad. Colonel Preston, a brother to Lord Gormanstown, a soldier of eminence, who had earned distinction in defending Louvain, had arrived in Wexford, in September, bringing a good supply of arms, ammunition, and heavy ordnance, and 500 officers, who had served in foreign

¹⁸ *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. II., p. 184.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 203-4.

²⁰ Carte, Vol. I., pp. 350-3.

wars. And while the Irish were thus receiving supplies, and Irish vessels held the Irish Sea, there was scarcity, and want, and weakness in Dublin. And the great Civil War had broken out in England; for the Parliament would insist that they should appoint the entire Privy Council and all the officers of State; that none of the royal family should get married without the consent of Parliament; that the penal laws against the Catholics should be stringently enforced; and many other conditions so onerous, and so distasteful to the King that, rather than subscribe to them, he would have war, and raised his standard at Nottingham.

For a time of peace the constitution established by the Confederate Catholics was a good one. It established representative government on the broadest basis; and the arrangement by which the executive government was made accountable to a popularly elected assembly was far in advance of the age. But the business of the Confederates was to make war. What was wanted was a close union between all parties under the supreme control of some powerful individual, whose requirements for war all would willingly supply, and whose commands all would obey. Instead of securing this, the Supreme Council appointed no general-in-chief, but appointed four generals, one for each province, each subject to the Supreme Council itself, but each in his own province quite independent. O'Neill commanded in Ulster, Preston in Leinster, Barry in Munster; but in Connaught Burke was appointed only Lieutenant-General, the hope being that Clanricarde would accept the supreme command, though he had already refused it when tendered to him in the previous year by those in arms in Roscommon and Mayo.²¹ Lord Mountgarret, the President of the Council, was an old man; his conduct at the battle of Kiltrush showed that he had little military capacity; and the reason for choosing him seems to have been that he was a nobleman, and son-in-law to the Earl of Tyrone. But, even if he had been a great general, he had no authority other than his fellow councillors; his position was one of precedency and honour; and had he undertaken the direction of the war he would find himself guided and directed by the other

²¹ *O'Connors of Connaught*, pp. 236-7.

supreme councillors who knew nothing about war. O'Neill was the man best fitted for the chief command, but the jealousy between the new and old Irish prevented his appointment and hence the separate commands. It was unfortunate also that Kilkenny was selected as the seat of government. It was too far especially from Ulster, and it was impossible that the members from that province could regularly attend. And thus it happened that the ruling power fell into the hands of the Catholics of the Pale. Their hearts were not in the war; they had been forced into it by the tyranny of the Puritan Lords Justices, and were ready at any moment to turn back when they got security of their properties, and the barest toleration of their religion. They had no desire to break with England; it was the country from which their ancestors had come; they were loyal to the King, and ready to make any sacrifices in his service; and they had no desire whatever to see the old Irish restored to the lands from which their ancestors had been driven. Some of themselves were planters, and the secretary of the Supreme Council—Belling—was the son of him who had helped to plunder the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, and who had with others been a sharer in the plunder.²²

To these causes of disorganization and weakness must be added the sinister influence of the Marquis of Ormond. Born in 1607 and inheriting large family estates, his possessions were still further augmented by his marriage with his relative, Lady Elizabeth Preston, the daughter and heiress of the Earl of Desmond.²³ The young Earl came to Ireland in 1633 and soon took a prominent part in the Parliamentary debates, and became the personal friend of the Earl of Strafford, and a trusted adviser of the King, who appointed him to command the army in Ireland.²⁴ This position he held subject to the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Leicester, who never came to Ireland, but who, to the disgust of Ormond, interfered in the affairs of the Irish army. This state of things ceased when Ormond got the supreme command, subject only to the King. It was at the same time he became a Marquis. His father

²² Belling's *History of the Irish Confederation*, Vol. I., pp. 167-216.

²³ *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. II., pp. 349-50, 355-6.

²⁴ Carte, Vol. I., p. 193.

and grandfather were Catholics, but he himself had been early taken in charge by the Protestants in England—made a ward of the courts, and brought up a strong Protestant, and in bitter hatred of the Catholic faith, a hatred which he never failed to manifest throughout his career. In war his talents were respectable, but were far greater in diplomacy. He could be suave or stern as the occasion demanded; knew how to conceal his feelings and to estimate the capacity of his opponents; and though he hated the Catholics, and would grant them no privileges, and little toleration, he was ready to negotiate with them, and to pretend friendship with them.

With the Supreme Council he found it easy to establish relations. His brother was a colonel in the Catholic army; his two sisters were nuns; he was the nephew of Lord Mountgarret, and the brother-in-law of one of the Munster generals, Lord Muskerry; and one of the other members of the Supreme Council, Dr. Fennel, had been his family physician.²⁵ In addition to this Kilkenny had always been the centre of the Ormond power; his family influence soon made itself felt within the Supreme Council, and a party appeared there anxious to make terms with him. Under the influence of this party, which acquired the name of the Ormond faction, negotiations were opened, but for a long time without result. As far back as the month of March, 1642, the Connaught insurgents had proposed a cessation of the war to Clanricarde; the following May, the Lords of the Pale, with Clanricarde's approval, proposed a general cessation; and this latter proposition was renewed in July, and again, with all the authority of the Supreme Council, in the October following. But the Irish Council wanted no cessation, and refused to send the Catholic petition to the King, nor was it until Ormond communicated with his Majesty, that the Council sent the petition, and then with a recommendation that it should be rejected. But the King's affairs in England were not prospering; he rejected the advice thus given, knowing the Irish Council to be his enemies, and in January, 1643, he commissioned Ormond and Clanricarde to treat with the rebels. Ormond then

²⁵ Taylor's *Owen Roe O'Neill*, pp. 132-7; *The Unkind Deserter*, vide Bishop French's works.

sent a message to Mountgarret that he was ready to hear what the Confederates had to say ; and he haughtily told him that among their agents there should be no ecclesiastics ; and that these agents should come humbly before the King's Commissioners with that respect which ought to be given to such as were honoured with his Majesty's Commission.²⁶ Some further correspondence there was, some quibbling about words and phrases ; but these difficulties were smoothed over ; the Confederates adopted a more submissive tone ; Ormond abated somewhat his haughty bearing ; and it was agreed that the Confederate agents and the Commissioners should meet at Trim on the 17th of March following.²⁷

Averse to any cessation, and desirous to employ the army which was in want of food at Dublin, the Lords Justices sent Ormond, early in March, to capture Ross. He had an army of 3,000 men, but was so well resisted by the garrison that he was compelled to raise the siege. There was special reason for his doing so, for General Preston was marching to the relief of the town with nearly 7,000 men. He endeavoured to intercept Ormond's retreat, and the two armies met at Old Ross. The advantage of numbers and of position was on Preston's side, for Ormond should march through a narrow pass, in which not more than four horsemen could ride abreast. Yet instead of profiting by these advantages, Preston rushed impetuously into the open, and was shamefully defeated with the loss of 500 men, and Ormond was then free to return to Dublin. Nothing but the utter stupidity of Preston saved him and his army from defeat, and even from annihilation.²⁸

But this victory effected nothing more than to ensure Ormond's safe retreat. His army was too scantily supplied to undertake further operations, still less to gain further victories, and the conference, as arranged, met at Trim. There was much debate, and many letters passed between Ormond and the King, and between Ormond and the Confederates ; and in all these it is easy to see the submissiveness and even slavishness of the Confederates, the insincerity and bigotry of Ormond, and the duplicity of the

²⁶ Carte, Vol. I., pp. 390-6.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 398.

²⁸ Castlehaven's *Memoirs*, pp. 35-6.

King.²⁹ Some minor points indeed the King was ready to concede, but he would not consent to the repeal of the penal laws, and Ormond advised that he should not, and rebuked the Confederates for making such a demand.³⁰ More eager for peace than Ormond, the King urged him to conclude a cessation, but he urged in vain; the negotiations were broken off in June, and Ormond took the field against Preston, though he effected nothing, and when he was again urged by Charles to have peace, he resumed the negotiations. Further delays there were, and more quibbling, nor was it until September that a cessation was agreed to for a year.³¹ During that period, Dublin, Louth, Meath and Kildare were to be exclusively occupied by the Protestants, except such towns and castles as were then occupied by Confederate troops. On the other hand, Wicklow, Westmeath, King's and Queen's counties, Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford and Longford were to be in Catholic hands, except those towns and castles then held by the King's troops. Similar arrangements were made for the other provinces. Crops sown and captured by an enemy were to revert to the sower on payment of a small sum. Trade and traffic were to be free; and if any refused to observe the cessation, the Catholic Bishops were to aid in putting them down, but if the Catholics on their part demanded similar aid, Ormond only promised to lay their complaints before the King. Lastly—and for the King this was a most important proviso—the Confederates agreed to give him a sum of £30,000.³²

In such an arrangement the advantages were all on the King's side, and it is easy to see how superior in diplomatic ability Ormond was to his opponents. The English army at Dublin, in the early part of the year, were in the greatest distress, ill-paid, ill-fed, ill-clad; and the committee of the English Parliament at Dublin had nothing to offer them in lieu of pay and arrears but lands which were to be forfeited by those in rebellion; and the soldiers

²⁹ Cox, pp. 130-3. At these interviews Ormond remained seated with his hat on, while Gormanstown and Muskerry had to stand, and remain uncovered.

³⁰ Carte, Vol. I., pp. 409-10, Vol. III., p. 150.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 439-40, 451-3, Vol. III., pp. 174-6.

³² Cox, Appendix 16.

thought this a hard condition for them to venture their lives on.³³ In March the same story had to be told. The soldiers had neither powder, match, money, or victuals; with difficulty Ormond kept their officers from going to England; and the soldiers, driven to desperation, pursued the Lords Justices through the streets, clamouring for their pay, and, not getting it, plundered some of the citizens.³⁴ At the very time the cessation was agreed to their condition was the same. And not in Dublin only but throughout Ireland they had neither shoes, stockings, hats nor shirts, nor provisions, nor money in the treasury; they had little hope of relief; they were dispirited and incapable of performing any service; nor was there need of any other enemy but hunger and cold to devour them.³⁵ Attached to the English Parliament, the Lords Justices would not put the army in an efficient condition, though they wanted the war to continue. Parsons especially had given so many proofs of disloyalty to the King, that he was dismissed from office in April, and Sir Henry Tichborne appointed in his place, and three months later, he was thrown into prison, because he had tried to seduce the army from the side of the King.³⁶ On similar charges three other members of the Council were imprisoned, Loftus, Meredith and Temple, the last-named having got the custodiam of the mills at Kilmainham, and having greatly enriched himself by charging excessive toll on grain, while the army was starving.³⁷ Such, then, was the condition of the King's government in Ireland—the army hungry, naked and mutinous, some of the highest officials disaffected, others guilty of peculation, the treasury empty. Nor could the King lend any aid; for the struggle between the King and Parliament was still doubtful; and to still further darken the King's prospects the Parliament had joined hands with the Scotch, and had entered into a solemn League and Covenant, binding themselves to join their forces for the extirpation of Catholicity in the three kingdoms,

³³ Carte, Vol. I., pp. 384-6.

³⁴ *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. II., pp. 240-I, 253-4.

³⁵ Carte, pp. 419-20, 459-61.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 420-1.

³⁷ *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. II., pp. 306-7, Carte, Vol. I., pp. 441-2.

and the establishment of a Presbyterian form of Church government ; and in accordance with this arrangement the Scots sent an army into England. ³⁸

But while the King was thus menaced with fresh dangers, and his government at Dublin was weak, the Confederate Catholics were strong. In the previous year they had shown much energy, had raised taxes ; taken off the duty on imported corn ; appointed generals of the army ; set up a printing press ; and sent agents abroad to solicit assistance, to France, to the Emperor, to the Pope, to Bavaria and to Holland. ³⁹ General Preston also was especially active, and, with Lord Castlehaven in command of the cavalry, overran King's County. In attempting to capture Ballinakill he was defeated by Colonel Monk, and more seriously still by Ormond at Old Ross ; but he was not seriously weakened, and was enabled to capture Ballinakill in April, and in the months that followed he held all the places he had won. ⁴⁰ In Munster Inchiquin was so straitened for supplies that he took all the cattle, corn and provisions round Cork and Youghal, and the goods from the merchants, though these inhabitants were all under his protection ; and in the month of May, the English met with the most crushing disaster they had yet sustained. Sir Charles Vavasour, on his march to Waterford, was attacked at Kilworth near Fermoy by Lords Muskerry and Castlehaven, and disgracefully defeated, himself and 600 men being taken prisoners, and cannon, arms and baggage fell into the hands of the victors. ⁴¹ In Connaught Clanricarde still held aloof from the Confederates ; but his power was becoming less ; Athenry had revolted from him, and his castle of Claregalway was taken. About the same time, Ranelagh, the President, unable to subsist at Athlone, abandoned the province and returned to Dublin, having to fight his way through an army of 3,000 men. ⁴² In the month of June, Galway surrendered to General Burke ; Clanricarde's strong castle of Oranmore was also captured ; and by the end of June the whole province was in Catholic hands,

³⁸ Lang's *Scotland*, Vol. III., p. 109.

³⁹ Carte, Vol. I., p. 370.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 380-2 ; Cox, p. 127.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 425-6, 431-2.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 383.

except a few castles in Roscommon, and Clanricarde's castles of Loughrea and Portumna.⁴³ In Ulster there was no important event. O'Neill was gradually getting together an army and providing for their needs, but avoiding any general engagement. He could not, however, entirely avoid the enemy, and in June narrowly escaped being captured by Monroe. About the same time Lords Montgomery and Moore swept over Monaghan and Armagh, and O'Neill retired for safety to Longford and Leitrim. On his march he was attacked by Stewart near Clones, and defeated with some loss; but he received fresh supplies from the Supreme Council, and in a few days was again able to take the field.⁴⁴ Thus were the Confederates strong in every province; and it was while they were strong they made terms with Ormond, and commenced to negotiate for peace with a king on whose word no man could rely; whose perfidy had been already proved in the time of Strafford; and who was not in a condition to carry out any promise he made, even had he been so inclined.

Neither the old Irish nor the Scotch army in Ulster favoured the cessation. The former had not, indeed, been consulted; and the latter, after the agreement entered into between their countrymen at home and the Parliamentarians, went over to the Parliamentary side. Monroe denounced the cessation; and against Ormond's express wish his army took the Covenant, and captured Belfast for the Parliament.⁴⁵ Inchiquin in Munster followed Monroe's example, and went over to the Parliament, piqued because the King had appointed Lord Portland to the Presidency of Munster. Lord Desmond, the commander of Duncannon, also abandoned the King, and early in the next year attempts were made to capture Dublin, and Drogheda, and Dundalk for the Parliament, though these attempts were foiled by Ormond.⁴⁶ He had been appointed Lord Lieutenant in January, and as a result of the cessation, had already sent about 3,000 men

⁴³ Carte, pp. 429-31.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 433-4.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 486-90, 496-8; Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*, Vol. VII., pp. 170-1.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 513-14, 525-8.

to England to aid the King. They had not been fortunate, and though they were Protestants, they had been treated in England with the same indignity as if they were mere Papists. Some few deserted to the Parliament; the greater part were defeated by Fairfax at Nantwich, losing all their artillery, ammunition and baggage, 1,200 of them being taken prisoners.⁴⁷ Nor was the King averse to employing Catholic troops; and when the Earl of Antrim, a strong Catholic and Royalist, offered him in England to obtain large numbers of Irish troops for his service, he created him a Marquis and sent him to Ireland. But it soon appeared that Antrim promised more than he could perform; nor was he able to send more than 1,600 men to Scotland, where for the next two years they served with great distinction under Montrose.⁴⁸

In the meantime, negotiations for a peace were being carried on between the Confederates and the King, who was then at Oxford, and there received a deputation from the Supreme Council. The Confederates demanded freedom of their religion and repeal of the penal laws, an act of oblivion for all acts done during the rebellion, security of their estates, freedom to attend the University and the Inns of Court, the abolition of the Court of Wards, the independence of the Irish Parliament; and as they had been taxed with inhuman cruelties during the rebellion, they asked for an impartial inquiry, the guilty on either side to be suitably punished. The King was in a difficulty, for any concessions he made would be magnified, and toleration of Catholicity was then regarded as treason to the State.

And lest they might get any concessions, Sir Charles Coote and some Protestants went over from Ireland, and demanded for the Catholics more penal laws and more confiscations; that nobody could hold office without taking the Oath of Supremacy; that no Catholic should be allowed to vote; and that all Catholic priests be banished from Ireland.⁴⁹ The King's answer to the Confederates

⁴⁷ Carte, pp. 471-4, 481. Worse than theirs was the fate of 150 men who were being sent by Ormond to Bristol. They were captured at sea by a Parliament vessel, under Captain Swanley, and seventy of them, tied back to back, were hurled into the sea.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 482; Lang's *Scotland*, Vol. III., pp. 120-159.

⁴⁹ Carte, Vol. I., pp. 500-2.

was that on some minor points they should take his word for the redress of their grievance, and the value of this they already knew; the points about the university he granted; but he would not suspend Poyning's Law, nor repeal the penal laws, though he would see that they were not put in force. And he begged of them to consider his circumstances; that he could not with safety to himself grant them more; and that, if they should be satisfied, and assist him in recovering his rights, he would be for ever grateful.⁵⁰ This answer on their return they laid before the General Assembly. By that time, Ormond had got a commission from the King to treat for a peace, or for a further cessation. Such, however, was his hatred of the clergy, that he would negotiate with no ecclesiastic; and instead of the Supreme Council resenting his conduct, and declaring war, as men of spirit would have done, they meekly appointed all laymen to wait upon him, but with no useful result, except that the cessation was still further renewed.⁵¹ Rather than grant their terms, Ormond offered to resign the Viceroyalty; nor was he less yielding in May, 1645, when the negotiations were resumed.⁵² The battle of Naseby had then reduced the King to the last extremity; the only hope left was to conciliate the Irish Catholics; and in October he absolutely commanded Ormond to make terms. Yet, he refused to obey these commands, and instead was making overtures to Monroe; and the agents of the Supreme Council, after interminable arguments and delays, left Dublin, in November, without having concluded peace.⁵³

Convinced that Ormond would not conciliate the Catholics, and that neither entreaty nor commands could change him, the King ordered the Earl of Glamorgan to proceed to Ireland. He was son to the Marquis of Worcester; was much devoted to the royal cause; was a Catholic in religion; and by marriage was connected with the Irish family of the O'Briens. These qualifications would naturally prepossess the Irish in his favour. But the King did not wish to alienate Ormond—he had enemies enough already—and he bade Glamorgan consult him; but subject to this proviso he

⁵⁰ Carte, pp. 507-8.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 541-2.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 517-23.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 549, Vol. III., p. 431.

was free to act.⁵⁴ His instructions from the King were secret, and he was authorised to go further than Ormond had gone. Thus instructed, he presented himself at Kilkenny in the end of August and concluded a treaty with the Confederates by which the Catholics were to enjoy the free and public exercise of their religion ; all the Churches in Ireland, except those actually in Protestant hands ; and they should be exempt from the jurisdiction of the Protestant clergy. Glamorgan engaged the King's word that these articles should be carried out ; while the Irish, on their side, were to send to England an army of 10,000 men to fight for the royal cause. ⁵⁵ The treaty was to be kept secret until the Irish army was ready. But, in the October following, the Catholic Archbishop of Tuam was killed near Sligo, and among his papers was found a copy of Glamorgan's treaty. There was consternation in the Irish Council ; and a strongly worded protest was drawn up by Ormond and the members, and sent to the Secretary of State, in which it was declared that the treaty contained matter of scandal to his Majesty, of infinite detriment to his power and authority ; that it involved the abandonment of the King's spiritual supremacy and the ruin of the Protestants of Ireland. A garbled and mutilated copy of the treaty was published by the English Parliament ; it was pointed to as proof of the King's perfidy and his readiness to betray his Protestant subjects ; and Glamorgan was thrown into prison at Dublin, and accused of high treason. This farce was not continued ; for Glamorgan showed that he was only carrying out the King's orders, and produced the King's warrant for what he had done. For a short time he was kept in restraint and then he was given his liberty. Such was the condition of Ireland in the last days of 1645, the Catholics expectant and yielding, the Protestants intolerant, Ormond most intolerant of all, and Glamorgan's intervention confusing a situation, already sufficiently confused. ⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Carte, *Papers* (King to Ormond, January, 1646)

⁵⁵ Meehan's *Confederation of Kilkenny*, pp. 96-8.

⁵⁶ Cox, pp. 152-5—Appendix No. 27 ; Meehan, pp. 120-28 ; Mahaffy's *Calendar*, 426-7 ; Carte, Vol. I., pp. 555-7. Carte is quite satisfied that the King's warrant was a forgery, but his arguments are not convincing.



CHAPTER XVI.

The Papal Nuncio.

It was while the question of a cessation was debated that, in July 1643, an envoy arrived in Ireland from the Pope, whose name was Father Peter Scarampi. He brought letters to the Bishops, to the generals of the army, and to the Supreme Council, also large supplies of arms and ammunition, and 30,000 dollars in money.¹ Coming from a land where religion was free and flourishing, he felt the deepest sympathy for the Irish Catholics in their struggle for religious freedom ; and with such dispositions his sympathies were with those who opposed the cessation, and who had little faith in the King, and still less in Ormond.² He saw that Ormond's promises were vague and worthless ; that he was not sincere ; and that at every step his bigotry stood in the way of granting any public toleration of Catholicity. And Scarampi thought that the Catholics having taken up arms, ought not to be satisfied with the mere toleration of their religion, or permission to practice it by stealth. Not for this had so much blood been spilled. He was fearless in giving expression to his views, which he knew to be the views of Rome ; but the Ormondists had possessed themselves of the Supreme Council, and, though quite ready to take money from the Pope, were not ready to take the advice of his envoy. They were thinking

¹ Meehan's *Confederation of Kilkenny*, pp. 74-5.

² Carte, Vol. I., pp. 447-8.

more of their estates than of their religion, of Ormond than of the Pope ; resented the outspokenness of Scarampi ; disregarded his advice ; and spent their time in negotiations rather than in war.³ The results of such a policy were easy to foresee. The confidence engendered by their early victories gave way to depression, their enthusiasm to apathy and indifference. Seeking for a phantom peace, they forgot or neglected their armies ; the forts in their possession were in ruins ; their soldiers were ill-provided for ; and while they remained inactive, the Puritans had become strong and aggressive, neither agreeing to nor bound by any cessation or treaty with Ormond. And when the Supreme Council determined to organise their strength against Monroe in Ulster, it was not to the experienced hands of O'Neill they committed their army, but to Lord Castlehaven, who had little experience, and no great skill in war. And he had to complain that the men were raw and inexperienced, the horses hardly able to draw their legs after them, and both horse and foot with rusty arms.⁴ With such an army, and such a general, little could be done. Meantime, both in Ireland and England, the Parliament had grown strong ; at any moment fresh troops might come from England ; and if this happened the ruin of the Catholics would be near. The Supreme Council felt alarmed, and in the early days of 1645, sent envoys to Spain and Rome to seek assistance. " Their design was that they might know themselves what they had to trust to, and what succours they might depend on from abroad ; and that in case they should be forced to serve God again in holes and corners, the world might know they had laboured all they could to prevent that misfortune." ⁵ Their messenger to Rome was Belling, the Secretary to the Supreme Council. Ostensibly his mission was to congratulate the new Pope, Innocent X. ; but his chief purpose was to procure further aid, not only from the Pope, but also from the Catholic princes of Italy.⁶ Neither he nor the Supreme Council wished that any fresh envoy would come from Rome—Scarampi,

³ Rinnucini's Letters, p. 235.

⁴ Castlehaven's *Memoirs*, p. 47.

⁵ Carte, Vol. I., p. 529.

⁶ Meehan, p. 92.

they thought, was more than enough—but the Pope was impressed with the greatness of the struggle the Irish were making, and resolved to send greater aid than he had yet sent, and to send an ecclesiastic of high rank, with the title and powers of Nuncio.

For this position he selected John Baptist Rinnuccini, Archbishop of Firmo. A native of Rome, and of noble parents, he was a man of strong will, of great piety, and of the purest motives. At the time of arriving in Ireland, he was a little more than 50 years of age. The Pope instructed him to beware of those timid Catholics who would be content with the private celebration of the Mass; to insist on the free and public exercise of religion; to reform the clergy, and recommend suitable persons for the episcopacy. He was specially warned against Ormond, and the cessation and peace with him were condemned. But while the Nuncio was to see that the Catholics entered into no disadvantageous peace, he was not to encourage them to strive for national independence, but rather to advise them to be faithful to the King and aid him against the Puritans. In return, the King was to revoke all penal laws against the Catholics, to abolish the Oath of Supremacy, to admit them to all public offices. In order to secure these conditions all fortresses in Ireland were to be put into Catholic hands.⁷ In April the Nuncio left Genoa, passed through Paris, where he saw Cardinal Mazarin; left Nantes in October in the frigate *San Pietro*; was chased at sea for a hundred miles by a Parliamentary vessel, and narrowly escaped capture; and finally landed safely at Kenmare. He was accompanied by Belling, and brought with him a good supply of arms and ammunition, as well as some money. Passing on to Limerick, he proceeded to Kilkenny.⁸ His reception was enthusiastic. Outside the city he was met by the nobility and gentry; 50 scholars came specially to compliment him; and one of them, crowned with laurel, and more richly dressed than the others, read some verses in his honour. The magistrates met him at the city gates; the clergy headed the procession through the streets; the whole route to

⁷ Rinnuccini's Letters—Introduction.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

the cathedral was lined with soldiers, and filled with cheering crowds. But the President of the Council did not share this enthusiasm ; and when the Nuncio visited him he rose from his seat, but did not advance. The vain old man, who was ready to grovel before Ormond, thus haughtily received the Nuncio, and assumed the airs and deportment of a king.⁹

While at Paris, in August, the Nuncio had got letters from Scarampi warning him of the eagerness with which the Supreme Council sought for peace, and telling him that the peace with Ormond, if concluded, would be fatal ;¹⁰ and the Nuncio from personal observation in Ireland soon found that this view was sound, and that further negotiations in this direction had better cease. It was necessary that the Catholics should adopt vigorous measures without delay. Many things called urgently for reform. The Supreme Council, though quite ignorant of military tactics, insisted on directing all military operations ; the money raised for the army was not accounted for, and the pay of the soldiers was in arrear ; the distribution of the army was stupidly arranged ; nor was there any cordial co-operation among the generals. In Munster Preston and Castlehaven quarrelled ; in Ulster Owen Roe and Sir Phelim O'Neill ;¹¹ and in Connaught, as there was no general to lead, the Archbishop of Tuam had assumed command, and in doing so had lost his life.¹² There was no foresight, and no care ; and when Preston captured the fortress of Duncannon, he took no trouble to put it in a state of repair, nor was this done until ordered by the Nuncio, who appreciated the importance of the place.¹³ Yet, instead of setting right what was wrong, instead of consolidating their strength in face of the increasing strength of the Puritans, from whom no mercy was to be expected, the Nuncio found many still anxious for further and futile negotiations. Weariness, self-interest, want of money, respect for the King, inclined many for peace. The old bishops who had passed through persecution took

⁹ Rinnuccini, pp. 90-2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹¹ Gilbert's *Contemporary History*, Vol. I., pp. 96-7.

¹² Rinnuccini, pp. 138-40.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

little interest in passing events. They had been accustomed to discharge their religious functions in secret, and often administered sacraments without mitre or stole. They made little account of the splendour of religion, and would have been content to get permission to practise it in secret. The regular clergy were even worse. Living out of their convents, they did not wear the distinctive dress of their orders, and were bound by no monastic discipline ; nor had they any desire for the public celebration of religion, and the establishment and observance of monastic rule.¹⁴

Certainly the situation was complex. Ormond had been ordered by the King, in January, 1645, to make peace with the Catholics, on the basis of abrogating the penal laws, but he concealed these instructions, though he continued to negotiate with the Catholics ; and he received sums of money from them, though he had much more sympathy with the Puritans than with them.¹⁵ The Queen had sent Sir Kenelm Digby to Rome to negotiate for peace through the Pope, and she sent Father Leyburne to Ireland on a similar errand. She was naturally anxious to obtain Catholic support for her husband, and, as a Catholic, anxious to give the Catholics religious freedom ; yet she resented the action of the Nuncio, and thought he was demanding too much. Lord Digby, the King's Secretary of State, had come to Dublin, hoping to bring about peace, and obtain aid for the royal cause. There was finally the Earl of Glamorgan, with letters from the King, in which his Majesty undertook to sanction any agreement he made on the word of a king and a Christian ; giving him also a letter to the Nuncio, which his Majesty admitted was the first he wrote to a minister of the Pope, but hoped it would not be the last.¹⁶ Yet, when Glamorgan made peace with the Catholics he was arrested by Ormond and thrown into prison. Digby declared that if the English people thought the King would consent to give the Catholics such terms, they would be prepared to fling him out of the window ; and Charles, fearing

¹⁴ Rinnuccini, pp. 93, 132, 141-2.

¹⁵ Meehan, p. 93.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 104. " Etant la premiere que nous avons ecrite a quelconque ministre d'etat du Pape, esperant que cella ne sera pas la derniere."

public opinion, denied he gave any commission to Glamorgan, and denounced both him and the treaty he had made.¹⁷ Yet Glamorgan was not punished, but allowed to go back to Kilkenny; and Ormond made apologies to the Supreme Council for having imprisoned him.¹⁸

There did not seem to be any room left for further negotiation, and the Nuncio was anxious that war should be at once resumed, that Dublin should be attacked, as just then it could offer no effective resistance, and must necessarily have fallen.¹⁹ But the Ormondists on the Supreme Council were not to be baulked. They continued the cessation and insisted that a General Assembly should be called; and when that body met, in January, 1646, the whole question of peace and war was debated and discussed. The Nuncio, and the clergy, and the old Irish were on one side; the nobility and gentry of the Pale on the other; the former thinking of religion, the latter more intent on preserving their estates, and satisfied to accept the lesser terms offered by Ormond in default of the better terms agreed to by Glamorgan.²⁰ They pointed out that urgency was necessary; that Ormond's powers to negotiate expired on the 1st of April; that the King was in the last extremity. The Nuncio answered that Ormond's powers could easily be renewed; and he asked at least that they should wait until Digby returned from Rome with the treaty entered into by the Pope and Queen.²¹ But Digby did not come. The Ormondists, who commanded a majority in the Assembly, insisted that peace should in the meantime be made with Ormond; and they approved in advance of the Papal treaty, Glamorgan undertaking again that the King would consent to the Papal peace, as well as to Ormond's peace. On this understanding, the peace with Ormond was signed, on the 28th of March, by which the Confederates were to send 10,000 men to the King's assistance. In return, the Catholics were no longer bound to take the Oath of Supremacy; nor be disqualified from holding civil or

¹⁷ Meehan, p. 494.

¹⁸ Rinnuccini, p. 113.

¹⁹ Meehan, pp. 126-7.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

²¹ Rinnuccini, pp. 125-8.

military offices, nor from sitting in Parliament ; further plantations were to cease, and some of those already made were to be void. There were many other articles, 30 in all, which were to be transmitted to England, where there was little chance of their being passed. Many things were left to the discretion of the King ; nor was there any provision for the free and public exercise of religion.²² Powerless to prevent the concluding of this treaty, the Nuncio had, in February, induced the Bishops to protest against any peace which failed to guarantee the public exercise of religion, the restoration of church property, and the appointment of a Catholic Viceroy.²³ He also induced the Assembly to agree that the peace was not to be published until May, pending the arrival and sanction of the Papal treaty. Until that date the cessation rather than a formal and avowed peace was to continue.²⁴

But in the meantime the situation had altered. Sir Kenelm Digby did not come with any Papal treaty, and the Queen changed her mind, and was satisfied to leave everything to Ormond.²⁵ The King had again repudiated Glamorgan ; his last stronghold, Chester Castle, was in the hands of the Puritans ; his power was utterly broken ; and in the following May he surrendered to the Scots at Newark. There was then no meaning in sending Irish troops to England. Nor ought they to leave Ireland, for the cause of the Confederate Catholics was menaced with many dangers. In Munster Inchiquin was again active, and was sweeping through the province, murdering the inhabitants, burning their houses, and destroying their crops.²⁶ The Earl of Thomond, hitherto inactive, now declared for the Parliament, and a Parliamentary force sailed up the Shannon, and took possession of his castle of Bunratty. In Connaught Sir Charles Coote had conquered Sligo and Roscommon, and advanced as far as Portumna ; and in Ulster Monroe was so strong that he overawed the whole province, and was able to send assistance by way of Sligo to Coote in his work of conquering and

²² Mahaffy's *Calendar* (1633-47), pp. 442-3.

²³ Meehan, p. 137.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 143 ; Carte, Vol. I., p. 569.

²⁵ Meehan, p. 144.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

desolating Connaught. Nor could Ormond be induced to do anything. Appealed to by Clanricarde to declare Coote a rebel, he refused ; and though he promised to proceed against the Scots in the east of Ulster, and got £3,000 from the Supreme Council for the purpose, he refused to carry out his promise.²⁷ Fortunately for the Confederates, the General Assembly was dissolved early in April, else all their energies would have been wasted in debate. A small council of only nine members was appointed. The new council appointed four of its members to consult with the Nuncio on military matters, and at once more activity was displayed. Lord Castlehaven was sent with 1,000 light cavalry into Munster, and hung menacingly on Inchiquin's flanks ; and that nobleman had to betake himself to the shelter of the garrison towns. Bunratty was besieged in April by Lord Glamorgan ; but as he failed to capture it, he was superseded by Lord Muskerry, with whom the Nuncio himself went, and so encouraged and animated the besiegers that, after twelve days, the garrison surrendered, and were allowed to depart to their vessels at Cork. At the same time, Preston was sent with 3,000 men into Connaught ; and though Clanricarde did not co-operate with him, as was expected, he was able to defeat Coote, and captured Roscommon.²⁸

But, important as these events were, and encouraging for the Confederates, they were entirely overshadowed by what took place in Ulster. To make headway against the Puritans it was necessary that efforts should be made in each of the provinces to put the Confederates in a state of efficiency ; but the Nuncio was determined that special attention should be paid to Ulster. The Puritan forces were strongest there—they had the greatest part of the province in their power—and they were in easy communication with Scotland. On the other hand, no army was so devoted to the Catholic cause as that of O'Neill, and of all the generals he was incomparably the ablest. It was easier also to equip his troops, easier to satisfy their wants, for while Preston's soldiers insisted on being well and regularly paid, O'Neill's men cared little for money. They had

²⁷ Carte, Vol. I., pp. 567-70 ; Rinnuccini, pp. 160-2.

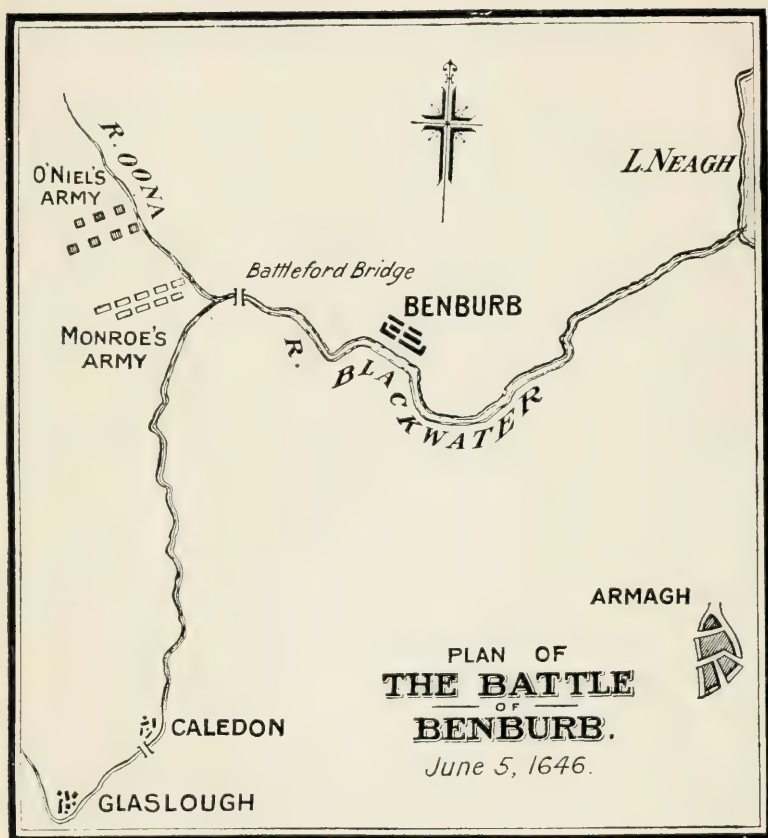
²⁸ Meehan, p. 147.

few wants, eat but little bread, drank milk, and very rarely usquebagh; if they had shoes, a woollen cloak, and a few utensils, they were satisfied, and were more careful of their swords and muskets than of their personal comforts.²⁹ The money and arms which the Nuncio had brought to Ireland, and which were still undivided at Kilkenny, would go farther on these Ulstermen than others, and would be better used, and at first he resolved to give all his supplies to them. However, to prevent jealousy, he gave two-thirds to General Preston, and the remainder to the Ulster army.

In May General O'Neill had his headquarters near Cavan, and with the supplies lately received, he had an army of 5,000 foot and 500 horse of "good hopeful men."³⁰ He had an eye on Connaught, but feared to transfer his forces there, and just then was watching the Ulster Scots, and barring their way from Ulster into Leinster. General Robert Monroe was at Carrickfergus with the main army; his brother George was at Coleraine with a small force; while Stewart, with the Lagan forces, was somewhere near Derry; and early in June O'Neill was informed that the forces at Carrickfergus were in motion, and that their destiny was Glaslough in Monaghan. Monroe was taking advantage of Preston's absence in Connaught, and was to join his brother and Stewart with all his strength, and falling upon O'Neill, crush him with the weight of superior numbers. Then he could march on Kilkenny, and break up the Confederation; after which he could join hands with Inchiquin; and the task of crushing Muskerry in the south, and Preston in the west, would be easy. This done, they could overwhelm Ormond, and capture the city of Dublin. With 6,000 foot and 600 horse, well-equipped, and with abundance of supplies, Monroe set out from Carrickfergus, and by the 5th of June was to be at Glaslough, where he was to meet his brother and Stewart. But O'Neill could not hope to stand against so great an army as this, and, resolving to take the enemy in detail, he anticipated Monroe's movements, and reached Glaslough on the 4th of June, and without delay advanced along the Blackwater, and pitched his camp near Benburb. Late on the same

²⁹ Meehan, pp. 140-1; Rinnuccini, p. 495.

³⁰ Gilbert's *Contemporary History*, Vol. I., p. 673. (O'Neill to Ormond.)



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night, after a long and weary march, Monroe reached Armagh, and early on the morning of the 5th his whole army was in motion, his intention being to cross the Blackwater. But the passage at Battleford Bridge was strongly held by the Irish, and he had to retrace his steps along the right bank of the river, while O'Neill's army marched on the opposite bank ; nor was it until he reached Caledon that Monroe could cross. His passage was not disputed, and then both armies stood facing each other on the left bank of the river. The Scots advanced ; the Irish retreated, fighting ; the advance of the enemy was thus delayed, and not until two o'clock in the afternoon did the Irish reach the ground selected by O'Neill for battle. " All our men," says Monroe, " did earnestly covet fighting, which was for me impossible to gainstand without reproach of cowardice." ³¹ The Irish were equally eager, and were reminded by their general that those who stood before them had banished themselves, their wives and children from their lands and houses, and compelled them to earn their bread in foreign lands. Against these insolent foreigners, who sought to destroy them, " bud and branch," they were fighting for the land their ancestors owned for 3,000 years, and for the religion which they professed since the dawn of Christianity in Ireland. " Your word," he said, " is Sancta Maria, and so in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost advance, and give not fire till you are within pike length." The whole army had previously received the sacraments ; religion was consecrating their efforts, and they felt that they were the army of God.

The position selected by O'Neill was specially favourable for defence. His left wing was protected by the little river Oona, which here forms a junction with the Blackwater ; his centre was a hill covered with scrogs and bushes ; on his right was a bog. He formed his army into seven divisions, four in front, and three in the rere, with wide spaces between the first divisions, so that those behind might step into the openings, if need be. Monroe, on the other hand, had formed his army into nine divisions, five in front and four in the rere ; but the spaces between the front divisions were

³¹ Gilbert, Vol. I., p. 678.

too narrow to admit the divisions in the rear. He had, however, the advantage of numbers, and he had artillery, which the Irish had not. But though O'Neill had the better position, and had his forces better disposed, he was in no hurry to begin the fight, and for five hours he spent the time skirmishing. He had two reasons for this. Almost all his cavalry had been sent under Brian O'Neill and O'Doherty to check George Monroe as he approached from Coleraine, and in addition, the sun shone in the faces of his men; and the enemy had, therefore, the advantage not only of numbers, but also of the sun and wind. A third reason was that the Scots were wearied after their long march, and the long hours of skirmishing would weary them still more. But at 7 o'clock in the evening, the sun shone full in the faces of the Scots, and the Irish cavalry were seen returning, having done their work well, and having not only checked the advance of George Monroe, but driven him back in confusion.

Meanwhile the Scots had tried, without success, to cross the Oona, and turn the Irish left; the artillery played upon the Irish centre, but the scrogs and bushes protected the men so well that little damage was suffered; and O'Neill, satisfied of the strength of his left and centre, increased his forces on the right, and gradually forced the enemy into the narrow angle between the waters of the Oona and the Blackwater. With such large numbers crowded into so narrow a space there was some confusion which was augmented when they saw the Irish cavalry return, for they had been looking for George Monroe instead. At last the great leader, who had so patiently laid his plans, and so carefully selected his ground, saw that the decisive moment had come. Then the word "Sancta Maria" was passed along the line, and in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost the men were ordered to charge for the old land. Like an avalanche let loose, the Irish crashed upon the foe, their charge all the more impetuous because their valour was so long restrained. The Scotch cavalry dashed down on the Irish foot, only in turn to be charged by the cavalry on the Irish side. The first line of the Scots was driven in on the second; the Irish officers dismounted from their horses, and, pike in hand, rushed on the enemy's guns and captured them. There was no

longer any resistance, and pike, and skean, and sword were busy dealing destruction on the foe. The victory was complete. No less than 3,248 dead were left on the field; many others were drowned in trying to cross the river, others in the pursuit; and baggage, cannon, arms, colours, tents, 1,500 draught horses, and provisions for two months, fell into the hands of the victors. Monroe, without hat or cloak, fled with the remnant of his army to Lisburn; Lord Montgomery and about 70 others were taken prisoners, the small number of these being accounted for by the fact that neither side gave quarter. When Sir Phelim O'Neill was asked to give a list of his prisoners he answered he had none, as he had killed them all. It was a crushing victory, especially when it is remembered that the Irish loss was but 70; and its effects were that the Coleraine forces hurriedly fell back; the Lagan forces were glad to find shelter within the walls of Derry; and Monroe fled in terror from Lisburn to Portadown, and took refuge in Carrickfergus.³²

There was jubilation among the Confederates. The Nuncio was at Limerick, and on the 15th of the following month received the news of the great victory, receiving at the same time the standards taken in the battle. Borne along the streets of the city, which was filled with cheering crowds, they were deposited in the Cathedral, where a solemn Mass of thanksgiving was offered, which was attended by the Nuncio, by many bishops, and by the nobility, and gentry, and magistrates of the city.³³ The Nuncio's expectations had been more than realised; and the capture of Bunratty and Roscommon, which happened at the same time, confirmed him in the belief that the Catholics were able to defend themselves if they cordially united; that they did not need the assistance of Ormond, and might safely set him at defiance. Yet it was at this period of strength and triumph, that the Supreme Council, dominated by Muskerry and Mountgarrett, entered into fresh negotiations, and concluded a disastrous peace. Some of them were in possession of church lands, and feared to break with Ormond, and depend entirely on their co-religionists; and, therefore, instead of rejoicing at the

³² Gilbert, Vol. I., pp. 116-18, 676-86; Rinnuccini, pp. 173-6; Taylor's *Life of Owen Roe O'Neill*, Chapter II.

³³ Meehan, p. 151.

victory of Benburb, they looked on O'Neill with increased jealousy and hate. If the King were strong, and agreed to Glamorgan's treaty, the Supreme Council would have reason on their side. But neither of these things happened. The King was in the hands of the Scotch, and unable to carry out any agreement he entered into. In June he had written from Newcastle to Ormond to proceed no further in the peace; at the same time he wrote to Glamorgan to go on, and that he would carry out his promises. These things ought to have convinced the Irish, if they were not yet convinced, that Charles was a man whom no treaty or promises could bind.³⁴ Ormond considered he had no power even to assent to the treaty of the 28th of March, and yet the Supreme Council sent their agents to him in Dublin. Lord Digby, in the meantime, had come to Ireland from the Queen, repudiating on her behalf the King's letter from Newcastle. In these circumstances, Ormond thought he might make peace, and, in the last days of July, the peace of the 28th of March was signed by Muskerry and Mountgarrett. It guaranteed nothing to the Catholics, and left the Ulster Irish out in the cold, while placing Ormond in command of the Confederate troops. Yet it was agreed to, and duly proclaimed in Dublin.³⁵

Vainly had the Nuncio protested in advance against any such peace. At Limerick, he had shown the messengers of the Supreme Council the protest of himself and nine bishops against any peace which did not guarantee the free and public exercise of their religion, and when the messengers persisted in going to Dublin to see Ormond, he refused to give them his blessing.³⁶ When all else failed, he summoned a synod at Waterford, and denounced the peace, declaring its abettors and contrivors perjured and excommunicated.³⁷ The old Irish everywhere approved of this condemnation, as did also the cities and towns, except Kilkenny. To this latter city Ormond went, and he purposed holding an assembly at Cashel to publish the peace and compel its acceptance. But all the towns on his route shut their gates against him; and

³⁴ Meehan, p. 156; Rinnuccini, p. 185.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-8; Rinnuccini, pp. 195-6.

³⁶ Rinnuccini, pp. 178-9.

³⁷ Gilbert, Vol. I., p. 124; Mahaffy's *Calendar*, pp. 507-9.

finding himself among enemies instead of friends, he hastily retreated to Dublin.³⁸

During these events O'Neill was not inactive. After the battle of Benburb, he first marched against the Lagan forces, which had come south as far as Augher in Tyrone, but was unable to come up with them, as they had hurriedly retreated to Derry; then he turned to Benburb and Charlemont, and pursued Monroe as far as Tanderagee, from which he sent out parties to gather preys in the county of Down. It is indeed strange that he did not follow up his victory as he ought. There were then but 2,500 English and Scotch troops in the east of Ulster; the Lagan forces were unable to help, and were in danger themselves; Preston menaced Coote, and from Connaught no relief could come. O'Neill had abundance of supplies; and if he had besieged Carrickfergus the place must have fallen, and the destruction of the Scotch army would be complete.³⁹ Instead of this he contented himself with getting large supplies into Charlemont, and then he took up his headquarters at Cavan, where for seven weeks he remained.⁴⁰ To the Nuncio he proposed to march on Dublin; but the peace negotiations were then proceeding; and though the Nuncio expected little would result from them, he wished Dublin to be left unmolested.⁴¹ Some weeks later he was anxious that that city should be attacked, and sent a message to O'Neill, who pleaded the want of the necessary cannon. Instead he advanced rapidly south, intending to sack Kilkenny, and put an end to that Supreme Council which had betrayed their religion and country, and in an especial manner had abandoned Ulster. He had then more than 10,000 men under his command. After Benburb he called his army the Catholic army, and gloried in sustaining the clergy, and denouncing the peace, and those who made it.⁴² Rejecting all overtures from Ormond, he encamped near Roscrea with 12,000 foot and 1,500 horse, just at the time that Ormond had left Kilkenny, on his way to Cashel,

³⁸ Rinnuccini, p. 201.

³⁹ Mahaffy's *Calendar*, pp. 469-70.

⁴⁰ Gilbert, Vol. I., p. 686.

⁴¹ Rinnuccini, p. 189.

⁴² Mahaffy's *Calendar*, p. 481.

and was menacing with nearly 2,000 men those places which rejected the peace. O'Neill sent a message to Cashel that if Ormond was admitted he would storm the town. He had also sent agents to stir up the Wicklow clans ; and Ormond, fearing for his personal safety, retraced his steps to Dublin, and narrowly escaped being caught by O'Neill at Leighlin Bridge. Nor would he have escaped but for the treachery of Colonel Bagnal, a Confederate officer, who allowed him to pass the bridge over the Barrow unmolested. O'Neill then stormed Roscrea, and, advancing towards Kilkenny, encamped within three miles of the city. He was there joined by Preston, who at first had favoured the peace, but soon turned to the popular side.⁴³ Both generals then sent word to the Nuncio that the way was clear to Kilkenny, and thither Rinnuccini went, leaving Waterford in the last days of September. His first act was to dissolve the Supreme Council, and even imprison its members ; he also imprisoned Bagnal and Sir Robert Talbot, who had aided Ormond to escape ; and a new Supreme Council was formed of 12 members, three from each province, the Nuncio himself being elected President.⁴⁴

The new Council was to summon a General Assembly in a few months ; but meanwhile Muskerry was deprived of his command in Munster, which was given to Glamorgan ; and the whole forces of Preston and O'Neill were got ready to march on Dublin. Objection was raised to Preston in the Supreme Council, but the Bishop of Ferns intervened on his behalf, and with O'Neill he was appointed to the joint command of the army. For the moment the two generals acted together. The jealousy between them, however, was deep seated and of long standing ; and when O'Neill, accompanied by the Nuncio, captured the towns of the Queen's County and garrisoned them, Preston found fault with the arrangement, and on his side marched leisurely through Carlow, leaving the town and garrison of Carlow untouched. The two armies met at Lucan, and it was settled that Preston's headquarters should be at Leixlip and O'Neill's at Newcastle. The city's defences were weak, and its available force being not more than 6,000, while the Irish forces were nearly

⁴³ Gilbert, Vol. I., p. 124.

⁴⁴ Meehan, pp. 162-6.

three times as numerous ; but from the first there was distrust and division, which was artfully accentuated by Ormond, who commenced negotiating with Preston. The Nuncio proposed that the latter general should be dismissed from his command, and even imprisoned, but he weakly yielded to contrary, though well-meant, advice, and the jealousies and rivalries continued. The confusion was increased by Clanricarde, who had fresh terms of peace to propose, which after all differed little from those of Ormond's treaty, and which Clanricarde had no prospect of having ratified, even if agreed to. ⁴⁵ O'Neill dreaded that Preston meditated joining hands with Ormond, and that both united might fall upon himself. There was no attempt to attack Dublin ; the winter was severe ; supplies were running short ; and when a report reached the Irish headquarters through Preston that a Parliamentary force had just entered Dublin, O'Neill rose from his seat as if he had been stung ; and gathering his men together by sound of cannon, retired to the Queen's County. ⁴⁶ Preston had engaged to join Ormond, to declare for the peace, and to serve with his army under Clanricarde. But he failed to carry out his engagement. He found that his men were not excommunication proof. Nor could he, as he intended, seize the stores at Kilkenny ; and he remained at that city, where, through the efforts of the Nuncio, he was again reconciled with O'Neill. ⁴⁷

These events happened in November and December. In January O'Neill took Athlone from Sir James Dillon, who was intriguing with Ormond, and in fact had joined hands with him ; and in the following months O'Neill had established his headquarters at Maryborough. ⁴⁸ But meanwhile the Supreme Council convoked a General Assembly, which met in February. Its meetings were stormy and disclosed many points of disagreement. ⁴⁹ On Ormond's peace, however, their verdict was emphatic, and out of 300 members only 12 could be found to favour it ; and they unanimously adopted the resolution of the Waterford synod that they would have no

⁴⁵ Mahaffy's *Calendar*, pp. 541 ; 546-7 ; Gilbert, Vol. I., pp. 131-2.

⁴⁶ Rinnuccini, pp. 504-8.

⁴⁷ Mahaffy's *Calendar*, p. 575 ; Carte, Vol. I., 590-6, Vol. III., p. 568 ; Gilbert, Vol. I., p. 134.

⁴⁸ Gilbert, Vol. I., pp. 130, 720-4.

⁴⁹ Rinnuccini, pp. 245-7, 258.

peace which did not guarantee the free and public exercise of their religion and did not leave them in possession of all the churches and church lands they then held.⁵⁰ The Assembly ended its sittings in April, but not before a new Supreme Council of 24 members was appointed. At the same time the members of the old Council, who had been imprisoned, were set free. O'Neill was put in command of the combined forces of Ulster and Connaught; Preston got command in Leinster; Glamorgan was continued in Munster.⁵¹ Leyburne, the Queen's chaplain, returned from France under the assumed name of Winter, and through him fresh negotiations with Ormond were opened up, and a further short cessation was agreed to.⁵² But Ormond would not accept the Confederate terms. He was more in sympathy with the Puritans than with the Catholics, whose demands for public toleration of their religion and possession of their Churches he pronounced insolent, fitter to be treated on in a league between princes than between his Majesty's governor of a kingdom and his subjects declined from their obedience. Even while negotiating with the Catholics he was also in treaty with the Parliament; and early in 1647 he admitted the Parliamentary troops into Drogheda, Dundalk, Trim and Naas, and in July he resigned the Viceroyalty, surrendered to them the city of Dublin, and left Ireland.⁵³ The price of this treachery was a sum of £5,000 and a pension of £2,000 a year from the Parliament. This last act caused consternation to the Ormondists in the Supreme Council and elsewhere; and Muskerry at a later period declared that Ormond had deceived them all and ruined his country.⁵⁴

The position of the Confederates was now critical. Monroe was strong in Ulster, and had recovered some positions he had lost; in Dublin there was a strong Parliamentary force under Jones; and Inchiquin had 5,000 foot and 500 horse in Munster, and was ranging at will through the province.⁵⁵ Since January Charles I. had been handed over to the Parliament by the Scots; the royalist

⁵⁰ Meehan, pp. 180-2.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 188-90.

⁵³ Gilbert, Vol. I., p. 146; Carte, Vol. I., p. 601.

⁵⁴ *The Unkind Deserter.*

⁵⁵ Carte, Vol. I., p. 602.

cause was lost, and the royalists incapable of further resistance ; and the Parliament were now free to send fresh supplies of men and money to Ireland. Nor could O'Neill and Preston agree in spite of the dangers which menaced them.⁵⁶ The Supreme Council had changed their residence from Kilkenny to Clonmel. They had appointed Glamorgan as general, but the army would not obey him, and insisted on having Muskerry back ; and *he* remained inactive, and made no serious effort to check the ravages of Inchiquin. The fiercest animosity had again arisen between the new and old Irish. The former dreaded that O'Neill meant to capture Kilkenny and overrun Munster ; and the Munster officers declared they would join Ormond, or Inchiquin, or the Turks, rather than expose themselves to be enslaved by him.⁵⁷ Even the Nuncio was beginning to share in these fears, and blamed O'Neill ;⁵⁸ and the Supreme Council had again fallen under the influence of the Ormondists and would not give him supplies, though they furnished Preston with a well-equipped army. This latter general had 7,000 foot and 1,000 horse under his command ; and, hoping to capture Dublin and eclipse the glory of Benburb, he laid siege to Trim. Jones, with an inferior force, marched to its relief. The two armies met in August at Dungan Hill, near Trim, when Preston was disastrously beaten with the loss of more than 5,000 of his men, and arms, baggage, and military stores fell into the enemy's hands. The defeated general retreated to Carlow, and the Catholic army of Leinster thus ceased to exist.⁵⁹

Equally disastrous was the news from Munster. Muskerry was superseded in the command by Taaffe, but the new general was as ineffective as the old ; and Inchiquin in September first captured Cahir and then Cashel. The garrison of the latter town were offered leave to depart, if they gave Inchiquin £3,000, and left the citizens at his mercy. They refused these terms, and resolved to defend themselves, and the better to do so made their way to the Rock of Cashel, where they were attacked with fury. The defenders fought

⁵⁶ Rinnuccini, p. 275.

⁵⁷ Carte, Vol. II., pp. 1-3.

⁵⁸ Rinnuccini, pp. 281-4.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 299, 306-8 ; Gilbert, Vol. I., pp. 154-7.

well, but numbers told, the place was stormed, and the infuriated Puritans massacred all within, men, women and children. Some soldiers surrendered on condition of their lives being spared, but when their arms were given up they were instantly cut down. The victors entered the church, where many of the priests were killed; crucifixes, statues and pictures were broken in pieces; vestments were used as horse cloths, or worn by the soldiers in derision, and Inchiquin himself put on the Archbishop's mitre, boasting that he was governor of Munster and Mayor and Archbishop of Cashel.⁶⁰ This tale of horror was soon spread throughout Munster. Indignation was universal at the supineness or incapacity of Taafe, and that general, thus urged, proceeded to measure swords with Inchiquin. The battle was fought at Knockanoss, near Mallow. Taafe, who was much superior in numbers, was aided by Colkitto MacDonnell, who had so distinguished himself in Scotland under Montrose, and who now commanded the right wing of the Confederate army. With a heroism worthy of his former record, he rushed impetuously on the foe. His men with their dreaded claymores cut down the artillerymen at their guns and drove the enemy's whole left wing off the field, pursued them a good distance, and then returned and took quiet possession of the guns. But Taafe's left wing and centre had behaved like poltroons, and made little resistance, and were cut down in hundreds by Inchiquin. After pursuing them a distance he returned and confronted the heroic MacDonnell, who was soon killed. The loss amounted to 3,000 men; and arms, ammunition and baggage fell into the victor's hands; and the army of Munster under Taafe was as effectually wiped out as the army of Leinster had been under Preston.⁶¹

O'Neill was then at Boyle preparing to attack Sligo, and was recalled to Leinster by the Supreme Council. The province lay at the mercy of the victorious Jones, and any moment he might join with Inchiquin, and Kilkenny itself might be taken. O'Neill's officers declared they would not risk their lives to save the Leinster trimmers; but O'Neill reminded them they were soldiers and must obey, and without further complaint they marched to the scene of

⁶⁰ Murphy's *Cromwell in Ireland*, 389-92.

⁶¹ Gilbert, Vol. I., pp. 176-7; Carte, Vol. II., p. 9.

Preston's defeat, and then O'Neill set up his headquarters at Trim. All round Dublin he wasted and burned, and thus kept Jones in his quarters ; for if he sallied forth he had no food supplies, and O'Neill was not likely to give him battle at a disadvantage.⁶² During the whole winter this was the position, O'Neill alone keeping the enemy at bay, and he alone standing between the Confederates and utter destruction. Yet their gratitude was little. Lately the Connaught Provincial Council declared they would have no Commander but him ; the Marquis of Antrim had also joined him ; an Irish priest had published a book at Lisbon urging the Irish to have him as king, and to sever the connection with England ;⁶³ and the Pope, through Luke Wadding, had sent O'Neill his blessing, and also the sword of the great Earl of Tyrone.⁶⁴ The Ormondists took alarm ; O'Neill, they thought, intended to proclaim himself king ; and rather than have it so they joined hands with Inchiquin, and in April agreed to a cessation with him.⁶⁵ That nobleman's allegiance oscillated between the Parliament and the King ; he again changed sides, and in conjunction with the Supreme Council began to work for the recall of Ormond.⁶⁶

Against such a cessation O'Neill published a proclamation. The Nuncio was equally strong, and having denounced it at Kilkenny, fled to O'Neill's camp at Maryborough ; and there summoning a meeting of the Bishops within his reach, issued a decree of excommunication against the framers and abettors of the "pestilential peace."⁶⁷ But there were Catholics who flouted this decree. Fennell, one of the Supreme Council, publicly trampled it under foot ; Lord Castlehaven was equally violent ; eight Bishops declared the Nuncio's decree null and void, and proclaimed O'Neill a rebel ; Sir Phelim O'Neill deserted him ; and in the summer of 1648 five armies were in motion against him—Clanricarde, Inchiquin and Preston in the south, and Jones and Monroe in

Gilbert, p. 165.

⁶³ Carte, Vol. II., p. 17.

⁶⁴ Rinnuccini, pp. 523-4.

⁶⁵ Gilbert, Vol. I., p. 193 ; Rinnuccini, pp. 393-7.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 194-5.

the north.⁶⁸ Yet he was able to hold the field, to march to the very gates of Kilkenny, and then with 10,000 men to march safely north and fix his headquarters at Belturbet.⁶⁹ Nor was he much disturbed by the decrees of the General Assembly in September and October, putting him out of the range of pardon, for he denied that the Assembly any longer represented the Confederate Catholics.⁷⁰ Such was the state of affairs when Ormond, again appointed Viceroy for the King, returned to Ireland, in November. He entered Kilkenny in state, the whole Assembly, the Bishops, Nobility and Officials, meeting him at the city gates. In return he dissolved the Confederation, and was prodigal of promises on the part of the King, though Charles was careful to inform him that these concessions would mean nothing. In other words, the King was making promises which he had no intention to keep.⁷¹ But the perfidious monarch was unable either to give or to refuse concessions, and early in the new year his head fell on the block at Whitehall.

During all these years the Nuncio consistently opposed any accommodation with Ormond. He rejoiced when he left Ireland, and his anxiety was lest he might come back, and that there might be further negotiations and further divisions. Before the end of 1648 his worst fears were realised. Ormond was not merely the friend but the master of the Confederate Catholics; the General Assembly went so far as to declare the Nuncio a rebel; his person was in danger; his friend, the Dean of Fermo, was detained a prisoner at Kilkenny; and when himself fled to Galway he was besieged there by Clanricarde, and was unable to call a synod or to consult with the Bishops and clergy, though he was treated with every kindness by the people of the city.⁷² In these circumstances, he concluded that his further stay in Ireland was useless. He could do no good; a large portion of the laity, and some of the bishops and clergy were against him, and had sent messengers to Rome to accuse him. O'Neill begged him not to leave the country, as in that

⁶⁸ Carte, Vol. II., p. 36.

⁶⁹ Rinnuccini, p. 415.

⁷⁰ Gilbert, Vol. I., pp. 746-51.

⁷¹ Taylor's *Owen Roe O'Neill*, p. 230.

⁷² Rinnuccini, pp. 408, 423, 448.

event the well-affected would lose courage.⁷³ But these entreaties were unavailing, and in January, 1649, the Nuncio left Galway and soon arrived in Rome. He was offered a high place at the Papal Court, which, however, he declined, and quietly retired to his diocese at Fermo, where he died.

⁷³ Rinnuccini, pp. 428, 441.



CHAPTER XVII.

Cromwell's Campaign.

THE object which Ormond had in returning to Ireland was to unite all parties in obedience to the King. His position was perplexing. For the moment Inchiquin was on the Royalist side ; but he was unreliable, and had, in fact, promised to go over to the Puritans if his former offences were pardoned, and if fresh supplies were sent to him from England ; and some of his officers and soldiers were in secret communication with Jones of Dublin. The Marquis of Antrim, chagrined at not having been appointed Lord Lieutenant himself, had, with some Scotch troops under his command, joined the Byrnes and Kavanaghs of Wicklow, in opposition to Ormond's authority. Monroe in Ulster and many of the Presbyterians had indeed gone over to the King, and were in sympathy with their kindred in Scotland who had lately gone to war with the Independent faction in England ; but Monroe was surprised and seized in Belfast by the Parliamentary general, Monk, and was sent a prisoner to London ; while his friend, Sir Robert Stewart, was similarly surprised by Coote, who took possession of Derry for the Parliament. Finally, the Munster Confederates, having declared that they would join the Turks rather than O'Neill, and would as soon admit a body of Tartars into Munster as admit his troops, and having also declared him a traitor and a rebel, that general, in disgust, had made a cessation with Jones, and was meditating even closer relations with the Parliamentarians.

Unwilling to grant even the barest toleration to the Catholics, the Protestants distrusted Ormond, while the Catholics on their side must have learned to put little value on his promises.¹

To bring about co-operation between such discordant elements was difficult ; yet Ormond set about the task, and was all things to all men. He assured Inchiquin and the Munster Protestants that he had come to sustain the English and Protestant interest.² With the Confederate Catholics, after much debate, he agreed that they should have the free exercise of their religion ; that they should no longer be bound by the act of Uniformity nor to take the Oath of Supremacy, but might take an oath of allegiance instead ; and that the same form of oath might suffice for Catholics wishing to study law and practice at the bar ; that Catholics should be eligible for all civil and military offices equally with Protestants ; that there should be no further attempts at plantations ; that as soon as convenient a free Parliament would be held, in which Catholics might sit, and by which all acts, ordinances and orders made by Parliament to the prejudice of Catholics since the 7th of August, 1641, were to be repealed ; that all indictments, outlawries and attainders against Catholics since the same date were to be voided in the same Parliament ; and that in the meantime Catholics were to be in the same position as if a free Parliament had sat and had passed the contemplated Acts. For the carrying out of these articles of agreement, and to assist Ormond in the government, there were appointed on the part of the Confederates, twelve Commissioners of Trust among whom were Lords Dillon and Muskerry.³ But while agreeing to these concessions, Ormond was in correspondence with Jones and Sir Charles Coote, reminding them of their duty to their King, and beseeching them to desert the Parliament. He appealed especially to Sir Charles Coote reminding him that the Catholics after all got but some moderate concessions ; that he had made no peace with those who had any hand in the crimes committed in the beginning or during the course of the rebellion, but by a special proviso had excluded these from any act of oblivion.

¹ Carte, Vol. II., pp. 41-5 ; Cox, p. 202 ; Mahaffy's *Calendar*, pp. 364-5.

² Carte, Vol. II., 41.

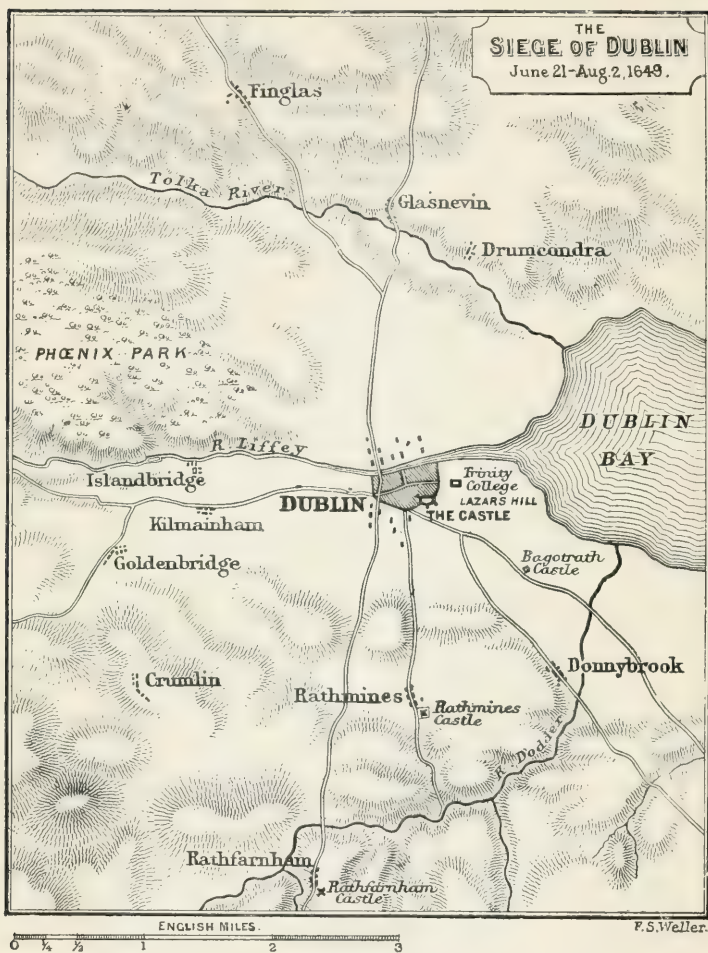
³ Cox,—Appendix, No. 43.

He asked Coote to remember how zealous he had always been for Protestantism ; that these concessions to the Catholics depended entirely on the King's confirmation, which might be given or withheld ; that to grant even these was against his own wish, and was wrung from necessity, " the saddest to which any king was ever reduced." ⁴

These appeals were vain, as Jones and Coote had taken their sides, and would not change. Nor could Ormond get the assistance of Lord Broghill, the most powerful nobleman in Munster. His father, the Earl of Cork, had come to Ireland as plain Richard Boyle, without a penny in his pocket ; and by the most shameless corruption in the offices he held, and by every species of injustice, had acquired enormous possessions, and was then the richest nobleman in Ireland. ⁵ His instincts, the instincts of bigotry and plunder, had been transmitted to his son, who would have willingly joined Ormond if he thought him likely to succeed, and who joined the Parliament, believing that on that side lay the acquisition of further wealth and more extended possessions. From different motives O'Neill held aloof. He would be no party to a peace which recognised the Plantation of Ulster and would not restore the Ulster Catholics to the lands from which they had been driven, which contemplated the punishment of the Ulstermen for the rebellion of 1641, and specially excluded them from any Act of Oblivion. If these were Ormond's terms he would fight him rather than assist him, and would join hands with the Parliament. The sympathies of the cities were with him ; and neither Limerick, nor Galway, nor Waterford, would admit a Royalist garrison. The remaining Catholics, those dominated by the defunct Kilkenny Assembly, were with Ormond. They had, indeed, no other alternative, for they would not co-operate with O'Neill, and they could get no money from the Pope, who refused to enable one party of Catholics to make war on others of the same faith. The departure of the Nuncio left them freer to act, and the execution of Charles so outraged their demonstrative loyalty, that they felt they must wreak vengeance on the English regicides.

⁴ Carte, Vol. II., p. 52.

⁵ Gardiner's *History of the Protectorate*, Vol. I., p. 106.



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The arrangement by which the Commissioners of Trust shared the government with Ormond was ill-suited for war. It hampered his actions and dislocated his plans ; he could do nothing without their assistance, and in getting an army together and raising taxes for their support they sometimes thwarted him.⁶ Yet his strength was considerable. Castlehaven, Preston, Taaffe, Muskerry, Clanricarde, the greater part of the Catholics of Leinster, Munster and Connaught, the Protestants of the Pale and of Munster, and a great part of the Ulster Presbyterians—this was a formidable combination. In addition to this, Prince Rupert, with the Royalist fleet, was hovering off the coast of Munster ; and there was a strong hope that the new King, Charles II., would come to Ireland in person. If he did O'Neill would certainly have joined him.⁷ This latter hope, however, was not realised, for Charles did not come, nor would Rupert give the assistance expected ; and without having won over O'Neill or being aided by Rupert, Ormond, in April, took the field. His prospects were then not bad, and brightened as time passed. In the early part of the year the garrison of Enniskillen had revolted from the Parliament, and the place was handed over to Ormond.⁸ In April the Lagan forces had risen and blockaded Coote in Derry. Lord Montgomery was master of the north-eastern counties, and left nothing there to the Parliament except Lisburn.⁹ For want of ammunition Owen Roe was idle, and a conference lately held between him and Coote came to nothing, as Coote would not agree to his terms.¹⁰ In May, Castlehaven had taken Maryborough from O'Neill's adherents ;¹¹ in the next month, Monroe, back again in Ireland, and with the King's commission, led an army of Ulster Scots into Connaught, and, with Clanricarde's aid, had taken Sligo.

Encouraged by these successes, Ormond hoped to seize Dublin, and with that object in view he drew his forces together, and, being joined by Inchiquin, encamped at Finglas. In the previous

⁶ Carte, Vol. II., p. 61.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 64-5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

¹⁰ Murphy's *Cromwell in Ireland*, p. 14.

¹¹ Carte, p. 69.

month of May, Jones was in great distress for want of supplies, as was Coote in Derry; and Ormond urged Prince Rupert to block up at least one of these cities. But that prince would obey no such orders, and in the meantime a Parliamentary naval force arrived off the Munster coast, and Rupert found himself blockaded in Kinsale. About the same time Owen Roe made a cessation with Monk, and was ready to aid Jones. In these circumstances Ormond thought it better to first reduce Drogheda and Trim; and Inchiquin, with 2,000 foot and 1500 horse, advanced to Drogheda, which he captured. For the most part the garrison deserted to him, and by the middle of July he marched north to Dundalk where Monk was in command. The Parliamentary general begged aid from O'Neill, who advanced, with 3,000 men, within 7 miles of Dundalk, whence he sent to Monk a party of 500 foot and 300 horse, under General Farrell, for ammunition, of which he was in the sorest need.¹² On its return the convoy was attacked by Inchiquin and cut to pieces, the horse escaping; the foot, all but 40, were killed, or taken prisoners. After a siege of two days, Monk was compelled to surrender Dundalk; Newry, and Carlingford, and Trim also capitulated; and after thus accomplishing much in a short time, Inchiquin returned to Finglas.¹³ O'Neill, in the meantime, had been appealed to by Coote, who granted the terms he formerly rejected, and the Irish leader marched north from Clones; and thus, relieved from anxiety on the side of Ulster, Ormond was free to attack Dublin. And if he had done so at once he might have succeeded, for Jones was weak, and his expected succours had not yet arrived. But Ormond delayed until a Parliamentary force of more than 2,000 arrived in Dublin with money and supplies in abundance; and in addition he detached a considerable force to proceed with Inchiquin to Munster. He had heard that the new Parliamentary Viceroy was coming to the Southern province, and he sent Inchiquin to make headway against him, lest the whole province should be lost. In the last days of July his army was in motion, and leaving Lord Dillon, with 2,500 men, to

¹² Gilbert, Vol. II., pp. 448-50.

¹³ Carte, Vol. II., p. 74.

watch the north side of the city, Ormond crossed the Liffey with the remainder of his troops : captured Rathfarnham, and made the garrison prisoners ; and then set up his headquarters at Rathmines. At or near the spot where Beggars Bush Barracks now stands, but outside the city walls, was a strong castle called Baggotrath. Of this Ormond took possession. His plan was to strongly fortify this position and extend his entrenchments towards the sea, and thus he could cut off supplies from England to the city, and at the same time prevent the horses of the besieged from grazing outside the walls, between Baggotrath and the strand. It was the only place they had to graze, and he knew that fodder was running short within the city. Those making the entrenchments were guarded by the whole army ; but Jones had no intention of allowing the works to proceed, and sallied forth with all his forces. Ormond's right wing near the strand, being first attacked, made little resistance after its commander, Sir W. Vaughan, was killed ; the centre and left were as easily driven back ; 600 of them were killed, some after laying down their arms and being promised quarter, and nearly 2,000 were taken prisoners. Ormond himself narrowly escaped, but his baggage, arms, ammunition and money chest of £4,000 fell into the hands of the enemy.¹⁴ Nor would there have been any of his army left, but that Sir Thomas Armstrong, with 1,000 horse, had opportunely come up, and thus prevented the victors from continuing the pursuit. Lord Taaffe escaped across the Liffey, and begged Lord Dillon to attack the enemy while disordered by their victory, but his men refused, and were with difficulty persuaded to go, half to Trim and half to Drogheda, to strengthen these garrisons. Ormond himself, with the broken remains of his army, made his way to Trim. He contemplated getting another army together, and renewing the attack on Dublin, but failed, nor could he ever retrieve his defeat ; and even this defeat, crushing as it was, was soon overshadowed by still greater disasters.

In the Civil War in England the most prominent figure on the Parliamentary side was Oliver Cromwell. Born at Huntingdon,

¹⁴ Carte, Vol. II., pp. 79-82 ; Murphy's *Cromwell in Ireland*, pp. 28-34 ; Gilbert, Vol. II., pp. 44-6 ; Gardiner, Vol. I., pp. 101-15.

in the last year of the 16th century, he belonged to the substantial gentry class, being, as he himself said, neither in any considerable height nor yet in obscurity.¹⁵ A cousin of Hampden, when he entered Parliament he took Hampden's side, and with him and the patriot party fought against the illegal exercise of royal authority, which brought on the civil war, and brought Charles I. to his ruin. He was no orator, for his talents were not for the senate but for the battlefield, and though he lived the life of a country gentleman until he was more than 40 years of age, and never engaged in war, he became in a few years one of the greatest generals of the age. And from those raw recruits who followed him he formed an army so brave, so fearless of danger, so disciplined, yet of such desperate courage in battle, that no enemy could resist them. He had the true general's capacity, was cautious, careful, vigilant; able to inspire his troops with unbounded confidence in their commander and in themselves; quick to see an opposing general's mistake; and then equally quick to strike home. At Marston Moor and at Naseby it was his sword which decided the day; and neither in Scotland, or Ireland, or England, did he ever suffer defeat. To the English Church as established by law he was opposed, but though he joined the Presbyterians on the basis of putting down popery and Prelacy, and of having one church and one discipline in England and Scotland, he did not love the Presbyterians. He rather favoured the Independents, that extreme section of the Puritans which rejected all ecclesiastical authority. But he had no sympathy with their extravagances, and if he did not adopt "the grand humanism of Milton," neither did he adopt or respect the fancies of those whimsical mystics who held it a sin to wear clothes, and believed that the distance to heaven was but six miles.¹⁶ The doctrine of private judgment he pushed to its extreme limits. He read the Bible, and little else, and he interpreted it according to his humour, or, as he said, according as he was inspired. To its pages he always appealed; he asserted that God was ever with him, and that in all his actions it was the finger of God that beckoned

¹⁵ Morley's, *Cromwell*, p. 7.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

him on. He protested that in all his wars it was for God's glory he he fought, and not for his own. Before the battle he appeals to God for victory, and after the battle he thanks God for the victory gained; when the enemy waver it is all God's work, and in his account of the great victory gained by the Puritans over the Royalists at Marston Moor, he gleefully asserts that "God made them as stubble to our swords."¹⁷ It is not easy to say if all this is unctuous hypocrisy or self-deception. Mr. Morley prefers self-deception as a "truer and a kinder word than hypocrisy;"¹⁸ but it is hard to exclude hypocrisy altogether. Beginning his public career as the advocate of Parliamentary liberty, the foe of a despotic monarch, Cromwell ended by establishing a military dictatorship under which free speech was stifled, Parliament forcibly dissolved by two files of musketeers, taxes raised by ordinance, and those who protested cast into prison; and these acts were justified by the tyrant's plea that the ground of necessity for justifying men's actions was above all consideration of instituted law.¹⁹ Cromwell was too clear-sighted a man to think that in all these contradictory acts he was under Divine guidance; but it suited him to maintain that he was; for in that age and in England religion entered much into the hearts and governed the acts of men, and he who was believed to have God with him easily attracted the submission and the support of the masses.

Early in 1649, monarchy was abolished in England, and so was the House of Lords, and a Council of State was established. King Charles I. was dead and his party in England crushed, and the Scots, who had revolted in the previous year, were defeated and their leader, Hamilton, executed; and the Council in the end of March gave Cromwell a large army, and directed him to reduce Ireland to obedience. His departure was delayed by a mutiny of the army. Some soldiers had embraced the doctrines of the Levellers, a fanatic sect which desired to establish a theocracy called the "Dominion of God and the Saints," the leader of which declared he was of the race of the Jews, and lately had a vision directing him to go dig and

¹⁷ Carlyle's *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, Vol. I., pp. 207, 212.

¹⁸ Morley's *Cromwell*, p. 281.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 404-6.

plough the earth and receive the fruits thereof.²⁰ But this mutiny, and another which followed it, was easily put down, and in June, Cromwell, appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Lord General, was expected to start on his journey. But he was in no hurry to go, and not until the 10th of July did he leave London for Bristol. At Bristol he remained more than a month, and only when he heard of Jones's victory at Baginbun did he set sail.²¹ It appears his first destination was Munster; but the news from Dublin caused him to change his plans. He had abundance of artillery and military stores, and £200,000 in money, and, accompanied by his son Henry, his son-in-law Ireton, Blake, Sankey, Ingoldsby, and Ludlow, and other distinguished officers, and with an army of more than 17,000 men, he arrived in Dublin on the 15th of August.

It was a formidable force, not only in numbers and equipment and in the confidence and courage begotten of unbroken success, but still more because of the fierce fanaticism with which it was inspired. There were no chaplains; the officers said prayers; the private soldiers spent their time in reading the Scriptures; they sang hymns and psalms as they marched into battle, and called upon the Lord while slaying their enemies.²² And Cromwell always cultivated their good opinion, posed as the champion of religious liberty, joined the soldiers in their conventicles; and in quoting Scripture and in calling upon God he could not be outdone by the fiercest zealot of them all.²³ From such a general and such an army the Irish Catholics had no mercy to expect. Five years before this date, the English Parliament ordered that Irish Papists taken in arms in England should be hung; and after Naseby some Irish camp followers found on the field were butchered in cold blood.²⁴ The tales of Temple of a universal massacre of Protestants in 1641 were circulated and believed; the *Book of Numbers* was often quoted that as blood defileth the land, the land could not be cleansed of the blood shed but by the blood of those that shed it; and in coming

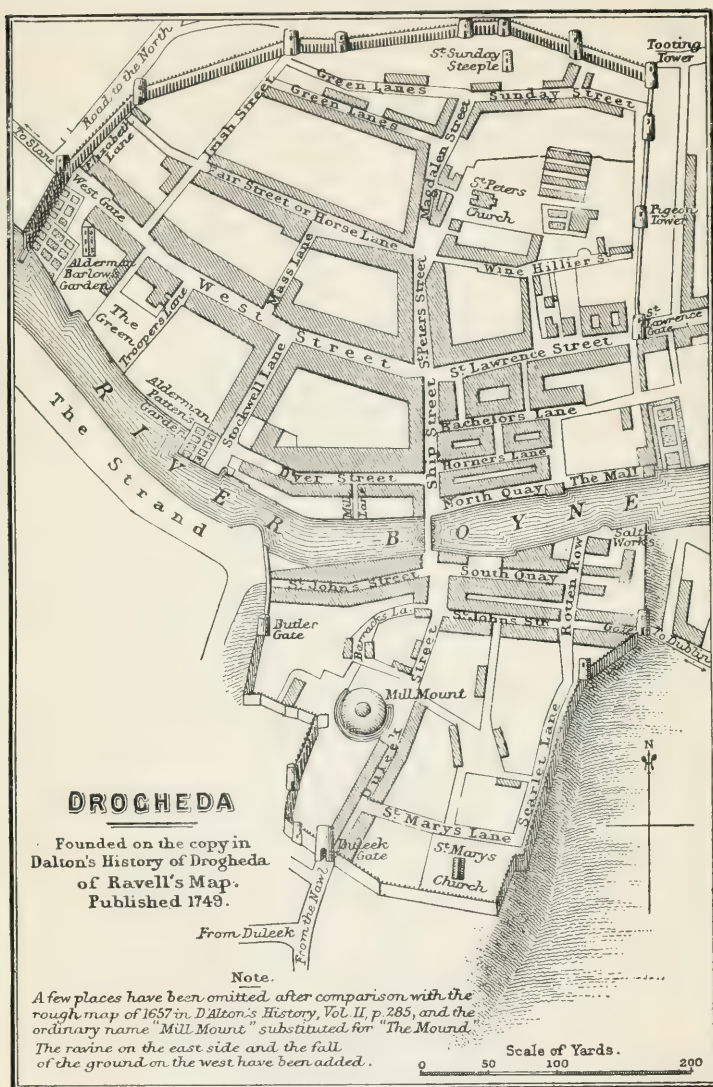
²⁰ Gardiner's *Protectorate*, Vol. I., pp. 32-60.

²¹ Carlyle, Vol. II., pp. 29-30, 37; Murphy, 57-73.

²² Lingard, Vol. VIII., p. 50.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

²⁴ Carlyle, Vol. I., p. 209; Morley, p. 192.



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to Ireland Cromwell believed he was engaging in a holy war. He was coming as one of the heroes of the Old Testament ; coming as God's messenger, and girt with an avenging sword.

After a short stay at Dublin to refresh his troops, he selected 10,000 picked men, and setting out for Drogheda on the 31st of August, he encamped, two days later, before the walls of the town. The place was garrisoned by 3,000 men under Sir Arthur Aston, an English Catholic, who had fought with distinction with Sigismund of Poland against the Turks, and in the Royalist army in England, and whose reputation for generalship was high. Some of the troops were English ; part were Irish ; but all had seen service and might be relied on to fight well.²⁵ Then, as now, the town extended on both sides of the Boyne, the north and south town being connected by a drawbridge across the river. The walls encircling the town were a mile and a half in length, were twenty feet high, and from four to six feet thick ; the walls were entered by eleven castellated gateways ; and both walls and gateways were strengthened. There was a good quantity of powder, but neither shot nor match was abundant, nor was the supply of food sufficient for a lengthened siege. Some artillery there was, and experienced gunners ; the courage of the soldiers and the strength of the defences inspired confidence ; and Aston assured Ormond that he would give the enemy play ; that the town could not be taken by assault ; and that rather than deliver it up the whole garrison would perish at their posts. Ormond's own calculations were that the siege would be a lengthened one ; that the hardships of the place and the severity of the approaching season would wear out the patience of Cromwell and dishearten his troops ; and that meantime he himself would recruit his army at Trim ; Inchiquin would come from Munster ; and together they would fall upon Cromwell's troops and overpower them. But the Puritan general frustrated these plans by the vigour with which he pushed the siege. For some days after the 2nd of September, nothing important took place ; the garrison made some small sorties, and that was all. But Cromwell's progress was not stayed ; gradually he crept up to the walls ; and by the 9th had the

²⁵ Carlyle, Vol. II., p. 55.

whole town effectually surrounded, his heavy guns brought up and in position. On that evening he hung out a white flag, and sent the governor a summons to surrender the place, "to the end effusion of blood may be prevented." His demand being rejected, he hung out a red flag, and turned his guns on the south and south-eastern wall, especially noting for destruction the steeple of St. Mary's Church, adjacent to the south wall. On the summit of this steeple the besieged had placed some cannon, which much annoyed the besiegers. Cromwell had erected two batteries, one outside the south wall, at a spot not identified, the other on a height since called Cromwell's Mount, running parallel to the eastern wall, and separated from it by a small but deep valley, through which the little stream called the Dale rushes northward to the Boyne.

On the evening of the 10th, there was a large breach in the south wall, and a party was ordered to enter, but were met with great courage, and driven back with considerable loss, their commander, Colonel Castle, falling at their head. A second attempt was made, and was met with equal resolution and had a like result; but in a third attempt Cromwell himself came to the breach and encouraged the assailants, while Colonel Ewer led them on. Perhaps this assault was a more fierce attack than the others, or perhaps the defenders were disheartened by the loss of their commander, Colonel Wall. At all events the attack was successful. Three lines of entrenchments in front of St. Mary's Church were carried; the Church itself was occupied; and the garrison became demoralized, and fled, terror-stricken, across the river. In their haste they forgot to take up the drawbridge, and both Puritan and Catholic crossed it together. Sir Arthur Aston and 250 others took refuge in the Milmount, a commanding position of great strength in the south town. Quarter was offered, and the defenders laid down their arms, which they would certainly not have done if such a promise had not been made; but quarter was not given. Jones told Cromwell that now he had the flower of the Irish army in his power; and Cromwell gave orders that none were to be spared. They were first disarmed and then ruthlessly cut down. Aston, who had a wooden leg, had it wrenched off, and with it a soldier beat out his brains. For five days the slaughter continued, and in churches and private houses people were

sought out and done to death. In St. Peter's Church 1,000 who fled there for shelter were killed. Some fled to the tower, which, being of wood, was set on fire, those who sought shelter there perishing in the flames. In the tower of the Magdalen Church others sought refuge, but were pursued by the Puritans, each of whom took a child, which he held before him as a buckler of defence to save himself from been shot or brained ; and in the vaults the women who were hidden were sought out and killed. Two priests were captured and taken to the market place, and being tied to stakes, had their bodies riddled with bullets ; two Dominicans were taken outside the walls and hanged in the presence of the whole army ; and an old bed-ridden priest was taken out of bed, dragged along the road, and then beaten with clubs until he expired. How many of the inhabitants were spared it is impossible to say ; but Clarendon emphatically declares that all those who were Irish, man, woman, and child, were put to the sword. Down the street from St. Peter's to the Boyne rivers of blood ran, and even within recent times the place was called Bloody Street.

In his usual fashion Cromwell maintained he was doing God's work. " It was set up in our hearts," he writes, " that a great thing should be done, not by power or might, but by the spirit of God ;" and that which gave his men such courage to storm the breach was the spirit of God, and God alone should have all the glory. He gleefully recounts how all the friars were knocked on the head ; that in St. Peter's Church, where Mass was said the previous Sunday, not less than 1,000 Catholics were done to death ; and he gloats over the sufferings of those who were burned in its tower, and tells how one man in the midst of the flames cried out " God confound me, I burn." In the blood of its Catholic soldiers and citizens he concluded that Catholicity was for ever extinguished in Drogheda. But in this respect his expectations have not been realized. At the present day there is no town in Ireland where the spirit of Catholicity is stronger. The Magdalen Church, indeed, has disappeared, all but its ruined tower ; old St. Peter's is gone, and a new Protestant St. Peter's has arisen on its site ; but near at hand is a still more beautiful St. Peter's, built by Catholic piety and Catholic zeal, and which, in richness of ornament and beauty of design, far exceeds that

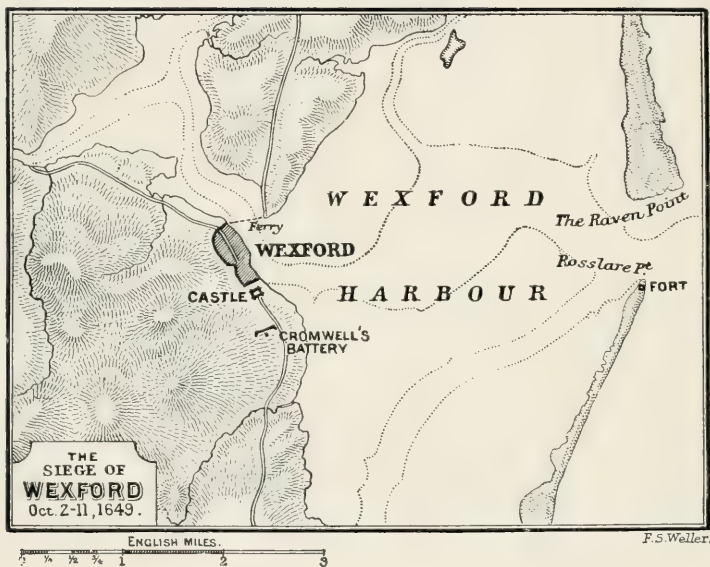
St. Peter's of old ; the house where Cromwell lodged is a Catholic club-room ; the Catholics in the town outnumber all other denominations by ten to one ; and nowhere is there more reverence paid to a Catholic priest.²⁶

After the fall of Drogheda, Ormond, unable to encounter Cromwell in the field, or even to hold Trim, made his way to Kilkenny, giving orders to the small garrisons at Trim and Dundalk to desert and destroy these places, if the enemy approached. But they were so terrified by the events at Drogheda, that they abandoned the places they held without destroying them, and in quick succession Trim and Dundalk, and Carlingford, and Newry, and Lisburn and Belfast fell into the enemy's hands.²⁷ In the meantime, leaving garrisons in the captured towns, Cromwell returned to Dublin, and, with little delay, proceeded south to Wexford. He ordered that nothing was to be taken from the people by his soldiers. He had already shown on his journey to Drogheda that he meant this order to be obeyed, and two of his soldiers who were caught stealing a hen were executed ; and so it happened that confidence was engendered, and the people came freely to his camp to sell ; and on his march to Wexford his army was plentifully supplied. In leaving Dublin he sent a fleet to co-operate with the land force ; it arrived at Wexford on the 29th ; the land force arrived on the following day ; and on the 3rd of October he summoned the town to surrender. Colonel Synott was governor ; Sir Edmond Butler was in military command. The utmost that Cromwell would give was quarter and liberty to the soldiers, quarter only to the officers, and to the inhabitants freedom from pillage. These terms were considered insufficient, and if the besieged had been united and loyal to each other they could long have maintained themselves. They had a garrison of 2,000 men ; a capable and trusted commander ;

²⁶ Gilbert, Vol. II., pp. 49-50, 232-77 ; Murphy, pp. 82-118 ; Carte, Vol. II., p. 84 ; Clarendon's *Rebellion*, Vol. III., p. 41 ; Carlyle, Vol. II., pp. 56-66 ; Morley, pp. 299-301 ; D'Alton's *History of Drogheda*, Vol. II., pp. 267-82 ; Gardiner, Vol. I., pp. 124-40. Gardiner, I think, is right in rejecting Woods' account (*Athenæ Oxoniensis*) about the ladies arrayed in jewels in the vaults of the church, and about the lady thrown over the wall. In the circumstances it is unlikely that ladies would so array themselves, nor could a girl easily be thrown over a wall so high

²⁷ Carte, II., pp. 88-90 ; Murphy, pp. 118-23 ; Carlyle II., pp. 67-8.





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the town wall was 22 feet high; they had 100 cannon, and two ships in the harbour manned with heavy guns; the severe weather was approaching; there was sickness already in Cromwell's army, and as time passed his ranks would be thinned; and Ormond was at New Ross, only twenty miles distant. But these advantages were counterbalanced by disunion, and by the treachery of one in whom they trusted. This was Captain Stafford, who commanded a strong castle, a few feet outside the southern wall, and which dominated that part of the town. He was so trusted that he was one of four sent out to confer with Cromwell; but all the time he was in Cromwell's pay; and even while negotiations were proceeding he betrayed the castle into the hands of the enemy; and to the consternation of the besieged the castle guns were unexpectedly turned on the town. The English entered, and the tale of Drogheda was renewed. Men, women and children were put to the sword. Some escaped by swimming the river; others got away on the north side of the town, and even carried some of their property with them. All others were put to death. The churches were profaned; the soldiers in mockery put on the habits of the Franciscan friars; priests were killed as they knelt at the altar, others while hearing confessions; and 300 women who gathered round the market cross were slain. Cromwell chuckles over the amount of booty obtained, for these Puritans, if they hated the Papist religion, had no objection to Papist money. In a few days Tintern and Dunbrody and New Ross were taken. The strong fort of Duncannon under Colonel Wogan still held out, but, except this, every place in the County of Wexford was soon in the enemy's hands.²⁸

It was at this date that Ormond and Owen Roe came to terms. The latter's alliance with Monk and Coote had been disavowed by the English Parliament; Monk was for a time imprisoned, but his intentions were recognised to be good, and because of this he was set free; and Coote justified himself by saying that sometimes God made use of wicked instruments to bring about His designs.²⁹

²⁸ Carlyle, Vol. II., pp. 68-81; Carte, Vol. II., pp. 90-3; Murphy, pp. 139-92; MacGeoghegan's *History of Ireland*, p. 574; Gardiner, Vol. I., pp. 142-8; Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 681.

²⁹ Murphy, p. 18.

Bitterly resenting this treatment, O'Neill was willing to listen to the Royalists ; and Ormond, chastened by recent defeats, was in a more yielding mood. But he was slow to give specific promises, and not until the 12th of October was a treaty signed, by which O'Neill was to have the command of 7,000 men under Ormond ; an Act of Oblivion was to extend to all acts done since October 22nd, 1641 ; Catholics who aided O'Neill were to get lands in Ulster, and to that extent the Plantation of Ulster was undone. O'Neill then sent General O'Farrell to Ormond with 3,000 men. O'Neill himself was to follow with the remainder of his men. But he had been ill since August ; on his march south he got worse, and had to be carried in a litter ; and on the 6th of November he died at Cloughouter, in Cavan. To the Irish Catholics and their cause his death was a crushing blow. He was the one man they trusted and were ready to follow. His military skill was unquestioned, as was his honesty and zeal in their cause ; his judgment in war was sound and clear ; of all the Irish leaders he alone was able to cope with Cromwell ; and as the Irish, especially the Ulster Irish, wept over his grave, and tried to look into the future, they were appalled.³⁰

With the arrival of the Ulster troops Ormond had a large army under his command ; yet he remained inactive at Kilkenny, while Cromwell was making a bridge of boats over the Barrow, and was thus able to cross.³¹ About the same time Inchiquin was defeated by the Cromwellians at Glascarrig, though his forces were much more numerous than those of his opponents ; Ireton was sent north from New Ross and took Innistioge, and threatened Kilkenny itself ; and Reynolds and Ponsonby captured Carrick-on-Suir. Cromwell's object in sending Ireton to Innistioge was to make Ormond believe he meant to attack Kilkenny. His real object was to attack Waterford, and it was for this purpose he captured Carrick and opened a passage over the Suir. He had been very sick and crazy in his health ; his troops had suffered as he had, and placing garrisons in so many captured towns had diminished his numbers, so that when he left New Ross for Waterford he had less

³⁰ Gilbert, Vol. II., pp. 300-3, 454-5 ; Carte, Vol. II., pp. 82-3 ; Murphy, pp. 129-134.

³¹ Carte, pp. 96-7 ; Carlyle, Vol. II., pp. 97-9.

than 7,000 men under his command.³² It was Ormond's opportunity. He lay within striking distance at Kilkenny; his army was more than twice that of his opponent; his supplies were ample; the Ulstermen were eager for fight. And Cromwell's army was on the march, a danger in itself, the Nore at his back, the Suir on his flank. In such circumstances an enterprising leader, such as Owen Roe, would have fallen on him with crushing weight; forced him back on the Suir or Nore; and the victory of Benburb might have been repeated. But Ormond was not an enterprising leader, and Cromwell was allowed to continue his march to Waterford, before the walls of which he arrived on the 24th of November. The defences of the city were strong, but until recently the garrison was small. The inhabitants hated Inchiquin and distrusted Ormond, and when he offered to send Castlehaven with 1,000 men they refused to admit him. But they were willing to admit the Ulstermen, and when he sent O'Farrell with 1,500 men they admitted these, and placed O'Farrell in military command of the city. When Cromwell appeared before the walls and summoned the place to surrender, the governor answered that he had 2,000 good men under his command, and that rather than surrender every man of them would die at his post. Cromwell captured Passage; but he thought it hopeless to take the city itself by assault, and could only turn the siege into a blockade. The hardships of this method of reducing it were great. The season was winter, the weather severe; sickness and death made terrible havoc among his troops; if he remained in his encampment he would have no army; and, choosing the lesser of two evils, he raised the siege on the 1st of December and returned to Dungarvan. When he reached there, Jones, the hero of Dungan's Hill and Baggotrath, died, and was soon after buried at Youghal. It was some compensation to Cromwell, amid so many losses, that a party from Waterford, who had, a few days after his departure, sallied out from the city and attempted to capture Passage, had been captured themselves. Ormond was at the northern side of the river; but the Waterford men refused to admit him, even when he proposed

³² Carlyle, p. 91.

with his whole force merely to march through and fall on the rear of Cromwell's retreating army.³³

A further good piece of news for Cromwell was the revolt of the Munster garrisons. Lord Broghill, who had been secretly in sympathy with the Puritans, now declared openly for them, and raised a force of 1,500 from his own tenants in the city and county of Cork. Through them he was able to corrupt the garrisons left in the south by Inchiquin. These latter, by Inchiquin's express wish, were all English and Protestant. They had the English contempt for the Irishman, and the Protestant hatred of his religion, and they changed sides with alacrity. Cork set the example, all the Catholics being turned out of the city unless they abandoned their faith, which they refused to do. The other towns did not treat the Catholics so harshly, but in other respects they followed where Cork led; and when Cromwell arrived at Dungarvan he was met by Broghill and 2,500 men of the revolted garrisons, who had come to swell the ranks of his army.³⁴

Pushing on to Youghal, Cromwell set up his headquarters there, and rested and refreshed his troops, and then he visited Cork, Kinsale, Bandon, Skibbereen and Dunmanway. The outlook was then much brighter than when he lay before Waterford. Rupert, who had been blockaded in Kinsale, broke through the blockading ships with the loss of three of his vessels, and, making his way to Portugal, did not again trouble the Irish coasts; every important post in Cork and Waterford, except the city of Waterford itself, was in the hands of Cromwell; there was a rich country round, from which to gather supplies for men and horses; the sea was open, and all necessary provisions or military stores came abundantly from England; the soldiers had recovered their health and spirits; and when Cromwell again took the field he was at the head of a powerful army, longing to be abroad against the enemy with good clothes on their backs and money in their pockets.³⁵

Far different was the condition of his opponents. Ormond had

³³ Carte, Vol. II., pp. 98-100; Carlyle, Vol. II., 107-10; Murphy, pp. 218-31.

³⁴ Carte, pp. 101-3; Murphy, pp. 203-8, 234-5.

³⁵ Murphy, pp. 249-50.

been refused admission into Limerick as well as Waterford, and finally set up his headquarters at Kilkenny. The other towns were unwilling to admit his troops ; and Inchiquin was refused admission to Kilmallock, and had to effect an entrance by force. The Commissioners of Trust were either unable or unwilling to obtain supplies ; and Ormond, in consequence, had to divide his forces, some of whom deserted and never again joined him. Taaffe and his troops returned to Connaught ; Lord Dillon went to Westmeath ; Clonmel admitted Hugh O'Neill with 1,600 men ; while Daniel O'Neill was sent to Ulster to aid Monroe and Lord Montgomery in making headway against Sir Charles Coote. He arrived to find that Coote had just defeated Monroe at Lisburn, and captured Carrickfergus, and that, except Charlemont and Enniskillen, not a place held out for the Royalists in Ulster. Broghill at the same time boasted that there was not an English garrison in Munster but was theirs.³⁶ Everywhere there was weakness and division, and the loss of confidence which springs from continued defeat. There was widespread distrust of Ormond ; and little faith in his capacity to turn back the tide of Cromwell's victories. Even if he did the Catholics had little to expect from him ; and there were many among them who asked themselves would it not be better to make terms with Cromwell himself before it was too late.

While the public mind was thus agitated, the Catholic Bishops met in Council at Clonmacnoise. Their object was to heal the divisions which existed, to restore confidence, to banish despair, to give strength and courage to the people, to urge them to continue the struggle, lest the Catholics be exterminated. The result of their deliberations was embodied in two declarations and a series of decrees, published in the middle of December. They warn the people to expect nothing from Cromwell ; remind them that he and many others had adventured money on Irish land to be confiscated, and that nothing is wanted to have this wholesale confiscation carried out but the complete success of his arms ; they point to his declaration at Ross that he will not tolerate the Mass ; that he had mercilessly murdered all the Catholics at Drogheda and Wexford, and that

³⁶ Murphy, pp. 237-9 ; Carte, Vol. II., p. 104.

the few whose lives were spared were transported as slaves to the West Indies. They advise all to contribute to the war in defence of their religion, their country and their king, and bid them lay aside all jealousies and rivalries. They order public prayers, alms, and other works of piety, to withdraw God's anger from the nation, and order that pastors and preachers preach unity, as the chief and only means to preserve the nation from destruction.³⁷

On hearing of these declarations and decrees Cromwell was very wroth with the Bishops, and from his headquarters at Youghal published a reply. He sneers at their so-called union, and tells them he does not fear them, but will give them some wormwood to bite on. He charges them with pride and avarice and hypocrisy, and with seducing the people; bids them remember that in Christ's Church there is no such thing as clergy and laity, and no warrant for such a distinction in the Scriptures; and lays the whole blame for the rebellion of 1641 at their doors. He asks them to give an instance of even one man put to death by him who was not taken in arms, forgetting the citizens slaughtered at Drogheda, the infants killed in the Magdalen Church, the women killed in the vaults, the priests killed everywhere, who, on Cromwell's own confession, were knocked on the head promiscuously. Of threats he is profuse, but he will not interfere with Catholics because of their religion, only he will not allow the Mass; as if he were to say he would not interfere with a man eating, but would allow him no food, nor would he prevent him enjoying the sunlight, but would take care he should live in a darkened room. Carlyle, who has words of scorn for the Bishops' declaration, has words of unstinted praise for Cromwell's reply, and thinks it the most remarkable State paper ever issued by an Irish Viceroy. It may be hazardous to question such an authority, but it must be owned that neither its justice, nor even its common-sense, is apparent. Of intolerance, of untruth, of bad logic, bad manners, and incoherent fanaticism, this lauded State paper has an abundance; but of a perception of Ireland's

³⁷ *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, Vol. II., pp. 38-43; Carte, Vol. II., pp. 104-5; Murphy, pp. 406-10.

disease, or a remedy for its ills, of the magnanimity or statesmanship of a great man, not the faintest trace can be found.³⁸

This document was penned in January, 1650, and in the last days of that month Cromwell again took the field. Broghill, with a flying column, was to remain at Mallow and watch the coasts of Cork ; Ireton and Reynolds were to cross at Carrick into Kilkenny ; Ingoldsby was sent towards Limerick ; Colonel Hewson, the governor of Dublin, was to march with a strong force south, through Kildare ; and Cromwell himself, leaving Youghal, marched by way of Mitchelstown into Tipperary. Fethard, which he reached at night and summoned to surrender, made no resistance, though the governor complained it was no time of night to send a summons.³⁹ Turning east, Cromwell met Ireton and Reynolds at Callan, a place which he captured, but which made a stout resistance ;⁴⁰ and leaving garrisons there and at Fethard, he set up his headquarters at Cashel. The Commissioners of Trust, in the meantime, retired from Kilkenny to Ennis. Ormond had gone to Limerick, but had been badly received there ; the jealousies between the Royalists continued ; and some of the Protestants among them made terms with Cromwell, whose position at Cashel was unassailable, and who was able to get large monthly tributes from the counties of Limerick, Cork and Tipperary.⁴¹ He had hopes, it seems, of capturing Kilkenny, and was in treaty with a traitor within the walls, named Tickell ; but the traitor was discovered and executed.⁴² It was advisable, therefore, to wait the arrival of Hewson's troops, and that commander leaving Dublin in February, took his route through Kildare, captured the strong fortresses on his way, and reached Gowran, in Kilkenny. The Royalist commander in these parts was Lord Castlehaven, but he offered no resistance to Hewson, though after he had passed south he stormed Athy and took 700 of Hewson's troops, whom, however, he set free, not knowing what to do with them.⁴³

³⁸ Carlyle, Vol. II., pp. 115-40 ; Gardiner, Vol. I., pp. 163-6 ; Murphy, pp. 411-23.

³⁹ Murphy, p. 254.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 265-6.

⁴¹ Murphy, pp. 272-80.

⁴² Carte, Vol. II., p. 110.

⁴³ Murphy, pp. 282-91.

Cromwell and Ireton met Hewson at Gowran, and then the whole force turned westward to attack Kilkenny.

Lord Castlehaven had garrisoned the place with 1,000 foot and 200 horse, and ordered Lord Dillon with his force of 3,000 horse and foot, to march to its relief. But the plague was raging within the walls, and Dillon's men refused to approach it, declaring that they were ready to fight against man, but not against God. Sir Walter Butler was then in military command of Kilkenny. He was a brave man, and did everything to strengthen the defences of the place; and though his garrison was cut down to half its numbers by the plague, he sent a curt refusal in answer to Cromwell's imperious summons to surrender the city. On the 25th of March, Cromwell's batteries began to play on the walls, a large breach was made, and Colonels Axtell and Hewson entered the breach. But Butler had works erected inside; his soldiers fought with desperate courage; and twice the assailants were driven back. When ordered to storm the breach a third time they refused. Cromwell was on the point of raising the siege, when the Mayor, without consultation with the governor, opened negotiations with him. The inhabitants dreaded the fate of Wexford and Drogheda, and had not the heroic spirit of Butler and his troops. This caused Cromwell to delay his departure, as it lessened the confidence of Butler, who knew he could not hold out much longer, and who had orders to make the best terms he could, if not relieved by the evening of the 27th. On that date he surrendered the city to Cromwell; all who wished to remain to have their possessions secured to them; those who wished to go to be free to do so; the soldiers were allowed part of their arms; the city was to pay a fine of £2,000; and thus did the stronghold of the Butlers fall into the hands of the Puritans. The bravery of the garrison extorted the admiration of their foes. Cromwell specially complimented them; told them they were gallant fellows; and that he never could have taken the place, but for the treachery of the townsmen.⁴⁴

In the early part of the year, it was rumoured that Charles II. was about to land in Scotland, and Cromwell was requested to

⁴⁴ Carte, Vol. II., p. 114; Murphy, pp. 296-311.

return to England by the Council of State ; but he did not go at once, as he wished to finish the war in Ireland, and this, he expected, would soon be done. Except Waterford, Limerick, Galway and Clonmel, all the important towns and cities were in his hands ; and while he was at Kilkenny he sent orders to Broghill to seize Clonmel. There was, however, other work for Broghill to do, and in the vicinity of Limerick he and Henry Cromwell met and defeated Lord Inchiquin. No sooner had he gained this victory than he heard of an incursion being made into Cork from Kerry, by David Roche and the sheriff of Kerry, accompanied by Boetius Egan, the Catholic Bishop of Ross. This force he encountered on the 10th of April, near Macroom, and defeated with the loss of 700 killed. Among the prisoners taken were the sheriff and the Bishop. The former was at once shot. The latter was brought to the neighbouring castle of Carrigadrehid, which was garrisoned by some of his friends, and was offered his life if he advised the garrison to surrender. When he approached the walls, instead of doing this, he advised them to maintain their position against the enemies of their country and faith. Broghill's soldiers instantly fell on him, cut off both his arms, and then, dragging him to a tree, hanged him from one of the branches with the reins of his horse. ⁴⁵

In the end of April, Cromwell himself appeared before Clonmel and summoned the town to surrender. The governor was Major-General Hugh O'Neill, nephew to Owen Roe, who, like his uncle, had earned distinction in foreign wars ; his second in command was Major Fennell ; the garrison was 1,500 foot and 100 horse. They expected additional forces from Ormond, but these had not come ; their supplies were limited ; the plague was also raging in the town. Yet O'Neill was skilful and vigilant, and had done the best that could be done. On the south, he was protected by the Suir ; the town walls were strengthened ; he was loyally supported by the inhabitants ; and to Cromwell's summons he replied that he was of another mind than to give up the town till he was reduced to a lower station, and so wished him to do his best. This vigorous answer was followed by vigorous action, and several times

⁴⁵ Murphy, pp. 321-6.

he sallied from the town, inflicting serious loss on the besiegers. Cromwell tried treachery, and made a secret arrangement with Fennell to open one of the gates to his troops. Making his nightly inspection, O'Neill suspected something; Fennell was arrested, and on promise of pardon revealed the whole plot; O'Neill strengthened the position, especially the gate through which the enemy were to enter; and when 500 of them were admitted, every man of them was put to the sword.⁴⁶

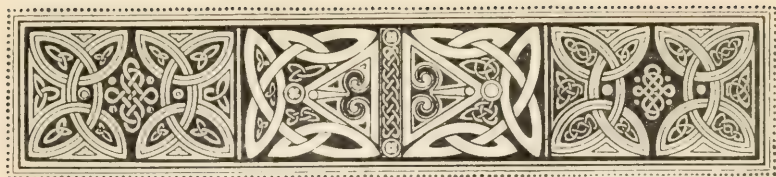
Weakened in numbers, Cromwell summoned Broghill to his aid, and when he arrived the batteries played with such effect on the walls that a breach was soon made, and through this the besiegers entered, singing a hymn. Opposite the breach, O'Neill had formed a lane 80 yards in length, with a bank of earth and stones on each side, a man's height, having a foot bank at the back. These banks were manned by volunteers armed with swords, scythes and pikes; at the end of the lane, but invisible to those entering, were two heavy guns; while in the houses near some musketeers were placed. At eight o'clock, the besiegers entered the lane, which was soon choked throughout its whole length by men and horses. So far there was no resistance; but when the lane was completely filled O'Neill's men began the attack. The musketeers from the houses opened a raking fire; the defenders on both sides of the lane used their swords, scythes, and pikes with terrible effect; the heavy guns, till then concealed, swept the lane with chain shot. The front ranks of the Puritans cried halt; those behind cried advance; thrown into confusion and in a narrow space, they could do nothing; and the lane was soon filled with dead. A second attack was ordered by Cromwell, but the infantry refused to advance; the cavalry, however, entered the breach and with a fierce onset drove the besieged back; but they shared the fate of the first storming party. For four hours the struggle lasted; and when the besiegers finally retreated, 2,000 of their number were dead. Cromwell declared the Irish were invincible, and resolved to turn the siege into a blockade. But this was not necessary, for O'Neill's provisions and ammunition were nearly gone; and secretly and at night he left the town, and

⁴⁶ Gilbert, Vol. II., pp. 76-7.

did not halt till he was twelve miles from Clonmel, on the road to Waterford.

Before leaving he arranged that nothing was to be done until his army was gone for at least two hours. This was done, and at midnight the Mayor went to Cromwell's quarters with an offer to surrender. Terms were soon arranged, by which the inhabitants were secured in their lives, liberties and estates ; and only when the arrangement was complete did Cromwell learn that O'Neill was gone. In great anger Cromwell asked the Mayor why he had not told him of this at first, and the Mayor innocently replied he would have done so if he had been asked. Yet Cromwell abided by the conditions. On the next day he entered the town, where he had met " the stoutest enemy his army had ever met with in Ireland, and never was seen so hot a storm, of so long continuance, and so gallantly defended, neither in England nor in Ireland." From Clonmel Cromwell proceeded to Youghal on his way to England, and in the last days of May he set sail. ⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Carlyle, Vol. II., pp. 162-3 ; Carte, Vol. II., p. 115 ; Murphy, pp. 327-47 ; Whitelocke's *Memorials of English Affairs* ; Gilbert, Vol. II., pp. 408-17.



CHAPTER XVIII.

Cromwell's Successors.

IN the agreement between Owen Roe O'Neill and Ormond, in October, 1649, it was stipulated that, if O'Neill died or was advanced to some other position, the nobility and gentry of Ulster were to nominate a successor to the command of the Ulster forces; and the person so nominated was to be duly appointed by the Lord Lieutenant for the time being.¹ The necessity for making the appointment soon arose owing to O'Neill's death, and in the following March the Ulstermen met at Belturbet. Ability to lead is not very common in Ireland, but there has rarely been wanting a supply of men who aspire to lead, and believe themselves endowed with the necessary capacity; and at Belturbet there were several candidates for O'Neill's position. His son Henry was a soldier of ability, but had not sufficient influence to be selected, nor had General O'Farrell, nor Conn O'Neill, nor O'Reilly. Both Sir Phelim O'Neill and the Marquis of Antrim were ambitious, and had many supporters, but neither was a man of much capacity, nor able to lead an army except to disaster. Daniel O'Neill might have been chosen if he wished; but he was an earnest Protestant, and, as such, he considered himself disqualified to be the leader of a Catholic army. Moreover, with admirable patriotism, he wished to sacrifice himself for the common good, and

¹ Gilbert, Vol. II., p. 301.

thought that General Hugh O'Neill, then at Clonmel, was the fittest man for the post. He was a man who knew the ways Owen Roe took to manage the people ; he would be acceptable to the Scots ; and would do nothing contrary to Ormond's command.² But even in this supreme crisis, when their race and faith were threatened with extinction, the assembly at Belturbet was dominated by faction. There were such animosities of counties and families that nothing could be determined at any of their meetings unless Heber MacMahon, the Bishop of Clogher, was there to moderate their follies ; and at last, after clamour and intrigue and faction had exhausted themselves, the Bishop of Clogher himself was selected as the only one they were willing to follow.³

His honesty, his integrity, his unselfish patriotism, his wisdom and moderation in council, his passionate desire for unity among his countrymen, were widely recognised. But he had never commanded an army, however small, and the training of an ecclesiastic is ill-suited for war ; nor did many months elapse until it was proved that the appointment was an unfortunate one. One of MacMahon's first acts was to invite the co-operation of the Scots in a letter to Monroe, who then held Enniskillen for the King. But Monroe would not join with those whose hands, he declared, were imbrued with his kinsmen's blood, nor with those who were making the struggle a Church business, and who would regard success as the triumph of Catholicity. If he joined MacMahon's army at all, and he did not wish to do so, it would be as MacMahon's superior rather than as his subordinate. He protested his loyalty to the King, and his personal regard for Ormond and for Clanricarde, yet he was in treaty with the Puritans, and put Enniskillen into their hands.⁴ Nor would the Ulster Scots join the Ulster Catholics. This was discouraging, although MacMahon had under him a good army of 5,000 foot and 1,000 horse. With O'Farrell his second in command, he marched north, in the end of April, and fixed his headquarters near Charlemont ; and from this he sent out one portion of his army, which took Toome on the Bann, and with another portion he

² Gilbert, p. 346.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 355.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 390-3 ; Carte, Vol. II., pp. 110-13.

defeated the enemy near Dungannon. The Puritan forces in Ulster were under Coote and Venables, the former being at Derry, the latter at Newry ; and MacMahon's fear was that they might join and fall upon Leinster ; or perhaps, from the west, might enter Connaught. For some weeks he was merely observing them ; but in the end of May he advanced into the County Derry, and took Dungiven by storm.⁵ His position was such that, while he remained at Dungiven, a junction between Venables and Coote was impossible, and his wisest course would have been to await the reinforcements, which were promised from Connaught, and then, having being thus strengthened, to attack Coote and Venables separately. Instead of this, he abandoned Dungiven, and crossing the Foyle into Donegal, advanced to Letterkenny. Venables had already retaken Toome and crossed the Bann, and finding the enemy had gone south, the way was clear for his junction with Coote. The Puritan army thus united was superior to the Irish, for the reinforcements from Connaught had not yet come ; and part of MacMahon's had been sent to seize Castle Doe.⁶ For MacMahon to fight in these circumstances was to court disaster ; and the trained officers in his army endeavoured to dissuade him from giving battle. Both armies were then at Scarrifhollis, near Letterkenny. MacMahon's officers pointed out that the ground was unfavourable to military operations ; it was rugged, uneven, and specially unsuited for cavalry ; a little delay would enable the force sent to Castle Doe to return ; and the enemy meanwhile would be compelled to abandon the position they held, as they were rapidly running short of provisions. But MacMahon would not be advised ; and to these wise and prudent appeals he replied, with bad temper and bad taste, that such arguments were only suited to dastards who feared the sight of their own or of others blood. It was an ungenerous taunt, flung at men who knew well how to fight and die ; who were far abler men than MacMahon himself, and were equally patriotic and brave. But it goaded them into action ; caused them to fling prudence to the winds ; and to give battle when all the advantages were on the side of the enemy.

⁵ Gilbert, Vol. II., pp. 421-3.

⁶ Murphy, pp. 354-5.

The contest was fought out on the 21st of June, and commenced early in the day. For a time the Irish had the advantage. Their fierce onset drove the enemy back, and threw them into confusion; but the rugged ground prevented the cavalry supporting the infantry and pursuing the advantage gained; and the English made a charge of cavalry driving back their assailants. Thus did the battle continue till mid-day, when Coote attacked both in flank and rear, and with his whole force. For a time O'Farrell's infantry held him in check; but before sunset came the Irish were driven off the field, on which 3,000 of their army lay dead, many having been slain after quarter had been given. Lord Enniskillen, the Bishop of Down and Major-General O'Cahan fell in battle; Owen Roe's son Henry, and many other officers, were taken prisoners and put to death. MacMahon, with a small party of horse, fled south, and met, near Enniskillen, the governor of that town with a superior force. The Puritans were too strong; and though the Irish fought bravely, and MacMahon received many wounds, he was ultimately taken prisoner. It seems he was promised quarter, but, once in Coote's hands, he was condemned, hanged, drawn, and quartered, and his head set up over the gate of Derry.⁷ O'Farrell eluded his pursuers, and even got an army again together, and thus helped to prolong the contest, but was never able to effect anything decisive.⁸ Sir Phelim O'Neill also escaped, and threw himself into Charlemont, but was not able to hold the place long, and in August, on promise of quarter for himself and the garrison, he surrendered to the Puritans. With the fall of this, the strongest place held by the Irish, all Ulster was lost.⁹

While these disasters were occurring in Ulster, in the other provinces there was division and weakness. Before Clonmel had yet fallen, or Scarrifhollis had been fought, Ormond was at Limerick, and endeavoured to allay the suspicions of the Catholics and establish more cordial relations with them. At this time the Bishops and the Commissioners of Trust were of one mind. They joined in demanding that a Privy Council be appointed;

⁷ Gilbert, Vol. III., pp. 148-52, 213-14; Murphy, pp. 354-9.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 336, 355-6.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 173; Carte, Vol. II., p. 113.

that Catholics should not be dismissed from either civil or military offices ; that only reliable men should be given commands ; that no taxes should be levied or free quarters enforced without the consent of the Commissioners of Trust ; and that of all monies raised for the army or for the government an account should be given. To these demands Ormond replied that he had no power to appoint a Privy Council, but as far as he had he would appoint a council ; and he assented to the other demands also, " according to the articles of the Peace of 1648 ;" and, as if to intimidate the clergy and laity, he showed them a letter from Charles II., authorising him to leave Ireland in case the people would not obey him.¹⁰ The Archbishop of Tuam, and four other Bishops, acting in the name of all the Bishops of Ireland, assured him that they were loyal to him and to the King ; and, in the spirit of the decrees of Clonmacnoise, that they had worked hard to remove suspicions and jealousies. A General Assembly of the clergy and laity, which met at Loughrea, were equally emphatic in their assurances, and protested their anxiety to resist the Puritans.¹¹ Ormond, however, was not satisfied. Limerick, following the example of Waterford, refused to admit a garrison from him, or to recognise his authority, and he demanded that the Catholic Bishops should reduce the stubborn city to obedience. The citizens were remonstrated with by the Archbishop of Tuam and Sir Lucas Dillon, and they prevailed on the Mayor to invite Ormond to visit the city. But Ormond refused, unless he was to be respected there as Lord Lieutenant ; he should also have supreme military command within the city, and his soldiers should be quartered there. These demands would be conceded only in part ; he would be admitted himself, but not his army ; even 150 of his guards would not be allowed to enter, though they were all Catholics, and were specially selected as such by Ormond. When he remonstrated with the Mayor he was referred to the military governor, who assured him, and evidently with truth, that he was but a mere cypher, and that all power was in the hands of the Mayor and Corporation.¹²

¹⁰ Cox, pp. 167-72.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 173.

¹² *Ibid.* pp. 22-3.

These disputes meant disunion and inefficiency, and while they lasted there was little chance of making headway against the enemy. Matters became worse when all Ulster was lost, and when Duncannon and Waterford surrendered. Muskerry was hard pressed in Cork and Kerry; Limerick itself was threatened; a party of the enemy endeavoured to cross the Shannon near Killaloe; and Athlone was besieged by Coote.¹³ It was when matters were in this condition that the Bishops met at Jamestown in August, and suggested as the best way to bring relief to "this gasping nation" that Ormond should repair to the King in person, and urge the speedy necessity of supplies being sent. He answered that if he did, great as were the divisions already, in his absence they would be greater still.¹⁴ The King was then in Scotland, and had made terms with the Scotch; and it was part of the bargain that he should denounce the Peace of 1648 and declare, as he did, that he would have no alliance with Irish Catholics.¹⁵ This act of treachery was not known to the Bishops when they again met at Jamestown, on the 12th of August; nor does it appear that it was known to Ormond. But the patience of the Bishops was exhausted. They were exasperated at Ormond's repeated failures, which they attributed to his insincerity and his bigotry; they complained he would put no places of trust in Catholic hands; that he had dismissed capable Catholics from their commands, and appointed Protestants in their places; that he had taken property from Catholic priests and given it to Protestant ministers; that he gave too much power to Inchiquin, a bigot and a persecutor; and that the Catholics of Munster under his rule were in the position of slaves. They protested that Ormond's own incapacity was proved and that no army would follow him; and they recalled how he had been defeated by Jones; how he had left Drogheda unrelieved, allowed Wexford and Ross to be lost, the Barrow to be passed, Callan and Fethard, and so many other places, to fall into the enemy's hands. They declared they could have got better terms from the Parliament than they were getting from him; yet they were still

¹³ Cox, pp. 56-7; Gilbert, Vol. III., pp. 168, 174-5.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-30.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 34; Lang's *History of Scotland*, Vol. III., pp. 229-31.

loyal to the King ; they had already supplied £500,000 for the war, and were ready to give more, but they would have Ormond no longer ; and they pronounced sentence of excommunication against all those who would adhere to him. ¹⁶ His answer was long and elaborate, in part plausible, in part passionate, but to the Bishops, at least, it was not convincing. ¹⁷ The King's agreement with the Scots struck them with dismay ; they talked of reviving the old Confederacy as the only way to defend themselves ; and certain it was that their declaration against Ormond was to stand, though they wished their censures to be suspended in the case of Athlone, as there was a prospect that the place might be relieved. Feeling that he was suspected of being in secret sympathy with the King's declaration, Ormond published a declaration at Ennis in October, in which he pointed out that the King was not free, and therefore his repudiation of the Peace of 1648 should be ignored ; that for himself he stood by that Peace, and would continue to do so ; and on these grounds he called for the annulment of the Jamestown declaration, and appealed to the Commissioners of Trust. ¹⁸ These gentlemen believed him, and suggested that a National Assembly be convoked at Loughrea. Meantime negotiations between the Commissioners and the Bishops were carried on. But the Bishops would no longer have Ormond, and declared that the soldiers had no heart to fight under him. The National Assembly which met at Loughrea was of the same opinion, It was useless, then, for Ormond to remain in his present position, and in December he appointed Clanricarde as his deputy, and left Ireland for France. ¹⁹

The outlook was then dark. In October a strong Royalist force, great part of which was from Connaught, had burst into the King's County, captured Birr and driven the Parliamentary leader into Ossory. But this officer, Colonel Axtell, soon got reinforcements and turned upon them, driving them across the Shannon, with great slaughter. ²⁰ A few months later, Hewson from Dublin

¹⁶ Cox, pp. 178-84.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 184-206.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-6.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-53.

²⁰ Gilbert, Vol. III., p. 185.

and Reynolds from Tipperary entered Westmeath and captured Donore and Finea, with all the ammunition and stores they contained.²¹ Limerick and Athlone, it is true, still held out, but their capture was only a matter of time; and although Clanricarde had some ability, and as a Catholic received greater support than Ormond, it was evident that even a much abler man, and with much stronger support would be overwhelmed.

It was at this period that some help in money and arms was obtained from the Duke of Lorraine. Whether his desire to help Ireland came from zeal for Catholicity, or whether this zeal was only pretended and meant to find favour at Rome, where he was seeking for a divorce from his wife, it is not easy to say. Cox and Carte are certain it was the latter; but the Irish Catholics were satisfied of his zeal for their faith. So far back as the early part of 1650 one Rochefort of Wexford, with the approval of Charles II., had requested of the Duke a sum of money for the King's service in Ireland, and had offered to hand over to him the fort of Duncannon as security for the loan, for it was as a loan, and not as a gift, the money was asked. The security offered was risky, as Duncannon was in danger of being lost; but the Duke professed his willingness to serve the King and help the Catholics; and he sent an agent, Colonel Synnott, to Galway in May. Nothing, however, was then done; but the negotiations were renewed by Lord Taaffe, who asserted that he had authority both from Ormond and the King, and who had certainly a letter of credence to Lorraine from the Duke of York. It was not, however, until the following February that an accredited envoy came from Lorraine to Galway, bringing with him some arms and money. He was the Abbot of St. Catherine, and was accredited to the "Estates of the Kingdom," a form of credential which displeased Clanricarde, and gave rise to wrangling between him and the Bishops and the Commissioners of Trust. Nor was he satisfied until he sent from himself Sir N. Plunkett and Mr. Browne, who, along with Taaffe, were to negotiate with the Duke, and, if necessary, conclude a treaty, subject, however, to the directions of the Queen, the Duke of York and Ormond, all

²¹ Gilbert, pp. 383-4.

of whom were then at Paris. These three Commissioners arrived at Brussels in June, and there met the Bishop of Ferns, who was in high favour with Lorraine, and who took a leading part in the negotiations which followed. In July the treaty was signed. The Duke was recognised as Protector Royal of Ireland, and was to restore the King's authority and establish the Catholic religion, and when he had done this, to give up the kingdom to Charles. Meanwhile, he was to nominate all military commanders and carry out all military operations. But in civil affairs he was to be controlled and directed by the Lord Deputy and the General Assembly; nor was he to interfere in judicial affairs, nor make any innovations inconsistent with the fundamental laws of the land; but was to leave to towns and cities in his possession all their ancient privileges. He was to make no peace with the enemy, or even cessation, without the consent of the Deputy and General Assembly; neither were they to make any peace or cessation without his consent. In addition to the £20,000 he had already advanced, he was to advance as much more for the prosecution of the war as it was in his power to give, and as the necessities of the war required. He was not to levy taxes without the consent of the General Assembly, but all the pay of the soldiers, whether raised by taxes or furnished from his own treasury, was to pass through his hands. As security for the monies advanced, Limerick, Galway, Athenry, Athlone, Waterford and Duncannon, when these places were recovered from the enemy, were to be given into his hands, and were to be restored to the King, when all the Duke's disbursements were paid. Finally, both the contracting parties agreed to ask the Pope's blessing, and craved from him that all those placed under censure in the Nuncio's time or since should be absolved.²²

By two different letters, one to Clanricarde and the other to the Mayor and Corporation of Galway, the Duke announced the exact terms of the treaty. But while the latter body was satisfied, Clanricarde was not, and in a reply to Lorraine stated his objections

²² Clanricarde's *Memoirs*, pp. 29-32, 42-3, 52-6; Cox, pp. 59-62; Gilbert, Vol. III., pp. 150-7, 430-2.

to it. He gratefully acknowledged the Duke's zeal for the Catholic religion, and his affection for the King and for Ireland ; but he was not prepared to admit that the General Assembly had authority co-ordinate with his own, or that a treaty could be concluded with the " people of Ireland " which might be displeasing to the Deputy, who was the representative of the King and the depositary of his power. He was emphatic in declaring that the Irish agents at Brussels had gone beyond their powers, and, therefore, he would not recognise the treaty they had made.²³ He protested against their proceedings, and declared all their acts null and void ; and he was specially severe on the Bishop of Ferns, whom he described as being ever violent and malicious against the King's authority, and a fatal instrument in the promotion and perpetuation of discord.²⁴ He urged that the Duke should send the assistance he had promised, but he resented his assumption of the title of Protector as an encroachment on the royal authority ; nor was he willing to give anything but thanks for all the Duke professed himself ready to do. It was too one-sided a bargain for the Duke's taste ; and he resolved to send no further assistance until there should be a new and authentic treaty ; nor would he treat with any further agents from Ireland without the King's special approbation. When the King did send a special agent, some further time had elapsed ; the Puritans had made further headway ; and the Duke of Lorraine refused to negotiate, declaring that Ireland was lost to the King, and therefore, there was nothing about which they could treat.²⁵

While these tedious negotiations went on, another year had passed, a year of triumph for the Puritans and of humiliation for their opponents. Early in June, 1651, Ireton appeared before Limerick. Before investing it, it was necessary to have the line of the Shannon clear ; and while he sent one party to cross the river at O'Brien's Bridge, he himself crossed at Killaloe. At this latter place Castlehaven had a strong force, and a resolute and skilful commander might have easily barred Ireton's passage, when the width of the

²³ Gilbert, Vol. III., pp. 4-5.

²⁴ Clanricarde, pp. 78-83, 84-7, 114-15 ; *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. I., pp. 164-5, 232-4.

²⁵ *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. I., p. 256 ; Cox, pp. 62-6.

river and the difficulties of crossing it in presence of an enemy are taken into account. But Castlehaven was neither resolute nor skilful, while Ireton was both, and was able to make good his passage. Castlehaven himself fled, leaving his tent and plate behind him, some bullets, pikes and powder also fell into the enemy's hands.²⁶ Killaloe and O'Brien's Bridge were then garrisoned by Ireton, who crossed into Connaught, and effected a junction with Coote. Clanricarde had intelligence that Coote was coming from Ulster, and, getting a strong force, he took up a position in the passes of the Curlews; but Coote, leaving the Curlews on his left and thus avoiding Clanricarde, passed through Mayo to Portumna, which he took, and there he met Ireton, after his successful crossing of the Shannon.²⁷ In July, Muskerry encountered Broghill in Munster, and on the banks of the Blackwater was defeated; in the battle 500 of his men were slain and many others perished in the river.²⁸ Finally, about this time, Lord Dillon surrendered Athlone and submitted to the Parliament. He was pardoned for his previous acts, and allowed to depart to Connaught, where he might live at Portumna or Loughrea and get a competency of land, and if he desired to go to England he was free to do so. As to the inhabitants of Athlone, they got quarter for their lives and estates; the soldiers might march to any place in Connaught, and bring their arms, bag and baggage; but the artillery and stores in the town became the property of the besiegers. And thus, except Limerick, every place on the Shannon had passed into the hands of the Puritans.

Lord Dillon was blamed for having surrendered Athlone, and it is certain that he might have held out longer. There were even accusations of treachery made against him.²⁹ But no such charge could be made in the case of Limerick, where a most heroic defence was made. Before Cromwell left Ireland he offered its citizens, if they would allow his troops to march through the city into Clare, the free exercise of their religion, the enjoyment of their estates and churches, and church livings, free trade and commerce, and

²⁶ Gilbert, Vol. III., pp. 226-31.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 233; Cox, p. 66.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

²⁹ *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. I., p. 193.

no garrison to be placed on them.³⁰ They refused, and were equally determined not to have Ormond and his troops. But they consented to admit Hugh O'Neill their military governor, though he was then badly wanted to bring together the broken remains of the Ulster army, after the defeat of Scarrifhollis. O'Neill was, however, curbed and restrained by the civic authorities within the city; yet he managed to strengthen its defences; and when Sir Hardress Waller, in September, summoned Limerick to surrender, and pointed out the futility of resistance, O'Neill answered that he was no stranger to war and its dangers; that he held the place for King Charles, and was resolved with God's assistance to spill even the last drop of his blood in its defence.³¹ Ireton himself soon encamped outside the walls, and again offered the citizens protection, if they would submit. This offer also was declined.³² The season was then advanced; winter was approaching; and Ireton determined to postpone siege operations until the winter was past. Some minor operations might be undertaken within the next few months; Limerick could be watched; and Ireton retired to winter quarters near Cashel, while other portions of his army were quartered at Castleconnell and Kilmallock.

Early in the next year, one of Ireton's officers, Colonel Ingoldsby, got into communication with a traitor within the walls; but O'Neill was vigilant; the treachery was discovered and the plot failed; and when Ingoldsby, with 1,000 men, approached the city in May, he was foiled, and had to march away in disgust.³³ Nor was it until June, after Castlehaven had been defeated and the Shannon crossed, that the Parliamentary forces appeared on the Clare side of the Shannon. Fresh supplies had just arrived from England; ships sailed up the river with heavy ordnance and siege appliances; and Ireton mounted his heavy guns and mortar pieces and played upon the walls.³⁴ Limerick was made up of two towns, the Irish and English. The former, on the mainland, was entered

³⁰ Carte, Vol. II., pp. 123-4.

³¹ Gilbert, Vol. III., p. 180.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 222.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 232-3.

through St. John's Gate; the latter, on King's Island, was surrounded by an arm of the Shannon, and connected with Clare by Thomond Bridge. The entrance to King's Island across the bridge was commanded by King John's Castle; on the bridge itself was another castle; and lower down still another, opposite the coast of Clare. The English and Irish towns were connected by Ball's Bridge; the whole city was surrounded by a wall. Ireton's battery of 28 guns and some mortar pieces, placed near Thomond Bridge, began in the middle of June to play upon the castle on the bridge and into the English town; and Thomond Bridge castle was soon taken, and its guns turned on the city. But O'Neill spiritedly replied to this cannonade by an answering cannonade from St. John's Castle; and when Ireton attempted to capture King's Island the first party to land was set upon and every man put to the sword, which so discouraged those who were to follow that the whole design was abandoned. Later on a sally of 2,000 was made, and some damage was done.³⁵ These successes, however encouraging, could not affect the final issue of the struggle, for there was no prospect of getting such help from outside that the siege might be raised. The fall of Athlone was discouraging; Castlehaven's defeat cut off hope in that quarter; Colonel O'Dwyer's forces were defeated by Sankey; Clanricarde had more than enough to do against Coote in Connaught; while nothing was to be expected from Muskerry, after the disaster which had overtaken him on the Blackwater.³⁶ On the last day of June, Ireton offered terms of surrender, giving both citizens and soldiers quarter for their lives and property; all soldiers in pay might march out with their horses, arms and baggage, and citizens who might wish to go with them were free to do so; but the clergy and those engaged in the rebellion in the first years of the war, or who were concerned in murders committed, were to receive protection of their lives, but should afterwards submit themselves to the Parliament to be tried.

These terms were rejected, though O'Neill was for accepting them. He was, however, overruled by the citizens, and the struggle

³⁵ Gilbert, pp. 239-41, 268.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. III., pp. 244-8.

was prolonged for four months longer, while gradually Ireton's grip tightened on the doomed city.³⁷ As late as the middle of October the besieged were hopeful, knowing that the winter was coming, and that it would tell severely on the soldiers outside; and one of the Irish soldiers tauntingly predicted to an English soldier outside that instead of the Irish being beaten out with bombshells, they would, on the contrary, beat away the besiegers with snowballs.³⁸ But faction inside the walls was more potent than the cannon of the enemy. Some were for holding out longer; but others were for surrendering on the best terms they could get. The plague was already in the city, and had struck down many; they knew they would not obtain the terms offered them in June, but thought it better, even to have some sacrificed, so that the remainder might be saved. These, with Fennell at their head, seized on St. John's gate and threatened to turn its guns on the city if terms were not made. The Articles of Agreement were signed on the 27th of October. Both citizens and soldiers got quarter for their lives and properties, except 22 persons, who were especially exempted for having held out so long, and a few others, who had acted as spies. The soldiers were free to leave with baggage, money, and portable goods, but not with arms; and on the 29th they marched out to the number of 1200, and the enemy marched into the city, where they found a good supply of powder and shot, and 34 heavy guns.³⁹

Among those specially exempted from mercy were General Hugh O'Neill, General Purcell, the Bishops of Limerick and Emly, five priests, and some others, being burgesses and aldermen of the city. Some of them concealed themselves, but were discovered and executed; others boldly met Ireton; and Hugh O'Neill delivered to him his sword.⁴⁰ The life of the Bishop of Limerick was spared, as it was discovered he was of "a more peaceable spirit than the rest"; but the Bishop of Emly, O'Brien, was put to death; and Ludlow remarks that Purcell was a coward, and when about being

³⁷ Gilbert, pp. 241-4.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. III., pp. 254-69: Lenihan's *History of Limerick*, pp. 171-84.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

executed had to be held up by two musketeers, while the Bishop died with more resolution. In the usual manner their heads were posted up on the city gates. O'Neill pleaded for his life, but in no craven spirit. He protested he had only acted as a soldier, and obeyed the commands of his superiors. Some of the officers, impressed with his reasons, wished to save his life; but Ireton was for his execution.⁴¹ Twice was he condemned, but a third time his case was considered, and a majority of the court were for saving his life.⁴² In the following January he was sent to London, and committed to the Tower, but the Spanish ambassador interfered on his behalf, and he was allowed to go to Spain, where he assumed the title of Earl of Tyrone, and whence he addressed to Charles II. a letter, in 1660, asking to be restored to the honours and estates which his ancestors had once enjoyed.⁴³

Almost immediately after the fall of Limerick, Ireton got sick of the plague. It was said that the Bishop of Emly, when about being executed, protested against his sentence, and, turning to Ireton, predicted that within a fortnight he also would have to meet death. Whether the prophecy was made or not, it is certain that Ireton died within the time named; and when his body was brought to London it was accompanied by his late antagonist, Hugh O'Neill.⁴⁴

The attempt made at this period to revive the old Catholic Confederacy was a failure. Anthony Geoghegan, Prior of Conal, who was in high favour at Rome, was sent by the Propaganda to Ireland, in the early part of the year, and instructed to have a new Confederacy formed, and to have the country placed under a Catholic Protector, presumably the Duke of Lorraine.⁴⁵ He arrived in Galway in March, and by the Deputy and by the Archbishop of Tuam was coldly received. But the Ulster Bishops received him well, and advised the re-establishment of the Catholic

⁴¹ Gilbert, p. 271. He remembered how many lives Cromwell had lost at Clonmel, and that he himself had lost 8,000 at Limerick.

⁴² Murphy, p. 385.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-2, 392.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 384.

⁴⁵ Gilbert, Vol. III., p. 144.

Confederacy; they repeated the condemnation of Ormond and Inchiquin; and they demanded that those who had opposed the Nuncio, three years before, and incurred his censures, should get absolution from these censures. Until they did no good Catholic was to sit with them in council or carry arms by their side.⁴⁶ The bishops and clergy everywhere adopted these resolutions, and were all in favour of making terms with the Duke of Lorraine. But Clanricarde was averse to any such course; he and the Archbishop of Tuam had opposed the Nuncio; and Clanricarde called Geoghegan a traitor, who had come to Galway to sow dissension, to infuse bad counsels into the Corporation, and to make terms with the Parliament. And certainly Geoghegan was more friendly with the Parliament than with Ormond and Clanricarde.⁴⁷ But while these debates were going on further ground was lost; Athlone and Limerick had fallen, and not an important place was left except Galway.

Since July it had been besieged, and in August the outlying castles of Tirellan, Oranmore and Galway were taken; the besiegers had approached the city walls; their frigates were in the harbour; and the place was closely invested by sea and land. Preston, who had come from Waterford in the previous year, was then governor, and to him Ireton had written, in November, offering quarter for their lives and property to the inhabitants. Under cover to Preston he sent a second letter for the mayor and corporation, warning him that if he suppressed this letter, his head should pay for it. Preston duly delivered the letter, and replied to Ireton's threat that the heads of Ireton's own friends were as unsettled on their shoulders as any in the town of Galway.⁴⁸ Limerick had then fallen, and the Galwaymen, under the influence of terror, were disposed to submit, a prospect which so frightened Preston that he fled to France. But they changed their minds when they heard that Ireton was dead; and when Coote offered the same terms they rejected them. They could not, however, hold on. Ludlow succeeded Ireton as Deputy, and was as determined as Ireton to

⁴⁶ Gilbert,, pp. 282-3, 289-90.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-6, 287-8.

⁴⁸ *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. 1., pp. 225-9.

reduce the place; the numbers who had flocked into the town had swelled the population within the walls, and food was becoming scarce; and two vessels laden with corn for the inhabitants having been attacked by two Parliamentary frigates, one of them was captured, and the other driven on the rocks near Arran. At last it was thought advisable to make overtures to Coote; terms were agreed upon, and on the 12th of April the city surrendered. The town, fort, and fortifications were delivered up; all within the walls got quarter for their lives and personal property, as well as two-thirds of their real estate; clergy were given six months to quit the kingdom; the Corporation charter and privileges were guaranteed, as was liberty of trade; all ship goods taken by land or sea going to or coming from the town were to be restored; and all prisoners, natives or inhabitants of Galway or Arran, were to be set free.⁴⁹

The fall of Galway was too great a calamity to be counterbalanced by some minor successes which occurred elsewhere,⁵⁰ and its capture was followed by an almost universal submission. The forces in Tipperary under Colonel O'Dwyer laid down their arms in April, as did those in Westmeath under Fitzpatrick, numbering 4,000 foot and 400 horse, and also the Limerick forces under Captain Walsh; Roscommon was given up, and Jamestown and Drumruiske in Leitrim, and Dromagh in Cork, and Ballyshannon and Ballymote.⁵¹ Of greater consequence was the peace made at Kilkenny, on the 12th of May, between the Parliamentary Commissioners and the forces of Leinster under the Earl of Westmeath, who were to lay down their arms by the 1st of June; and special centres were assigned for surrendering to each of the forces in Westmeath, Longford, Queen's County, Carlow and Kildare. With certain specified exceptions, all these troops, officers and men, got protection for life and personal estates, and might also transport themselves to any foreign country at peace with England. As to their real estates, they should abide by the decision of the English Parliament; all prisoners belonging to them were to be released,

⁴⁹ Gilbert, Vol. III., pp. 50-9; Hardiman's *History of Galway*, pp. 129-32.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-70.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 304-22.

and might partake of the same conditions ; but in return these troops were to deliver up all the places in their power, and all horses and arms. These Articles, called the Articles of Kilkenny, were to be extended to Muskerry and his troops in Munster, to those in Connaught under Colonel Burke and Lord Mayo, and to the Ulster forces under Lord Iveagh and General O'Farrell.⁵² This peace was denounced in vigorous terms by the Leinster clergy ; but its conditions were very generally accepted ; and within the next few months the forces still in the field hastened to lay down their arms, and the garrisons to surrender.⁵³ Clanricarde himself surrendered in June. He was not in Galway when it was given up to the enemy, nor was he consulted as to the terms made, and he denounced its surrender as base and perfidious.⁵⁴ In February he had sent Lord Castlehaven to the King to ask what he was to do. The King's answer was that he could send him no supplies, and that he might make the best conditions with the enemy that he could. These conditions he made in June. He was allowed a free pass to go where he pleased, and soon retired to his estates in England, where he died, in 1659.⁵⁵

Only the islands off the west coast still remained unsubdued ; but the victorious Puritans, who held the cities and the open country in chains, were resolved to leave no refuge for freedom, and soon extended their dominion over the rocks and waves. Arran capitulated in January, 1653, and Boffin in the following month. The former had been aided by Clanricarde who, in April, 1651, had sent 200 musketeers, with ammunition, provisions, and heavy guns ;⁵⁶ the later island had got at a later date a supply of arms direct from the Duke of Lorraine ;⁵⁷ nature had made both places difficult to attack and easy to defend, and thus were they enabled to hold out so long.⁵⁸ Some attempts at rebellion were made about the same date in Cork and Kerry and Limerick, but they were

⁵² Gilbert, pp. 93-111.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 325-38, 356.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. III., pp. 332-3, 122 ; Carte, Vol. II., p. 157.

⁵⁶ Hardiman's *History of Galway*, p. 127.

⁵⁷ Gilbert, Vol. III., pp. 358-60.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 363-6.

easily put down, the islands were also surrendered; and in April the last submission was made by a small force in Ulster.⁵⁹ Resistance had ceased; the war was ended which had lasted for nearly twelve years, which had wasted so many homes and cost so many lives; and Ireland, reduced to the last extremity of misery and weakness, lay helpless at the feet of her conquerors.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Gilbert, pp. 371-4.

⁶⁰ Petty's calculation is, and there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of his figures, that, out of a population of 1,466,000 Irish, 616,000 had perished during these wars. *Tracts Relating to Ireland. (The Political Anatomy of Ireland)*, p. 312.



CHAPTER XIX.

The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland.

THERE was profound indignation in England when the news of the rebellion of 1641 was received. Up to that date religious toleration had made little progress, either in Catholic or Protestant countries, and to English Protestants it seemed hard that these Irish Papists, belonging to a despised race, and professing a hated creed, should be allowed to live and possess lands where England was supreme. But that they should attack Protestants, rob them of their property, drive them from their homes, and murder them by thousands, this surely was not to be borne. Filled with pity for their persecuted co-religionists and with rage against the hated Papists, there were some Englishmen who wished even to anticipate the efforts of the Government in putting down the rebellion, and they petitioned Parliament, offering to raise, and equip, and maintain a force, provided they received lands in Ireland which were to be forfeited by those who had rebelled. The offer was gratefully accepted; subscriptions were invited; a committee of both Houses of Parliament was appointed for Irish affairs; special treasurers were named to receive, and special commissioners to superintend the spending of the money; and not only English but Dutch Protestants were invited to subscribe and receive in payment a share of those forfeited lands. On subsequent occasions these favourable terms were renewed, and in addition to land, the cities of Limerick, Waterford, Wexford, and Galway were offered for sale.¹ And to quicken

¹ Mahaffy's *Calendar of State Papers (Adventurers)*—Preface.

the zeal of intending subscribers, they were told that they would be doing a work acceptable to God ; they would help to spread the Gospel, and destroy the Kingdom of Antichrist ; they would be serving their own country ; they would aid the poor of England and provide them with lands ; and they would make Ireland English and Protestant. They were promised that the division of the forfeited lands would be impartial ; they were reminded that such lands would be a convenient provision for younger sons who had no lands to get at home, and that whoever subscribed was making a good investment of his money. It was represented that the safety of England itself was in danger. In Parliament it was said the poor Irish Protestants were ruined ; that the English soldiers were compelled from starvation to eat their horses ; and that if the Irish Catholics succeeded, they would not only destroy Protestantism in Ireland, but root out all Protestants from the Christian world.²

These exaggerated statements produced the effect intended. Piety, pity, hatred, zeal for religion, pride of race, hope of gain, all in greater or lesser degree operated on the minds of Englishmen ; the appeal met with a not ungenerous response ; and in all a sum of £336,000 was subscribed. Some was subscribed to raise an army ; a smaller amount was given to maintain a sea force, which was to blockade the Irish coasts, and thus prevent help coming from abroad. It may be noted that a large number of subscribers were from London and its neighbourhood, moved perhaps by the speeches made in Parliament, and the reports circulated in London. From the western counties also many subscribers came, who, no doubt, had seen the refugees from Ireland at their ports, and had listened with pity and rage to the story of their sufferings and their wrongs. But several other parts of England were represented on the subscribers' list ; and so were all classes ; and side by side with lords and baronets and knights, and members of Parliament, and ministers of religion, were physicians and clerks, and drapers and grocers, and scriveners, and in many cases black-

² *Twelve Arguments to Promote the Work.* Pamphlet, reprinted by Traynor, Dublin.

smiths, and tailors and weavers, and bakers, and skinnners, and cooks.³ The amount given varied. Oliver Cromwell gave £300 for the army, and a like amount to equip a sea force; and his female servant gave £200. Many members of Parliament gave £1,000; the City of London gave £10,000; widows came with £20 and with £10; some gave so small a sum as one shilling.⁴ Some promised more generously than they gave, and we find that while "Richard Wade of London, carpenter" generously promised the largest individual sum, viz., £6,000, he was content with giving the more modest sum of one hundred pounds. One man gave partly in plate and partly in money, another furnished clothes for the army, another iron and nails, another dried fish, and another ninety dozen of shirts; an apothecary gave syrups and cordials, and ointments and oils, and "twelve simples in Latin with contractions;" while a widow at Bandonbridge claimed that she had contributed a lantern and a grindstone.⁵ Those who subscribed were called adventurers, as they adventured their money or goods on Irish land.

Their hope was that the war would soon be over, and one of them, by name Bernard, assured his friend, Farmer, that the war would not last long, strongly advised him to advance some money, and told him he could not lay it out more profitably.⁶ These hopes were not realised. In the civil war which soon followed, and which divided England into two hostile camps, the land force raised by the adventurers' money—5,000 foot and 500 horse—was compelled, instead of proceeding to Ireland, to remain in England; and they fought on the Parliamentary side at Edgehill. The sea force, commanded by Lord Forbes, did nothing but hover round Kinsale, and then, proceeding to Galway, they robbed and plundered the town, desecrated the churches, and dug up and burned the bones of the dead.⁷ It was not until ten years had elapsed, that the end of the war was in sight. When Galway surrendered,

³ Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland: List of Adventurers*, p. 403.

⁴ Mahaffy's *Calendar*, pp. 251-2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 295, 372-4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 310.

⁷ Prendergast, pp. 74-5; Hardiman's *History of Galway*, pp. 117-18.

and the Leinster forces had laid down their arms, further resistance was seen to be hopeless; the Parliament had indeed triumphed, and it was ordered, in April, 1651, that the adventurers' claims be taken into consideration, and also the claims of those officers and soldiers who had fought in Ireland and had not been paid, and were now to be disbanded.⁸ The Parliamentary Committee appointed for the purpose, gave in their report in the following month, and recommended that the adventurers should get the forfeited lands in Munster and Leinster. The condition, however, was imposed that these lands should be planted within three years with Protestants "of any nation but Irish."⁹ The adventurers saw no reason for this urgency, and objected that the war was not over, that the country was over-run with outlaws, that labour was scarce, and that it was hard to get suitable tenants in England.¹⁰ Some of those objections disappeared with time; within the next few months there were more surrenders of garrisons, and further laying down of arms; and in August the English Parliament passed an Act for the settling of Ireland.

The spirit of this enactment was harsher and much less merciful than the Articles of Kilkenny, under which so many had laid down their arms. By these Articles a hope was held out that, except those who were guilty of murder or robbery in the first year of the war, all persons having real estate should be left such portion as would comfortably maintain them, or would comfortably maintain their families, if they themselves should choose to go beyond the sea.¹¹ The Act of Parliament in August, indeed, declared that it was not intended to extirpate the whole nation; and that husbandmen, ploughmen, labourers, artificers, and those having personal estate less than £10 in value were to get pardon for life and estate. But neither for estate nor life was pardon extended to those who had aided or promoted the rebellion in the first year of the war, or who had a hand in the robberies or murders committed. All priests who promoted the rebellion or advised its continuance, were to be

⁸ Gilbert's *History of Affairs in Ireland* (1641-52), Vol. III, p. 311.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. III., pp. 318-19.

¹⁰ Prendergast, pp. 83-5.

¹¹ Gilbert, Vol. III., pp. 95-9. (Copy of the Articles.)

dealt with similarly, as well as all who, at any time during the war, not being themselves in regular pay as soldiers, had killed any English, whether soldier or not; or who, if they were regular soldiers, had killed any English not in arms. No mercy was to be shown to those who did not lay down their arms within twenty-eight days; and a long list of distinguished men, over a hundred in number, were proscribed by name, and excluded from all mercy, among whom were Lords Ormond, Clauricarde, Castlehaven, Inchiquin, Muskerry, also Sir Phelim O'Neill, and Bramhall, Protestant Bishop of Derry. Of those not so proscribed all who were officers, civil or military, and as such had acted against the Parliament, were to be banished from the country, two-thirds of their estates to be forfeited, and the remainder assigned in some other part of the country as a maintenance for their wives and children. Those who laid down their arms within twenty-eight days, were not liable to banishment, but should forfeit one-third of their estates, and get an equivalent for the remainder in some other part of the country; and the same conditions were imposed on all those who had not shown a constant good affection to the Parliament during the whole course of the war.¹² Finally, those who had made special terms when laying down their arms might get the benefit of these terms in spite of the Act of Parliament; but this question was to be decided by Parliamentary Commissioners. This enactment caused widespread discontent. The people felt that faith was not kept with them, that the Articles of Kilkenny were not fairly interpreted, and in some few cases the popular discontent found expression in open rebellion.¹³

But such rebellion could at best be spasmodic and ineffectual; it did not alter the plans of the Parliamentary Government, and a High Court of Justice was established to try those who were accused, and to mete out to them, if guilty, the punishment of their crimes. Many years before (in 1644), Lord Maguire had been tried in London for his share in the rebellion. He demanded at his trial to be tried by a jury of his peers; he demanded counsel; he asked time to bring

¹² Gilbert, Vol. III., pp. 341-6. (Copy of Act of Parliament.)

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 353.

some witnesses from Ireland; but each of these requests was refused. Nor would he be allowed a priest, and while on the scaffold he was tortured by the sheriff on one side, and a Protestant clergyman on the other, who pressed on him their spiritual aid, threatened him with eternal torments if he did not make revelations which would incriminate others, took forcibly out of his pocket a crucifix and a beads which he carried, and snatched from him a form of preparation for death, which he held in his hand and from which he read, and which was sent him by some kind friend, who mourned his fate and affectionately signed himself, "your poor affectionate servant, your poor Gray."¹⁴ The High Court of Justice, which commenced its sittings in October 1652, and which sat at intervals for nearly two years, was not so cruel as the Court which tried Maguire; but the prejudice of the judges was apparent, and evidence was admitted which impartial justice would have rejected. Nor does there appear to have been proper legal advice at the service of the prisoners. Yet not all that were accused were found guilty, and if Sir Phelim O'Neill was convicted, on the other hand Lord Muskerry was set free. After the first session, in December, of those tried, 24 were acquitted and 32 were condemned; at the subsequent sessions in the following year the proportion found guilty was higher. Colonel Fennell, for instance, though he had helped to betray Limerick to Ireton, was found guilty of having committed two murders, and Lord Mayo of having gone into rebellion after having submitted.¹⁵

There could be no difficulty in finding Sir Phelim O'Neill guilty of having promoted the rebellion; but the evidence that he was a party to the murder of Lord Caulfield was neither clear nor convincing; and the attempt to get him to confess that he had a Commission to raise troops from Charles I. was a failure. For he quite candidly confessed that the Commission he used in the beginning of the war was a forgery; that the King's seal which he affixed to it was found at Lord Caulfield's residence at Charlemont, and was affixed to the forged document by the aid of one Mr.

¹⁴ Gilbert, Vol. I., pp. 620-48.

¹⁵ Miss Hickson, *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*, Vol. II., pp. 232-35.

Harrison. Even on the scaffold he was again asked if this commission was real or forged, and he was promised his life and estate, and his liberty, if he could give any material proof that he had such a Commission from the King. The Puritans were, no doubt, anxious to blacken the memory of the murdered monarch, but Sir Phelim O'Neill did not wish to perjure himself, even if the Puritans were anxious that he should, and it is not clear that they were, for he was asked for material proof. Instead of being able or willing to give such, he declared before God and His holy angels, that he never had such a Commission from the King, and he heartily begged the prayers of those who listened to him that God would forgive him his sins and have mercy on his soul.¹⁶ From the records of the High Court of Justice, it appears that, except O'Neill, and one Manus MacMahon, found guilty of some murder at Carrickmacross, not a single other person in Ulster was found guilty of murder, a strong commentary on the exaggerated statements about the Ulster massacres and the thousands which the blood-thirsty Catholics had done to death.

The Irish Government at that time was in the hands of four Commissioners, Fleetwood, Ludlow, Corbett and Jones. Fleetwood, who was Cromwell's son-in-law, was Viceroy and Commander-in-chief of the forces. The others were associated with him only in his civil capacity, and especially in the work of planting the forfeited Irish lands. All were subject to a Parliamentary Committee for Irish affairs which sat in London, and of which Cromwell was a member; but the Irish Commissioners were not interfered with, and with all zeal endeavoured to carry out the orders they had received. These orders were to spread the Gospel in Ireland, to debar Catholics from all offices, to assess taxes for the payment of the army, and to remove anyone they pleased from his dwelling and plant him elsewhere.¹⁷ They were assisted in carrying out their work by sub-commissioners in each district, called Commissioners of Revenue, as well as by a standing Committee at Dublin, of which Lord Broghill was a member, and whose special duty it was to

¹⁶ Gilbert, Vol. III., pp. 367-9; Hickson, Vol. II., pp. 180, 253, 376-8.

¹⁷ Lingard's *History of England*, Vol. VIII., p. 175.

superintend the work of transplanting.¹⁸ As to those who were to be transplanted there was no difficulty, for that was decided by the Act for the Settling of Ireland, and in October, 1652, this Act, with its fateful provisions, was announced in each district "by sound of trumpet and beat of drum."¹⁹ The further question where the transplanters were to go was decided in September, 1653, by an Act of Parliament, called "An Act for Satisfaction of Adventurers in Lands and Arrears due to the Soldiers and other public Debts."²⁰ Ten counties were to be divided between the adventurers and soldiers — Limerick, Tipperary, Waterford, King's and Queen's Counties, Meath, Westmeath, Down, Antrim and Armagh. All Louth also, except the Barony of Ardee, was assigned to them, in case there was not a sufficiency of land in the ten counties named. For the soldiers lately disbanded, or about to be disbanded, the barony of Ardee in Louth was specially reserved; so also were three baronies in Fermanagh and seven in Cork, and a small portion of Connaught—near the town of Sligo. The baronies of Imokilly in Cork and Castleknock in Dublin were to be given to maimed soldiers, and the widows of soldiers. The Commonwealth reserved in its own hands all castles, forts, and mines, all towns, the counties of Kildare and Carlow, part of Cork, and all Dublin except Castleknock. They also reserved all tithes and church lands, for the Puritans wanted no such dignitaries as archbishops, bishops or deans.²¹ This large appropriation to the Government was required to satisfy public debts, as well as to reward favourites and friends of the republican cause.²²

The County of Clare and the province of Connaught were assigned to the transplanted Irish, and in October, 1653, the provisions of the Act of Parliament were proclaimed in each "district by sound of trumpet and beat of drum." Fathers and heads of families should transplant themselves before the first of January following, others of the family by the first of May. Catholic Irishwomen who

¹⁸ Prendergast, p. 146.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 96-7.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

²¹ *The Down Survey*, pp. 354-70—(From Scobell's *Acts and Ordinances*.)

²² Prendergast, pp. 94-5.

had married English Protestants before December, 1650, might stay, but only on condition that they became Protestants ; boys under 14 years and girls under 12 might also stay, if they were in Protestant service, and were brought up Protestants ; and the same privilege was granted to those, who, during the whole war, had shown a constant good affection to the Parliament of England. The accused might have fought in the King's Army, but only against the native Irish in rebellion ; they might be of English descent and even Protestants ; they might have never fought on any side ; they might, having fought on the King's side, have deserted to the Parliament, as in fact the Munster garrisons had done. All this would not save them ; and, if at any time they had aided the enemies of the Parliament, even though the aid given was unwilling and resistance meant death or ruin, in such cases they were held guilty, and must with the others cross the Shannon. Husbandmen, ploughmen, artisans, might follow their masters, but if they wished they might remain ; partly because they would be useful to the new English planters ; partly because, without priests to advise them or the gentry to lead them, it was hoped they would become English and Protestant ; and again because without them the gentry should work, and would either sink to the level of peasants or become extinct.²³

All others should go, the sick, the infirm, the aged, the paralytic, the blue-eyed daughter of 4 years or that other with full face and flaxen hair,²⁴ the grandsire whose eyes were dim with years and who tottered feebly along, the widow whose husband or children had fallen in battle, the wife whose soldier-husband had quitted Ireland and sought for a home in a happier land. It was the exodus of a nation. They left the fertile plains of Tipperary and Limerick, and Meath for Connaught, with its bogs and rocks, and heather-clad hills. They were going to a province where they had not a house to shelter them or a friend to welcome them ; and they were leaving their own homes and fields, the homes in which they were born, and which were made sacred to them by so many recollections of joy and sorrow, of laughter and of tears. They were driven from

²³ Fiondergast, pp. 96-102.

²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 105.

the fields over which as children they had played, from the rivers in which they had fished, from the hills over which they had coursed with their faithful hounds. But regrets were futile and tears and entreaties were vain, their homes and fields were wanted for the stranger, and across the Shannon they should go.

Before proceeding to Connaught to get land, each head of a family was bound to draw out a statement, or a Particular, as it was called, in which he set down his age and the ages of the several members of his family, and described their appearance, also the number of the servants, tenants and friends who were to accompany him, as well as the number of his cattle, sheep, horses, pigs and goats, and the amount of his tillage. This statement he presented to the Commissioners of his district, getting a certificate in exchange, which he presented to the Connaught Commissioners at Loughrea, whose business it was to assign him lands, in proportion to his present belongings and former estate. But this assignment was only conditional and temporary, an assignment *de Bene Esse*. Later on there were to be Commissioners at Athlone who would go more fully into his case, and make a final settlement of his claim.²⁵ Without waiting for this, however, and having got his assignment *de Bene Esse*, he was to go back to his former home, and take with him his family and goods into Connaught before the 1st of May following. In some cases this took place; in many others there were remonstrances and protests, and petitions that they might be dispensed from transplanting, if only for a time. They wanted time to save their crops; their stock was not in a condition to be driven; there was sickness in the family, one had a shaking palsy, another was ninety years old and blind, another had lost his reason. Some pleaded their services to the Commonwealth. One had turned informer and caused the conviction of some found guilty before the High Court of Justice. An O'Neill boasted that he had betrayed his relative, Sir Phelim O'Neill. Another had shown constant good will to the army, and had the Parliamentary officers lodged in her house. The inhabitants of Cashel pleaded a promise of favours from Cromwell; those of Limerick that they had opened

²⁵ Prendergast, pp 103-6.

its gates to Ireton. The Leinster forces who surrendered in 1652 pleaded the Articles of Kilkenny. These petitions and others of the kind were in most cases refused, or, if granted, it was only for a time, and on condition that the head of the family proceeded at once to Connaught and remained there.²⁶ Even the grandson of the poet Spenser was transplanted from Cork, in spite of the fact that Cromwell pleaded on his behalf. The grandfather had favoured and foreshadowed in his writings the ruthless policy of Cromwell; the grandson had become a Catholic, and as such was destined to feel in his own person the severity and injustice of what his grandfather had taught.²⁷

In the meantime, neither the adventurers nor soldiers were idle, and even before the lands east of the Shannon were vacant, the distribution of them had begun. By the Act of Satisfaction (1653) a Committee of London merchants was appointed "to regulate, order, and dispose the drawing of lots for ascertaining to the said planters where their dividends of lands should be." For every subscription of £600 there was to be an allotment of 1,000 acres in Leinster, the same quantity in Munster for £450, and in Ulster for £200. Bog and wood and mountain were given in addition to the planters without additional pay, and in proportion to the lands assigned them. This Committee sat in Grocer's Hall, and was sometimes called the Committee of Claims, and sometimes the Committee of Lottery,²⁸ for they first examined the claims of adventurers and then assigned lands to them by lot. In some cases the adventurer was dead, leaving his share to be divided, in one instance, into seven parts. In another case a fifth part was assigned to a sister, the remainder equally between nephews and nieces;²⁹ in yet another case the share was divided into twelve parts.³⁰ One adventurer died without disposing of his lands; another had sold his share of £400 for £160, another his share of

²⁶ Prendergast, pp. 110-18.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 118, note. Cromwell described him as being a "gentleman of a civil conversation."

²⁸ *Down Survey*, pp. 353-4; Mahaffy's *Calendar*, p. 250.

²⁹ Mahaffy's *Calendar*, p. 304.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 84.

£50 for £38,³¹ and large amounts of land were thus cheaply acquired by Sir John Clotworthy and Erasmus Smith. When the identity of the claimant and the amount of his subscription was ascertained, lots were drawn, first, for the province, then, for the county in that province, and lastly, for the barony in which their lands were to be.³² Half of each barony in the ten counties named was given to the adventurers, and half to the soldiers, and lots were also cast to decide which was to be assigned to each.³³ The Commissioners at Grocer's Hall issued certificates to each adventurer, who was to present himself before the Commissioners of Accounts in Ireland, and these gave him a certificate assigning him his allotted land. Instead of a certificate each soldier got a *debenture* from a board of officers at Dublin; land was then assigned him by lot; he delivered up his debenture and got a certificate of possession in exchange, and this was the legal title to his land.³⁴

But before the planters, whether adventurers or soldiers, were actually settled down on the lands, there were many difficulties to be overcome, and many complaints were made. The soldiers and adventurers disagreed. The soldiers found fault with the lands they received.³⁵ They complained that they had not been given the full amount of lands due them, and in fact they had to take less than two-thirds of their claims (12s. 3d. in the £). Some of them had been cheated by their officers, and had sold their debentures to them or to others and a regular traffic in these debentures was carried on.³⁶ They complained that the lands which they ought to have got were in some instances given to delinquent Protestants, who ought to have been transplanted, but instead were pardoned on payment of a fine.³⁷ And they were specially wroth with the Munster garrisons, who had not shown a constant good affection, and who on being commanded to transplant to Connaught, refused to go. Instead of being punished, as they deserved, they were

³¹ Mahaffy's *Calendar*, pp. 109, 117-18.

³² *Down Survey*, p. 253.

³³ Prendergast, p. 94.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 198-201.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 224-6, 237-9.

³⁷ Mahaffy's *Calendar*—Preface.

pardoned, through the influence of Cromwell, and were assigned the baronies of Barrymore and Muskerry in Cork.³⁸ Lastly, they said the government survey ordered was incorrect, that the surveyors had favoured the adventurers, and were dishonest and corrupt.³⁹ The adventurers' on their side, were dissatisfied, even though Louth and Kildare had been added on to the other ten counties, lest they might not have their due share of land ; and they had a survey made themselves, which, however, the Commissioners at Dublin refused to accept, declaring that it was incorrect and fraudulent, and could not be allowed to stand.⁴⁰ But when a new survey was ordered by the Government, and was carried out by Dr. Petty with great care and ability, they were still unsatisfied. The army expressed satisfaction with Petty's survey and accepted the lands assigned them, and the last batch of soldiers were disbanded and put in possession of their lands by the end of 1656.⁴¹ Petty himself went to London to arrange all outstanding difficulties between the adventurers and soldiers. But the former were not easily satisfied. They desired that their own survey should stand ; they wanted to keep what lands they had, no matter how acquired ; they objected to Petty's survey, and suggested that soldiers and adventurers still unsatisfied should be sent to Louth.⁴² Ultimately, however, the vast majority of the adventurers professed themselves content with Petty's award.⁴³

Yet so late as the end of 1658 some portion of the army still complained of injustice ;⁴⁴ and, in the next year, some unsatisfied adventurers petitioned Parliament and avowed that they had been defrauded, and that lots had not been honestly cast.⁴⁵

In their new possessions, in the houses made by others hands, it might disturb the planters' sense of security and peace, if the dispossessed owners or their friends were allowed to remain among them ; the priests also, and the Irish soldiers, or swordsmen, might

³⁸ Prendergast, pp. 166-76.

³⁹ Mahaffy's *Calendar*, p. 390.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 319-20.

⁴¹ *Down Survey*, p. 129.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 230.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

⁴⁵ Mahaffy's *Calendar*, pp. 393-4.

give trouble ; and no pains were spared by the ruling powers to have all these classes removed. Every facility was given to these Irish soldiers to volunteer for foreign service ; when garrisons surrendered it was often stipulated that they should go abroad ; and before the plantation had well begun 40,000 of them had left Ireland. They went chiefly to Spain, where the English wished the whole Irish nation had gone. But some also served in France and Austria and Venice ; and everywhere they went they covered their country with glory, exhibiting a patience, a fidelity, a courage, a reckless disregard of danger and death in battle, which, if exhibited at home under capable leadership, might have saved their country from subjugation and ruin.⁴⁶ The priests were the objects of special resentment. Any who had counselled the rebellion, or urged its continuance, had no mercy to get, and if captured, had only to expect the fate of Sir Phelim O'Neill. An edict was issued commanding all priests to leave Ireland within twenty days. Whoever concealed one was liable to be put to death, and whoever knew of a priest's hiding-place, and did not give information, was to have his ears amputated and to be whipped.⁴⁷ In 1652-3, many priests went with the swordsmen to Spain. Of those who were taken at a later date (1655-7), some were put to death, and some were shipped to Barbadoes. Two years later, those captured were sent to Boffin or Arran Isles, where they were kept as in a prison, and got but sixpence a day to live on.⁴⁸ But others lived on among their enemies, disguised as ploughmen and shepherds, and ministered to the poor Catholics around them. As for the transplanted, the bulk of them had crossed the Shannon before the planters came to take possession, to such an extent, that, when the government survey of Tipperary was being made, there was no one to point out the mearings of the lands, and some families had to be brought back from Connaught for the purpose.⁴⁹ The wives and children who might have remained to gather in the crops were compelled to pay the planters a rent from the 1st of

⁴⁶ Prendergast, p. 87.

⁴⁷ Lingard, Vol. VIII., p. 178.

⁴⁸ Prendergast, pp. 322-5.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

May, 1654; and when the planters came to take formal possession, these women and children were rudely cast out, without even a cabin to shelter them, or grass to get for their cows.⁵⁰ Of those who still lingered on, and did not go to Connaught, some, when taken, were put to death, no doubt to terrify others. The greater number, however, were only imprisoned; but when the jails were full they were shipped off as slaves to Barbadoes.⁵¹

Yet the planters were not happy, for the country which they came to occupy was turned into a desert. It was no uncommon thing in these wars for a Parliamentary officer to have scythes and Bibles served out together to his troops. The scythes were to cut down the corn and thus have the natives, and above all the soldiers, without food. The Bibles were to stimulate their holy zeal against the hated Papists, for with the Puritans preaching and fighting, prayer and murder went hand in hand.⁵² In consequence of some disturbances in the early part of 1653, an edict went forth to lay waste the Counties of Kerry, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Tyrone, Monaghan, Armagh and Wicklow, and part of the Counties of Cork, Limerick, and Tipperary, besides Clare, Galway, Roscommon and Sligo beyond the Shannon. Over this wide extent of territory crops and houses were destroyed, and "no mankind allowed to live there except within garrisons."⁵³ In his march from Waterford to Limerick, Ireton passed through a district of 30 miles without seeing a house or a living creature. The land was fertile as any land could be, but war had done its work, and all around was desolation and ruin. Three-fourths of the cattle were destroyed, and a fresh supply of cattle had to be imported from Wales. Mutton was so scarce, that nobody could kill a lamb without a licence. Tillage had ceased.⁵⁴ Hunger and death were on every side. It was rare to see the smoke issuing from a chimney by day, or a fire or candle lighted by night. When two or three cabins were discovered, they were tenanted only by

⁵⁰ Prendergast, pp. 109-10.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 142-6.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁵³ Gilbert, Vol. III., pp. 371-2.

⁵⁴ Prendergast, pp. 79-80, 308.

women and children and old men. Children who had lost their parents were frequently attacked and eaten by wolves; some were found feeding on weeds or dead bodies; and a party of soldiers were attracted one dark night by a light, and drawing near they found it was a ruined cabin through the window of which they saw some old women and children; a corpse lay broiling on the fire, and as it was roasted they cut pieces and ate. To get rid of these troublesome women and children, the Government contracted with some merchants of Bristol, and a regular and continuous slave trade was carried on. The old women and men, being of no use, were allowed to starve, but the younger people were hunted down as men hunt down game, and were forcibly put on board ship, and sold to the planters in Barbadoes. The men and boys were put to work in the sugar plantations; the girls and women—wives and widows of officers and soldiers, gently nurtured, perhaps, and in manners refined—were to be the wives or mistresses of the West-Indian planters, to take the place of negresses and maroons. Some on the long sea voyage sickened and died, and became the food of sharks, and to them fate was kind. Others were duly landed at Indian Bridges.⁵⁵ Their beauty was their ruin, and attracted their masters' lustful eyes, and in that land of the tropics and the trade winds they lived as in a prison, their faith banned, their race and nation despised, their virtue outraged, their tears derided; and as they looked out on the waving fields of sugarcane, they sadly thought of their own dear land, with its fields so fertile and so green, now separated from them for ever by thousands of miles of rolling sea.

The wolves were also a cause of trouble to the adventurers and soldiers, who had driven the Irish over the Shannon. Wolf hunts were regularly organized, and whoever brought in the head of a she-wolf received £6; for a dog-wolf it was £5; for a cub from 10 to 40 shillings.⁵⁶ But worse even than the wolves were the Tories. The name occurs for the first time in a proclamation by Ormond (1650) in which he speaks of "Idle Boys" or Tories.⁵⁷ But

⁵⁵ Prendergast, pp. 89-93; Ligon's *History of Barbadoes*.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 309-10.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 333 note

they existed long before, and were simply bands of outlaws, who lived in the woods and mountains, and robbed houses or waylaid passers by, not sparing even the priests, by whom they were often excommunicated.⁵⁸ The various plantations added to their number, the plantations of Ulster and Wicklow and others, the plantations in Cromwell's time most of all. They were then composed of various elements, the original "Idle Boys" or robbers, the dispossessed landlords or tenants who refused to transplant, but instead took to the woods and mountains, the swordsmen who had not emigrated, or those who had, but after a time had come back, bringing arms with them. They lived in organized bands, and fell like wolves on the English settlers, driving away their cattle, taking their goods, burning their houses, often murdering the inmates. The Government was puzzled, for the Tories were hard to catch, and a law was enacted that the Catholic inhabitants of a district where an outrage was committed should make good the damage. This being impossible to carry out, owing to the poverty of the people, it was enacted that, where a crime was committed and the Tories were not caught, four Catholics, in some cases all the inhabitants, should be transplanted to the West Indies. A price was set on the heads of Tories varying from £1 to £30, according to their rank. Lastly, the Irish themselves were employed to hunt them down, and a Major Kavanagh of Wicklow was dispensed from transplanting and left his estate, on condition that he did effective service against the outlaws. But the Tories still flourished, and up to the Restoration, and long after, they were a trouble and a torment to the English settlers.⁵⁹

Such was the state of things east of the Shannon, but in Connaught the troubles and miseries were greater still. Regardless of any arrangement between Ormond and the Confederate Catholics, Coote and others in the interests of the Parliament had repeatedly swept over it and laid it waste. It prolonged the war to the last; it was included in the edict of 1653, which prescribed that the people were to be cleared from the open country and forced

⁵⁸ Gilbert, Vol. II., p. 362.

⁵⁹ Prendergast, pp. 333-47.

to dwell within the garrison towns ;⁶⁰ and the plague, at first confined to Galway, was ultimately carried throughout the province. It was to this province, wasted by war, famine, and disease, whose soil is the poorest in Ireland, that the Irish landholders were driven. The Loughrea Commissioners were ordered to have none from Kerry, or Cork, or Limerick planted in Clare, lest, perhaps, across the broad bosom of the Shannon, some one might catch a glimpse of the home from which he was driven and on this his lingering glance might rest. For a similar reason, none from Cavan, or Fermanagh, or Tyrone, or Donegal, were to be planted in Leitrim ; and those who had dwelt ten miles east of the Shannon were to be planted at least ten miles west of it. Nor were persons from the same locality to be planted together. Finally, all were to be cut off from the Shannon and the sea, and should not dwell in towns ; the islands were to be cleared of Irish, and given over to the disbanded soldiers, who were also to get a strip of land, four miles wide (afterwards narrowed to one) running along the Shannon and the sea ; and thus would the natives be effectually hemmed in.⁶¹ Protestants in Connaught who had sided with the Parliament might get land elsewhere, and no doubt gladly shook the dust of the province off their feet ;⁶² none others could, but they were liable to be changed from one barony to another, as in fact they often were.

Subject to these limitations, the Loughrea Commissioners issued their certificates for a first settlement ; and with these the transplanters proceeded to Athlone, where a Court of Claims was set up, to examine what amount of land they formerly held, and what, if any, was their guilt during the war. To ascertain this latter, the books of the Confederate Catholics were seized at Kilkenny and conveyed to Athlone. They became known as the Black Books of Athlone, and it was woe to those whose names were found in them, either as members of the Confederation, or as having in any way aided the Confederate cause. In some cases the claimants were adjudged guilty and got no lands ; in others they

⁶⁰ Gilbert, Vol. III., p. 372.

⁶¹ Prendergast, pp. 148-52.

⁶² *Down Survey*, pp. 380-1.

got but a small quantity ; in others part of what they got was seized upon by corrupt transplanting officers, whom they were unable to bribe with money. The assignments made at Athlone were final settlements, which the transplanter brought back again to Loughrea, and the Commissioners there put them in possession of their lands. It was weary work for the claimant, travelling from Loughrea to Athlone, watching the sittings of the Court, clamouring for an urgent hearing, trying to win favour from the judges or bribe the officials ; and when he had come back to Loughrea to be obliged, with his wife and children and cattle, perhaps to travel far, and get but a barren patch of land for his share.⁶³ Lord Trimleston, for instance, from the rich lands of Meath, was set down at Monivea, in Galway, where the land was at best but indifferent. John Talbot from Malahide, near Dublin, got his share in the wilds of Erris in Mayo ; Lord Roche of Fermoy was sent to the Barony of the Owles, in the same county ;⁶⁴ and noblemen and gentlemen who had known luxury and wealth, were lodged, like peasants, in cabins filled with smoke.⁶⁵ All Connaught, with the exception of the belt of land named and a small portion of Sligo, was originally promised to the natives, but this promise was not kept in the actual settlement, as finally carried out. The soldiers got the whole of the County of Sligo, and in Mayo the barony of Gallen and part of Tirawley ; while the barony of Clare in Galway was reserved for the Government ; Sir Charles Coote and some other officers reserved lands for themselves ; and Henry Cromwell, Oliver's son, took for his share the Castle of Portumna and 6,000 acres which surrounded it.⁶⁶

The towns and cities, during this period, were treated with great severity. Neither Irish nor Catholics were allowed to dwell in them, and all such, whether of English descent or not, were expelled from Limerick, Clonmel, Cashel, Waterford, and other cities and towns. If transplantable, they should go to Connaught ; in any case, they could not come within two miles of any

⁶³ Prendergast, pp. 155-9.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 159-60, 164.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 163, *vid etiam*, *Map of Connaught*.

town, unless they had a special licence to do so, and this was rarely given. ⁶⁷ The inhabitants of Galway were placed on a different footing, and by the terms of surrender were allowed to remain. But the taxation became so excessive that some left the city, not being able to stand the strain. Those who remained had then to bear the whole burden. The tax was collected weekly, the collection being announced every Saturday by sound of trumpet ; and if not instantly paid the soldiers rushed into the houses and took what they pleased. Even this was not enough, and in 1655, on the pretext that Spain might find sympathisers in the city, in the war which was threatened, all the Irish and Catholic inhabitants were expelled, and upwards of 1,000 round the city were seized and sent to the West Indies. All this was done by Sir Charles Coote, who was thanked by the Government for the thorough manner in which the clearance was effected. But he had left within the walls some bed-ridden people, and the savage order was sent him that even these were not to be left, but were to be removed as soon as possible. The departing citizens got, or were promised, some compensation for their houses, which were offered to settlers from Liverpool or Gloucester. But few settlers came. The fine houses of Galway, among the finest in the kingdom, fell into ruins ; bustling and busy streets were replaced by silent and empty ones, and the trade of the city received such a shock that it never after recovered. ⁶⁸

Such, then, was the Cromwellian settlement, which, instead of settling, unsettled everything ; laid deep and permanent the foundations of class hatred and sectarian animosity ; still further embittered the relations between two races ; and founded a land system which has been the despair of governments and statesmen, and which, more than two centuries later, in the interests both of England and Ireland, it has been found necessary to destroy. It was Cromwell's work, and to him is due the credit or shame. It was carried out with a thoroughness and a severity almost without parallel, yet, even in Cromwell's own day, its failure appeared, and the barriers

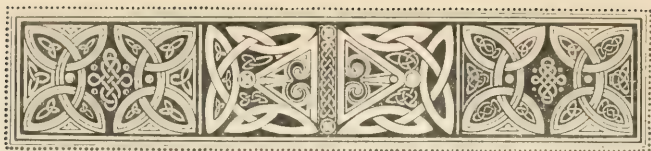
⁶⁷ Prendergast, p. 202.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 303-6 ; Hardiman's *Galway*, pp. 134-9.

he had raised were already being broken down. In spite of all laws, the English planters took Irish tenants, employed Irish servants, married Irish wives, learned their customs, spoke their tongue, embraced their faith.⁶⁹ The weird fascination of the Irish nature was again potent with the stranger; he was attracted, absorbed, assimilated; and in the next generation the sons of Cromwellian troopers fought against the Protestant William and in favour of the Catholic James, their hearts were bitter against England, and their eyes kindled at the recital of Irish suffering and Irish wrong.⁷⁰ Cromwell died in 1658, and is counted among the great men of England; indeed, amongst a section of Englishmen, the regicide of the seventeenth century has become the hero of the nineteenth and of the twentieth centuries, about whom books are written and on whom praises are showered. His features are preserved by the sculptor's chisel and on the canvas of the painter, and are familiar to us all—the thick lips, the coarse, cruel mouth, the heavy jaw, the swollen face, the dreamy mystic's eye. But in Ireland his memory is execrated as the memory of no other Englishman has ever been. In the Irish mind the massacres of Drogheda and Wexford are still vividly recalled; in the Irish heart there is still a pang for the exiled soldiers, the ruined townsmen, the beggared nobles, the murdered priests, the starved children, the broken hearted girls in that far-off West Indian Isle. Among Irishmen everywhere the "curse of Cromwell" has in it something specially malignant, and the name of Cromwell is mentioned with rage and hate, not indeed unmingled with awe.

⁶⁹ Prendergast, p. 233.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 260-6.



CHAPTER XX.

After the Restoration.

THOSE in England who fought against the tyranny of Charles I., and expected that despotic government was over when his destruction was accomplished were soon grievously disappointed.¹ The oligarchy which, under the name of a Council of State, succeeded the murdered monarch, had but crude notions of popular government. From the first the Council was dominated by Cromwell; after his victories in Ireland and Scotland, his influence became overwhelming and irresistible; and when he became Lord Protector, he was invested with more extensive powers than any of the Stuart Kings had ever enjoyed. Under his rule men were thrown into prison and kept there without sufficient cause, illegal tribunals were set up, juries were packed, taxes raised without the consent of Parliament, and Parliament itself more than once violently dissolved. Everything depended on the will of one man, and neither civil nor religious liberty could be said to exist.² Discontent was universal; even the army, which supported all his measures, and which he was always careful to flatter, at length became restive; the republican spirit of some of its members revolted at the Protector's despotism; and when he died it soon

¹ "Enemies are swept away," said Carlyle, "extinguished as in the brightness of the Lord, and no Divine Kingdom and no incipency of such as yet in any measure come. These are sorrowful reflections." *Cromwell's Letters*, Vol. II., p. 371.

² Lingard, Vol. VIII., p. 270.

became evident that such despotic government as his would not long be endured.

Oliver himself, had he lived, might have protracted the fall of the Protectorate, and overawed the various malcontents ; but his son was weak : if he wielded the bow of Ulysses he was plainly unable to bend it ; and after a brief period of intrigue and faction and anarchy, the exiled Charles II., by the voice of the whole nation, was called to his father's throne.

The Cromwellian settlers in Ireland carefully watched these changing scenes. Both Lord Broghill and Sir Charles Coote had given material aid to Cromwell, and more than any others had helped to crush the Irish Royalists. They had been richly rewarded. Broghill was Lord President of Munster and Coote Lord President of Connaught, and both had got enormous quantities of confiscated lands. It was personal interest, rather than conviction, that animated them ; they were ready to be Royalists or Republicans according as it paid ; and hastened to desert the Protectorate as soon as it became evident that its days were numbered. Their intentions were early divined, and both were dismissed from the offices they held ; the same punishment was meted out to 200 military officers who were supposed to share their views. This treatment rather strengthened than weakened the party of Broghill and Coote. They were soon strong enough to form a conspiracy to overthrow the Government at Dublin : and in the last days of 1659, they carried out their plans and seized upon the Castle. It was soon recaptured by Sir Hardress Waller, who, with Ludlow and some others, would be no party to the overthrow of a Republican Government, but he in turn was besieged in the Castle, and after five days was compelled to surrender. Limerick, Galway, Clonmel, Youghal, Ross and the other garrison towns followed the lead of Dublin ; and a Council of Officers was formed, and took over the Government. A Convention of Estates was then summoned, and met in Dublin, in February. Its members only waited for the signal from England to recall the King. Already Coote had sent his agent to Brussels to assure Ormond of his support ; Broghill had acted similarly ; an army of 60 companies of foot and 42 troops of horse was raised for the King's service ; in May the King was

proclaimed with great acclamation in Dublin, and the Convention voted him a gift of £20,000, giving at the same time, £4,000 to the Duke of York and £2,000 to the Duke of Gloucester. Lord Broghill and Coote and some others were appointed by the Convention as Commissioners to make known the nation's desires to the King : and the Convention, having done so much, adjourned till the following November.³

The object of Broghill and Coote was clear. They wanted to stand well with the King, to prejudice him in their favour, to get security for themselves and the other Cromwellian settlers in their estates. In his Declaration from Breda, issued before starting for England, Charles had announced that he would leave the settlement of estates to the English Parliament ; ⁴ and it was important that that body should be favourably disposed, as, indeed, it already was, towards the Protestant settlers in Ireland. It was considered important also that a prejudice should be created against the dispossessed Catholics. Some of them, though found by Cromwell's courts quite innocent of any share in the rebellion, were yet driven from their estates into Connaught or Clare. Believing that the hour of retribution had struck when the King was restored, they proceeded in some cases to eject the settlers, and re-entered into possession of their former estates. Riots and bloodshed followed. The Convention in Dublin put the severest laws and ordinances in force against the whole Catholic body ; threw some into prison ; prohibited all from passing from one province to another, even on their ordinary business ; intercepted their letters ; forbade them to hold meetings, and thus made it impossible for them to appoint agents who might look after their interests. And the agents of the Convention meanwhile persuaded the English Parliament to represent to the King that the Irish Catholics had broken out into acts of force and violence ; had robbed and spoiled and murdered some of the Protestant planters, and forcibly driven them from their estates. In consequence, a Royal proclamation was issued, commanding that the settlers should be left in quiet possession of

³ Carte's *Ormond*, Vol. II., pp. 203-4 : Mahaffy's *Calendar of State Papers* (1625-60), pp. 696-7, 711-14, 719-20.

⁴ Lingard, Vol. VIII., pp. 302-3.

the houses and lands they possessed in the beginning of the year 1660, and were not to be disturbed by "Irish rebels" until legally evicted by course of law, or until "his Majesty had by the advice of Parliament taken further order therein."⁵

The Episcopal Protestant church was then established both in England and Ireland, Bramhall became Primate, and the famous Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Down;⁶ the arrangement by which Cromwell had united the Irish and English Parliaments and fixed the number of Irish members at 30, was disowned and abolished, and a new Irish Parliament was to be summoned. Sir Charles Coote was made Earl of Mountrath and Broghill, Earl of Orrery, and Ormond, now raised to the dignity of duke, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.⁷

But before the new Viceroy took up office, three Lords Justices were appointed to take charge of the Irish Government—Lords Orrery and Mountrath and Sir Maurice Eustace—and the great question of the settlement of Ireland was taken in hand. It was a perplexing problem, full of dangers and difficulties, and especially disagreeable to a King such as Charles, who hated trouble, and loved ease and pleasure, and who must have felt that it was impossible to reconcile all the conflicting interests, and that after all his efforts were exhausted there would remain dissatisfaction and discontent. The adventurers held their lands by virtue of an Act of Parliament approved by his father, which, therefore, he must have felt binding on himself. The soldiers, it was true, had fought both his father and himself, and it may be assumed he did not love them; but they were a formidable body, with powerful friends in England; they still remembered the victories they had won, and could again draw the sword in defence of those fields which had been given them as the reward of their valour. Such a body of men was dangerous to provoke. It was easier for Charles to remember that these soldiers had welcomed him home, and had even organized themselves to fight his battles, if such a necessity should arise. There were, besides, the officers and soldiers who had fought on

⁵ Carte, Vol. II., pp. 205-6.

⁶ Mant's *History of the Church of Ireland*, Vol. I., pp. 605-8.

⁷ Carte, Vol. II., pp. 209-17, 238.

the Royalist side previous to 1649, called the "49 men," and whose arrears of pay had never been discharged. There were Protestants who had never joined in the rebellion at all, and yet had been driven from their lands. There were innocent Catholics, whose only crime was their religion. There were Catholics who had been in rebellion, but had repented and accepted the peace of 1648. And there were some, like Ormond, whose services and sacrifices could not be forgotten.

Another class were the Ensignmen. They were Irish Catholics who had fought with the King abroad, and who, as his subjects and obeying his commands, invested him with an importance in the eyes of France and Spain, which otherwise he had not possessed. At Arras, in 1654, two Irish regiments aided the great Turenne to defeat Conde, and on that desperate day, near Dunkirk (in 1658), when the Spaniards were routed by the charge of the English Puritans, there were 2,000 Irish on the Spanish side under the Duke of York, Lord Muskerry and Colonel Grace.⁸ After the capture of Bois-le-Duc, which they gallantly defended for the Duke of Lorraine, an Irish regiment, at the command of the Duke of York, took service in the army of France; and at the siege of Ligni, which soon followed, more than a hundred of them lost their lives.⁹ When the Duke of York quitted the French for the Spanish service, the Irish soldiers in France followed his example; and on one occasion, at the solicitation of Ormond and Charles II., but to the disgrace of the Irish themselves, St. Gerlain, which they held for France, and were bound in honour to defend, they treacherously surrendered to Spain.¹⁰ Charles II., after his restoration, declared that he remembered their loyalty with affection, that joyfully they had obeyed his orders, though to do so was often injurious to themselves, and that such conduct entitled them to his protection and favour.¹¹

As a solution of the difficulties before the King, the Earl of Orrery proposed that the adventurers and soldiers should be allowed what lands they possessed on the 7th of May, 1659; that Ormond

⁸ O'Connor's *Military History of the Irish Nation*, pp. 82-5.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-71.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.p. 75-8.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

and three or four others of special merit should be fully restored to all their lands, and to some extent compensated for the losses they had sustained; and that the “’49 men,” should get some yet unallotted lands in eight counties. Mountrath would exempt those fanatics and disaffected persons who had opposed the Restoration; and Sir Maurice Eustace would have the King reserve all Connaught for himself, to which neither adventurer nor soldier could establish any claim. The two former proposals completely ignored the Catholics. But the Catholics were allowed to send agents to London, and these demanded that the Irish should be first restored to their estates, and that those of them who had not left Ireland, should, for the space of five years, give one-third the product of their estates to compensate deserving and dispossessed settlers; those who had served abroad with the King should pay a like amount for two years. These and other proposals were debated and discussed by the King and his Council, and finally, in the last days of 1660, his Majesty issued his Declaration for the settlement of Ireland. Adventurers were confirmed in what they had acquired up to the 7th of May, 1659, soldiers were similarly confirmed, unless they held church lands, in which case these lands were to be given up, and the soldiers compensated or reprised by the grant of other lands. The “’49 men” and Protestants who had never rebelled, should at once have their claims allowed. As to the Catholics, if they had never been in rebellion, they were to be restored to their estates; if however their property was within corporate towns they were not to be restored but get lands in the neighbourhood. Those who had been in rebellion, but accepted and adhered to the peace of 1648, were to be restored, unless they had sued out lands in Connaught or Clare, and if they had, they should be satisfied with what they had got. The Ensignmen were also to be restored, but not till the dispossessed settlers were first reprised. Thirty-six of the nobility and gentry were—as Nominees—to be restored to their estates at once by special favour of the King. Those, on the contrary, who had any share in the robberies or murders committed in the early years of the rebellion were excluded from the King’s Declaration; and so also were the Regicides—those who condemned the late King or

assisted at his execution ; and those also who opposed the restoration of the present King.¹²

In carrying out this Declaration, a certain fixed order was established.

Innocents, whether Protestant or Catholic, who had not obtained lands in Connaught, were first to be restored ; after these persons dispossessed to make way for such Innocents ; and lastly the claims of the Ensignmen were to be satisfied. Thirty-six Commissioners were appointed to examine individual claims, and a Court of Claims was opened in Dublin in March, 1661. But every member of the Court was himself in possession of forfeited lands, and before such a tribunal the dispossessed Catholics had little hope of justice. As well bring a lamb before a jury of wolves. The Commissioners, besides, had no legal training. They sat when it suited them ; and though the streets were filled with people of both sexes, clamouring to be heard, they did nothing ; and months after the court was opened only one widow was restored. The conduct of the Commissioners must have been indeed reprehensible, when the King declared that their partiality and corruption had discredited his Declaration, and when, in consequence, their Commission had to be cancelled and their court closed (April, 1662), just a year after it had first opened its doors.¹³

The venue was again changed to London, before the King and his Council, and the work of debate and discussion was resumed. But the contest was an unequal one ; the odds were too great against the Catholics, and it was easy to see on which side the victory would be. The Irish Parliament, which commenced its sittings in the preceding year, was elected by the adventurers and soldiers, who were still in possession of their lands, and who had exclusive possession of the towns and, therefore, had all the voting power. In the House of Commons there was but one Catholic representative. The members were planters themselves, and to watch over the planters' interests was to watch over their own. Nor were

¹² Carte, Vol. II., pp. 216-17 ; Mountmorris, *History of the Principal Transactions of the Irish Parliament from 1634 to 1666*, Vol. II., p. 90.

¹³ Prendergast's *Ireland from the Restoration to the Revolution*, pp. 16-17

they neglectful. They appointed agents to proceed to London, amongst whom were such able men as Sir William Petty and Sir William Temple.¹⁴ They spent more than £20,000 in bribing influential persons in England. They had friends on the Council where the Catholics had none; Clarendon was in their favour; so was Ormond, whom they attached to their interest still more by presenting him with an address of congratulation and by voting him a sum of £30,000.¹⁵ They insisted that the Catholics were rebels and traitors; that they were plotting a new rebellion, and, affecting to believe this, but really to make an impression in London, they had priests arrested, mechanics banished from the towns, and the houses of the gentry searched for arms. The Irish Parliament and their agents flattered the King; and the very men who had put his father to death and driven himself beyond the sea, thanked God that by their aid he had been victorious over Popish rebels; and that it was necessity only and zeal for the King's service that had compelled them to confiscate these rebels' lands.¹⁶ They reminded the King that it was they who first invited him home, yet with subtle flattery they made no demands; acknowledged that the King could do what he liked with them, and appealed rather to his mercy than to his justice. The Catholics, on the other hand, managed their case badly. They insisted that their services to the King should be remembered; told him he was bound in honour to abide by the peace of 1648, which provided for their restoration; and they called the Cromwellians rebels and traitors. These latter retorted that the Catholics were covered with the blood of those murdered in 1641; and they reminded the King that the chief agent of the Catholics in London was Sir N. Plunkett, who, in 1648, was sent by the Supreme Council of Kilkenny to Rome to offer Ireland to the Pope, or, failing him, to any other Catholic sovereign. Plunkett could not deny the charge, which, after all, ought to have been condoned by the peace of 1648. But Charles was angry, or pretended to be, and ordered that Plunkett should no longer be admitted to plead before the Council. His Majesty was one of those

¹⁴ Mountmorris, Vol. II., p. 103.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 118.

¹⁶ *Preamble to Act of Parliament*, 14-15 *Charles II.*

who wanted to proceed along the line of least resistance. He thought at first that there would be sufficient lands for all. Ormond knew better, and declared that if all included in the King's Declaration were to be satisfied, a new Ireland should be discovered. As time passed, the King found that Ormond's view was correct ; all could not be satisfied ; and as some must suffer it was the wish of the English Parliament and Council, and, therefore, more in accordance with his own interest, that it would be on the Catholics the loss should fall.¹⁷ All further discussion was ended. Those who had fought against the King were to be left the estates of those who had fought by his side and shared the hardships and perils of his exile. The Bill of Settlement was drawn up and transmitted to the Irish Parliament, which speedily passed it into law ; and five Commissioners were appointed to carry out its provisions, and set up a new Court of Claims in Dublin, before which those who claimed to be innocent were to appear.

Under this Act the position of the Catholics was even worse than it had been under the King's Declaration ; and the debates in London and the advocacy of Plunkett had done harm instead of good. Those who had abided by the peace of 1648, the " Article men," as they were called, were finally disowned ; and whoever took land in Connaught could look for nothing more. If he had not gone to Connaught, the Cromwellians would have hanged him ; if he went there and did not get lands he would have starved ; and now he was deemed guilty for having taken the lands, or at least treated as if he were.¹⁸ It was evidently the intention of the Act to favour the Protestants and make it difficult for a Catholic to get a favourable verdict, and, therefore, the bars to innocence in his case were many. Whoever joined the rebellion before the cessation of 1643 ; whoever, throughout the whole rebellion, had his residence in the rebels' quarters ; whoever joined the Confederacy before the peace of 1648 ; or sat in the Confederate Assembly, or in the Supreme Council, or derived powers from either body, or belonged to the Nuncio's

¹⁷ Carte, Vol. II., pp. 239-46 ; Lingard, Vol. IX., pp. 29-31.

¹⁸ Prendergast, p. 24.

party, or inherited property from those guilty of such crimes—all these were declared guilty.¹⁹ And this law was to be administered by five commissioners, English and Protestant, filled as they must have been with the prejudices against the Catholics, which, by the English Protestants of that day, were everywhere entertained.²⁰ It seemed no more difficult for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a Catholic to pass through this Court and emerge from it with the stamp of innocence. And yet, with few exceptions, those Catholics who did come before the Court of Claims obtained the verdict which they sought. At the first sessions, out of 45 cases tried, 38 were declared innocent, at the second 53 innocent and 7 nocent, and throughout the whole period during which the Court sat this proportion was maintained.²¹ It may have been that some were found innocent who in reality were guilty. Clarendon says that there were such forgeries and perjuries as were never heard of among Christians, but he adds that the English perjured themselves as often and as deeply as did the Irish, and Sir William Petty declared that of those decreed innocent not one in twenty was really so. But his own hands were far from clean. He had got vast tracts of land by very questionable means, and while condemning the Irish for their reckless swearing he was not ashamed to avow that he had witnesses himself who were prepared to swear through a three inch-board.²²

When Ormond came to Ireland, in the Summer of 1662, he found discontent everywhere, and the discontent was increased by the passage into law and administration of the Act of Settlement. The Catholics complained of the harsh treatment they had received, in not having their agent get a hearing in London and in not having any representation among the five Commissioners. The "'49 men" had not yet got their claims satisfied out of the lands for reprisals; and these lands, already small enough, were still further reduced by enormous grants made by the King to the Dukes of York and

¹⁹ Lecky's *History of Ireland*, Vol. I., pp. 109-10; Carte, Vol. II., pp. 220-1.

²⁰ Carte, II., p. 261.

²¹ Leland's *History of Ireland*, III., p. 430; Cox, p. 6. (*Reign of Charles II.*)

²² Lecky, p. 114; Carte, Vol. II., p. 393.

Ormond and Albemarle, and other noblemen.²³ The Presbyterians, who hated Episcopacy, murmured at the establishment of an Episcopal Church.²⁴ The sectaries in the army would have preferred a republican to a monarchical form of government, and were ready to revolt. But, most of all, the planters complained of the conduct of the Court of Claims. Where, they asked, was the land to reprise the dispossessed planters? and if the Court continued to declare Papists innocent in the same proportion as they had already done, the whole of the planters would be sent adrift and the Cromwellian Settlement would be undone.²⁵

The Irish Parliament wanted stricter rules to be put in force in the Court of Claims; they wanted that every idle tale, every lying story, which bigotry or malice or self-interest could invent against the Catholics, should be accepted as evidence. They spoke of defending their lands with their swords; and they ended by accusing the five Commissioners of high treason.²⁶ Ormond rebuked their heated language, and the King was angry, but it was in vain. The Parliament, indeed, moderated its rage; but the army was not so easily appeased, and a formidable conspiracy was organised (1663), extending through Munster, Ulster and Leinster. Timely information, however, was given to Ormond; the leaders in Ulster fled to Scotland; and those in Munster and Leinster, who were preparing to seize the castle of Dublin, were themselves taken and put to death.²⁷ It was necessary to have the vexed question of the land settled. Ormond went to London and brought the matter before the English Council, and after much debate an agreement was arrived at, and a new Act, the Act of Explanation, was prepared and passed in the Irish Parliament (1665). To augment the fund for reprisals, the planters were to surrender one-third of the lands they held in May, 1659; the purchasers of lands in Connaught one-third of what they held in May, 1663; and from this fund the claims of the " '49 men "

²³ Lingard, Vol. IX., p. 30

²⁴ Carte, p. 260.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 264 312.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 267-70.

and the innocent Catholics were to be met ; and in addition twenty more Catholic nominees were to be added to the 36 already named, and were to get their mansions and 2,000 acres of land.²⁸ But the Court of Claims, as constituted under the Act of Settlement, was closed. It had commenced in sittings in January, 1663, and was closed in the following August. It had declared 600 Catholics innocent, but there were more than 3,000 still unheard, and these, by the Act of Explanation, were refused even a hearing. "They were condemned," says Leland, "without the justice granted to the vilest criminals, that of a fair and equal trial."²⁹ The court which was opened under the Act of Explanation in January, 1666, was also composed of five Commissioners, and did not finish its work for years ; but it was a Court for English and Protestants, and the Act declared that if a question arose between a Catholic and a Protestant it was to the latter that favour was to be shown.³⁰

The fate of those Catholics whose cases remained untried was especially cruel. Many of them were noblemen, many of old descent and of English blood, who but ten years before had possessed broad acres and lordly castles, with the distinction and influence that came from wealth and ancient lineage. When the Court of Claims opened its doors they flocked to Dublin, claiming to be heard. Some of them had spent six years in wretched hovels in Connaught. Some had been in exile, like their King, and lived in the garrets and cellars of continental cities ; and here and there in the throng might be seen one who had earned distinction on foreign fields. His patched buff coat denoted his poverty, but his jack boots and military deportment indicated the soldier ; at his side was a Bilbao blade, and from his lips came the language of Castile.³¹ Ladies waited and watched and prayed to be heard ; their families in the country were in poverty and starvation, they themselves in the city were soon reduced to a similar condition ; mothers wept over their little ones ; widows and orphans, poor, forlorn, desolate and dejected, waited patiently for their turn. As the days passed, their spirits

²⁸ Carte, pp. 303-4.

²⁹ Leland, p. 440.

³⁰ Prendergast, pp. 34-5 ; Carte, pp. 303-4.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

drooped, their hopes faded, and finally hope gave way to despair.³² The Cromwellians only laughed at their sufferings, and in some cases a planter refused to allow back one with a certificate of innocence, in other cases the personal intervention of the King himself was unavailing.³³ Ormond said that the time for hearing these cases must be extended, no matter who complained, and Orrery piously exclaimed "God forbid that any should fail to get a hearing." But neither Ormond nor Orrery was sincere; and both were directly concerned in promoting and passing the Act of Explanation, which shut the doors of the Court of Claims against those who wished to be heard.

Of the Ensignmen some went to Ireland and were heard; others feared to go, lest they might on some pretext be deprived of their arms and thrown into prison. They besieged the doors of the Council Chamber at Whitehall, hoping that their services would be remembered, and that they would be restored to their old homes. Some ran into debt for food and clothes, some were thrown into prison for debt, others were starving and pawned their arms and their clothes. But when the Act of Explanation was passed, further waiting and hoping was useless, and not one of them ever got as much land in Ireland as would serve them for a grave.³⁴ The more ambitious and adventurous went back to the Continent and again took service in foreign armies. Of the others, many must have died in London, of want and hunger and disease, bowed down and finally crushed with that hope deferred which makes the heart grow sick. A remnant went to Ireland and swelled the number of the disappointed, and begging their bread from door to door, so ended their days.³⁵ Typical of many others must have been the case of Lord Castleconnell, who appealed to the Duke of Ormond for relief, and candidly told him he could not appear before him for want of clothes; and Lady Dunboyne was glad to get from the Duchess of Ormond, and purely as charity, a small farm on the slopes of Slievenamon. Before the rebellion of 1641, the Catholics,

³² Prendergast, pp. 34-6.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 48, 35.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 42-50.

at the lowest estimate, possessed more than two-thirds of the good land of Ireland; after the Act of Explanation, the figures were reversed, and the Protestants had at least two-thirds, while the estimate is put by many as high as four-fifths—a sweeping confiscation of property, especially when it is remembered that those whose lands were taken from them were denied even the justice of a trial.³⁶

In planting his native land with English Protestants Ormond was kept busy during these years, but in other directions also his energy was shown. In his first year of office he abolished the Court of Wards, and to make up for the revenue thereby lost he had a tax imposed on hearths and chimneys.³⁷ He put down another Puritan revolt, captured Carrickfergus, and executed some of the malcontents, and, dreading a French invasion, he put the army on a war footing and strengthened the sea ports in Munster.³⁸

He encouraged and materially aided the linen manufactures. He opposed the English Parliament when, in the interests of English agriculture, they prohibited the importation of Irish cattle into England. He convinced the King it was an injustice to Ireland; but the King was powerless, and the first act was followed by another (1651), prohibiting the importation of cattle, sheep and pigs, either alive or dead.³⁹ Left to himself, he would have troubled little with the Ulster Presbyterians; but the Irish Parliament or the Bishops were not disposed to be tolerant. Jeremy Taylor, the Bishop of Down, was especially severe, and a law was passed, in 1665, which required the revised English liturgy to be used, and insisted that every minister not ordained according to the form of Episcopal ordination was incapable of holding any ecclesiastical benefice, and every Nonconformist minister who celebrated the Lord's Supper was liable to a fine of £100. Wherever they had power, the Presbyterians were not tolerant of any other religion, but at least they were sincere in the profession of their own religion

³⁶ Lecky, p. 115; King's *State of the Protestants*, p. 182.

³⁷ Carte, p. 250.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 326-9.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 317-22, 343; Hely Hutchinson's *Commercial Restraints*, p. 55.

and clung to it, and, in consequence, they suffered much throughout Ulster. Preaching was stopped, conventicles were closed, and ministers were fined and imprisoned.⁴⁰

The Catholics suffered less, and in hope of greater favour being shown them, an old friend of Ormond, Father Peter Walsh, who had formerly opposed the Nuncio, now proposed that a declaration of loyalty be drawn up by the Irish Catholics. It was called the Remonstrance, and those who signed it, in protesting their loyalty to the King, renounced all foreign power, Papal or princely, spiritual or temporal, that would pretend to free them from their obligation of loyalty or that would licence them to bear arms against his Majesty. Walsh drew a clear distinction between the King's temporal and spiritual power, and vehemently denied that to subscribe to the Remonstrance was the same as to take the Oath of Supremacy; and he hoped that if the clergy could be brought together to hear his explanations, they would be induced to adopt his views. With the permission of Ormond such a meeting was held at Dublin, in 1666; but the opposition to the Remonstrance was overwhelming. Long before this the Inter-Nuncio wrote against it; the Augustinians and Jesuits were against it to a man; the Louvain faculty had declared that it contained things "repugnant to the sincere profession of the Catholic religion;" and in a country where there were several Bishops and 1,850 priests, Walsh could get only one Bishop and 68 priests to agree with him. The assembly at Dublin was dissolved after a short time, but not until much wrangling was indulged in and much heat and passion had been shown.⁴¹ This was just what Ormond wanted, for it was not for the good of the Catholics he allowed them to meet. It was, as he candidly confessed, to work divisions among them, to the great security of the Protestants and the Government, and to lessen the power of the Pope and his Nuncios.⁴²

But while he was thus plotting the ruin of the Catholics, others were plotting his own. The Duke of Buckingham was in high

⁴⁰ Latimer's *History of the Irish Presbyterians*, pp. 140-3.

⁴¹ Walsh, *History of the Remonstrance*, pp. 7, 9, 15-17, 24-5, 120-1, 637-742; Carte, p. 511; Leland, p. 460.

⁴² Carte, Appendix—*Letter to the Earl of Arran*.

favour with the King, and was Ormond's bitterest enemy, and he made many charges against him in the English Parliament. It is not likely that the King believed these charges ; but His Majesty was disposed to be more tolerant to the Catholics ; and, with Ormond in Ireland, this could not be done. Partly, perhaps, on this account and partly, it may be, through the arguments and entreaties of Buckingham, the Duke was summoned to London and was soon after dismissed from office.⁴³

Lord Roberts was appointed his successor, but his term of office was short and uneventful, and in the following year (1670) Lord Berkley was appointed. His instructions were to promote the interests of the Established Church and reform abuses within its pale ; to support Walsh and the Remonstrants ; to execute the laws against the Catholic hierarchy who had lately exercised jurisdiction.⁴⁴ It may be that these instructions were not meant to be acted on, or that Berkley received another and different set of secret instructions. Nor is this unlikely. The King's brother, the Duke of York, was a Catholic, and had enormous influence at Court ; the King himself was in secret league with the Catholic King of France, and was secretly inclined towards Catholicism ; and the Duke of York's greatest friend was Colonel Talbot, a Catholic himself, a member of an old Irish Catholic family, and brother of the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. Lord Berkley was an old friend of the Duke of York and had served with him abroad ;⁴⁵ and as he owed his Irish appointment to him, he was not likely to run counter to his views. Nor did he. Instead of prosecuting the Catholics, he allowed them to inhabit and trade in towns ; he endeavoured to introduce some of them into the Dublin Corporation ; he appointed others to the Commission of the Peace ; and he allowed the Catholic Bishops to perform their duties openly. In the eyes of English Protestants and Irish planters, all this was bad ; but, worse still, it was sought to tamper with the Act of Settlement. This was owing to Colonel Talbot, who induced the English Council to appoint a Commission to revise the whole settlement that had been made. The Duke of

⁴³ Carte, pp. 375-6.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 413 ; Cox, pp. 9-11 ; *Copy of Instructions*.

⁴⁵ *Memoirs of James II.*

Ormond was highly incensed at this turn of affairs, When he gave up office, he said, there were only two Catholic Bishops in Ireland, and these were bedridden; but now every province had its Catholic Bishop, the loyal were oppressed and the disloyal were in power.⁴⁶ The settlement of Ireland he viewed with complacency; it was a good work and it was largely his own, and in the English Council and elsewhere he protested against its being endangered or attacked. The discontent and unrest among the planters in Ireland gave point and force to his arguments. This discontent soon found expression in the English Parliament. The House of Commons demanded of the King in menacing tones (1673), that no Catholic should be admitted to the army nor to the bench, nor be allowed to inhabit in towns, still less be members of a corporation or mayors; that all Catholic schools and colleges and convents be suppressed; that all Bishops, especially the Archbishop of Dublin, be compelled to quit the kingdom; and that his brother be dismissed from all office, civil or military, and forbidden access to the Court.⁴⁷ Powerless to oppose, the King felt compelled to yield. The Catholics admitted to the Dublin Corporation were disallowed; there were to be no more Catholic Magistrates, and no more favour shown to Bishops; the settlement of Ireland was to stand; the Commission to review it was withdrawn; Protestant ascendancy was to be maintained; and visions of eviction and poverty no longer disturbed the planters' dreams.

Lord Berkley had been recalled in the previous year. His successor was the Earl of Essex, a strong Protestant, but no persecutor of the Catholics. His position was difficult, and his troubles and trials were many. Authorised by the King to allow Catholics to live in Corporate towns and to dispense them from the Oath of Supremacy, he proceeded to carry out these orders, but was met with such clamour and opposition that he was compelled to desist and to refuse dispensing some members of the Dublin Corporation. Dr. Loftus, a Master in Chancery, declared that he could not dispense without an Act of Parliament; Lord Orrery publicly protested against the indulgence shown to the Catholics;

⁴⁶ Carte, p. 418.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 438-9.

and the mayor of Galway refused to allow them to vote for members of the Corporation, saying it was the duty of all to join against them as the common enemy. As additional worry for Essex, there was counterfeit coin in circulation; there was great trouble with the revenue; and a Puritan officer, Walcot, endeavoured to stir up a revolt against "Popery and Prelacy." Heavy domestic affliction increased the Viceroy's trials. His wife was sick with fever (Oct., 1672), his daughter died in the following February, and his own health was so bad that, more than once, his life was in danger. A country torn by faction, in which the din of party warfare never ceased, was hard to govern. It was difficult to steer the ship of State over such an angry sea, and after nearly five years of worry and trouble and perplexing difficulties, he was glad to surrender the helm.⁴⁸

To the disgust of many, and the surprise of all, Ormond was again appointed Lord Lieutenant, and in 1677 arrived in Dublin and entered on his last term of office. As on a former occasion, his government, indeed the whole reign of Charles II., was much disturbed by Tories. The victories of Cromwell had sent thousands of the most energetic of the nation to foreign lands. The Restoration had brought many of them back, but the Act of Explanation had sent them again adrift; and those who did not go abroad remained at home to prey upon the planters and to disturb the public peace. Some of the dispossessed begged from door to door, and with the tattered title-deeds of their former estates in their pockets, excited the sympathy of their fellow-countrymen, and obtained that relief which the Irish have never been slow to give. Others, more daring than these, swelled the ranks of the Tories, sometimes got assistance from their former tenants or from relatives who had saved a remnant of their property, or, failing this, they levied black-mail on the planters, which, like the Black-rents of a former period, and for the same purpose, were regularly paid. In Mayo and Leitrim Colonel Costello, a dispossessed landowner, kept that district disturbed until, in 1667, he was killed; the dispossessed Costigans in the Queen's County defied all the efforts of Lord

⁴⁸ Essex's *Letters*. (*Camden Society Publications*), pp. 18, 23-4, 101; Daniel's *Calendar of State Papers—Domestic Series*, Vols. XIII. and XIV.

Mountrath; there was a party of 100 in the neighbourhood of Leighlin Bridge; and Tories kept in terror the counties of Tipperary, Waterford, Cork and Kerry. 49

But in Ulster their numbers were greatest. It was the province which had suffered most from the plantations, and, therefore, contained the greatest proportion of the dispossessed. 50 The most noted of its Tory leaders was Redmond O'Hanlon, whose exploits were talked of at every fireside and whose fame reached even to France. He dwelt chiefly in the Fews mountains; hid in woods and caves; and for ten years kept the counties of Armagh and Tyrone in subjection and fear; issued passes; exacted vengeance when his friends were molested; and it was woe to those who endeavoured to betray him. At last (in 1681) he met his doom. The plans were laid by Ormond, in conjunction with Redmond's cousin, Art O'Hanlon, a Tory himself; and for the sum of £100 Art shot his kinsman dead, while he lay asleep and unsuspecting in an empty cabin. The outlaw's death was regretted by the people, who regarded him as the avenger of their wrongs. His memory is still fresh in Ulster; every cave is pointed out as Redmond O'Hanlon's parlour, or his stable, or his bed; and in a small ancient graveyard in Tanderagee, the peasants point out among the green mounds Redmond O'Hanlon's grave. 51 The first Earl of Orrery had once declared that, when he considered the memory of wrong which the Irish so tenaciously cherished, he feared that Ireland would be always disturbed; and it seemed as if his prophecy would come true, for long after Ormond's last term of office, the Tories disturbed the public peace and were a menace to the planters in their midst. 52

Ormond loved the Catholics as little as he loved the Tories, and declared (1680), that he would rather be rid of Popish priests than of the gout. 53 But he was a courtier, and he knew the feelings of Charles II. and the religion of the Duke of York, and, whatever his own desires were, he desisted from any fresh persecu-

⁴⁹ Prendergast, pp. 68, 73-4, 84-90, 95.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-25.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁵³ Cox, p. 16.

tions. But his hands were forced. There seemed to be a morbid dread in England that Protestantism was in danger. The King's wife and mother were Catholics, and so also was his brother, the next heir to the throne. It was thought that the religion of the State might be subverted and that of the hated Papists might take its place ; and to prevent this happening a strong party was formed in Parliament. After the year 1673, their leader was the Earl of Shaftesbury. He was long the favourite of the King, and supported all his arbitrary measures, but he fell into disfavour and thenceforth became the bitterest enemy of the King, but still more of the Catholics, and especially of the Duke of York. Able, energetic, astute, without scruple, or shame, or sense of justice, and moved only by rage and disappointed ambition, he sought to inflame the public mind, both in Parliament and outside, so as to humiliate and degrade the Duke, and exclude him from the throne ; and he sought to inflict fresh and crueller sufferings on the already afflicted Catholics. And to accomplish his ends, he stopped at nothing and rejected no assistance, however base.⁵⁴ By the Test Act (1673) which rendered Catholics incapable of holding civil or military office, the Duke of York was deprived of his position of Lord High Admiral, and in the next year his daughter Mary was taken from him to be brought up a Protestant. It was sought to exclude him from the succession by Act of Parliament ; the King had to remove him from the Privy Council ; he was even compelled to leave England, and resided for a time abroad. And to justify these proceedings a lying tale was concocted by two men of the worst character—Oates and Bedloe—who declared that the King was to be murdered and the Duke of York to succeed him ; that Catholicism was to be established and all civil and military offices filled by persons of that creed ; and that already the Pope had nominated Peter Talbot to be Lord Chancellor of Ireland and his brother Dick to be Commander-in-Chief. That a nation with a strong sense of justice and fair play should believe such stories from men of ill-repute, is indeed remarkable, but nevertheless it is true. These stories were greedily swallowed and apparently believed ; the popular reason seemed to be dethroned, and to have given place

⁵⁴ Clarke's *Life of James II.*, Vol. I., pp. 488-9, 688-9.

to madness, and the Catholics were pursued with fury. They were hooted, hissed, insulted, mobbed; the prisons were filled with them; every idle tale was believed; the grossest perjury was admitted and acted on in the courts of justice; and after trials which, in every sense, were a disgrace to England, large numbers were sent to the scaffold. ⁵⁵

Nor was Ireland forgotten. Ormond issued orders (1678), that all priests should quit the country and all convents and churches should be closed. Catholics were turned out of Galway, Limerick, Waterford, Kilkenny, Clonmel and Drogheda, and rewards were offered for information in the case of officers and soldiers who went to Mass. Special instructions were sent from England to have Colonel Talbot and his brother Peter arrested, as being guilty of conspiracy, and so also, it was said, were Lord Mountgarret and Colonel Peppard. But Ormond found that there was no such man as Colonel Peppard, and Mountgarret was old and bedridden and unable to be removed. Against Colonel Talbot there was no evidence, and he was set free, but his brother Peter, for no reason except that he was a Bishop, was detained, and being already in poor health, soon died from the hardships of his imprisonment. ⁵⁶

Fanaticism was still unappeased, and, in the last days of 1679, Oliver Plunkett, the Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, was arrested and lodged a prisoner in Dublin Castle. His stainless character, his blameless life, his zeal for religion, his efforts to promote virtue and correct abuses were well known. He had been the friend of two successive Viceroys, Lords Berkley and Essex; ⁵⁷ even Ormond esteemed him and never believed him guilty of any crime; he belonged to the old English, and was nearly related to Lords Louth and Dunsany, Roscommon and Fingal. He had these noblemen's attachment to England and to the reigning King. That he had preached and taught his people; that he had laboured for their spiritual good in want and hunger, and poverty and cold, in the woods and on the hills; that he had

⁵⁵ Lingard, Vol. ix., pp. 181-5.

⁵⁶ Carte, pp. 478-80.

⁵⁷ "He was one of the best men of his persuasion I have met with." (Essex's *Letters*, p. 126.)

held synods and had salutary decrees enacted ; that he had inculcated temperance, and punished priests who were faithless to their calling — all this was true. But in no other respect was he guilty ; and in such esteem was he held, that to the schools he set up many of the Protestants sent their children. Innocence, however, furnished him with no shield against injustice, and three of the clergy whom he had punished for their loose and disordered lives were found ready to accuse him. They swore he had agents abroad ; that he had visited all the ports and forts of the kingdom ; that he had invited over the French to dethrone the King and set up Catholicity ; and that he had organised an army at home of 70,000. These charges were too grotesque to be believed, and before an exclusively Protestant jury at Dundalk (in July, 1680) no credence was given to the witnesses, who were known to be drunkards and even Tories ; indeed it was felt that it was they and not Plunkett who should be in the dock.⁵⁸ Shaftesbury and his party, however, were determined to have blood, and Plunkett was brought to London, and tried before a court of partisan judges, in the Summer of 1681. Time was not given for his witnesses to arrive from Ireland ; the perjuries of the witnesses discredited at Dundalk were accepted as facts ; the accused was condemned, and on the 11th of July he was executed at Tyburn.⁵⁹

In a long series of judicial murders this was the worst, and happily it was also the last. The full tide began to ebb, the storm to moderate its fury ; the English people recovered the reason they had lost and turned their anger against Shaftesbury and his accomplices, all of whom ended badly, and some of whom died on the scaffold. In Ireland there was a corresponding calm. Ormond, indeed, was still the same. He left the Catholics unmolested, but his distrust of them remained. It was well known by the King and the Duke of York that he would be unwilling to confer on them any large measure of liberty, that contemptuous toleration of them was all that could be expected from him ; and Charles, wishing, apparently, to go further than this, and desiring a more pliant instrument to

⁵⁸ Moran's *Life of Oliver Plunkett*, pp. 297-306

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

carry out his views, dismissed him from office, in the last days of 1684, and appointed the Earl of Rochester in his place. In his letters to the King and the Duke the old courtier gracefully submitted and even gratefully recalled the favours of the past ; but secretly he was chagrined ; wondered whether it was his age, his sloth, or his aversion to the Catholics that formed the grounds of his dismissal ; lamented that his past services were so easily forgotten ; and bade his son remember that Kings have no better memories than other men. Within little more than a month, and before Rochester had yet come to Ireland, or Ormond quitted it, the King died, and the Duke of York ascended the throne, and with his accession momentous events were at hand.



CHAPTER XXI.

The Reign of James II.

IN the reign of Charles II. his brother James filled the office of Lord High Admiral, and in the naval battles against the Dutch he greatly distinguished himself.¹ For years Charles had been a Catholic at heart, though only on his death-bed did he avow it; but James boldly proclaimed his Catholicity, and for many years suffered much in consequence; and had Charles died some years earlier, it is certain that his brother would, on account of his religion, have been excluded from the throne. But in 1685 Shaftesbury's party was discredited, and in a Protestant country, fiercely and aggressively Protestant, no opposition was given to the accession of a Catholic monarch.² Such opposition would have brought on civil war; there were many who remembered the civil war between the Parliament and the King; and they did not want the horrors of that time repeated. And yet, if the accession of James implied that England should become Catholic and be ruled by a long line of Catholic sovereigns, the evils named, and even greater, the English were ready to face. For the nation was strongly Protestant, and as yet was reluctant even to tolerate any form of religion except Protestantism. But the established religion seemed in little danger from James. His second wife was childless, and the hope of having an heir to the throne was

¹ Pepy's and Evelyn's *Diaries*; Clarke's *James II.*, Vol. I., pp. 407-13.

² Burnet's *History of his own Time*, Vol. II., pp. 240-1.

already abandoned. His children by a former marriage were Protestants, and after his death the next sovereign would be a Protestant. To still further allay the apprehensions of the people, James declared at his first Council that he would govern according to the laws of England, and, knowing the Church of England to be loyal, he would support and defend it.³ This declaration was welcomed with gratitude. The Protestants felt they had nothing to fear from the new king, who was not a man to conceal his opinions or break his word;⁴ and when the Duke of Monmouth landed in England as the organizer of a Protestant revolt, the more sober and thoughtful held aloof from him, and among these his death excited no compassion. The number of addresses which were presented to James at his coronation were not, indeed, so many testimonials to his popularity, for he was not popular; they were expressions of loyalty to his office, and showed that from the most influential and representative bodies of men in the kingdom even a Catholic King had nothing to fear. His position was strengthened when a new Parliament was elected, with which he declared himself well satisfied.⁵ Finally, the crushing of Monmouth's rebellion awed the turbulent and discontented, and made his position quite secure. If at this period of strength and success, he had tried to obtain some justice and liberty for his co-religionists, and had acted with caution, care, and patience, he could have done much. But he should keep the promises he made at his accession; he should interfere but little with Protestant privileges and not at all with Protestant rights; he should respect even the penal laws, though he might seek to have them repealed; and he might, in some cases of glaring injustice and striking personal merit, exercise his prerogative of mercy. Had he acted thus, there is little reason to doubt the justice of Macaulay's views, that in a short time a change would have been effected in public opinion, and the "sect so long detested by the nation would have been admitted to office and to Parliament."⁶

³ Macaulay's *History of England* (Popular Edition), Vol. I., p. 216.

⁴ *The Adventures of James II.*, p. 136.

⁵ Macaulay, pp. 233-5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

But James was not a man to hasten slowly, or march with measured tread: and though the Pope counselled him to be moderate and act within the constitution,⁷ the advice was disregarded; and the over-zealous and imperious monarch, by outraging the convictions of his subjects, and breaking his promises, hurried forward rapidly to destruction. To have Mass said publicly at his palace offended the susceptibilities of a Protestant people to whom the Mass was an abomination; their murmurings grew louder when the King commanded the attendance at Mass of the great officers of State.⁸ But he soon went beyond this. In spite of the Test Act he appointed Catholics commissioned officers in the army; he appointed others to high civil offices and to the Privy Council; he sent an accredited ambassador to the Pope, and had accredited to his own court a Papal Nuncio; he compelled the authorities at Cambridge University to admit Catholics to degrees; and at Oxford he appointed in one College a Catholic dean and in another a Catholic president.⁹ He published a declaration of Indulgence suspending the penal statutes against Catholics and Protestant Dissenters, abrogated all religious tests as a qualification for office, and haughtily told the Parliament that he would continue to do so, for he plainly considered himself above Parliament, and above the law. In corporations where his views were condemned he had the corporate charters withdrawn, and the alderman and officers dismissed; and throughout the various counties the same fate awaited recalcitrant sheriffs and returning officers.¹⁰ He ordered his declaration of Indulgence to be read from all Protestant pulpits; and when seven of the bishops declared it to be illegal, and refused to read it, he had them brought before the King's Bench for seditious libel (1688). But the law as well as public opinion was on the bishop's side, and when they were acquitted all London rejoiced.¹¹

⁷ *Adventures of James II.*—Gasquet's *Introduction*.

⁸ Macaulay, Vol. I, pp. 230-1.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 466-71.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 493; Clarke, Vol. II., pp. 80-1; Somer's *Tracts*, Vol. II., pp. 106-7.

¹¹ Clarke, Vol. II., pp. 162-4; Burnet's *History of his own Times*, Vol. II., pp. 371-5.

At last the patience of the people was exhausted. The King had offended every class. The friends of Monmouth remembered how his followers had been hunted down; those who loved justice were disgusted at the sight of a drunken savage like Jeffreys raised to the position of Lord Chancellor; the corporate towns resented the withdrawal of their charters; the voters throughout the country the undue interference with Parliamentary elections. The bigots were annoyed at the toleration extended to Catholics, still more at the favour shown them. The treatment of the Universities and the prosecution of the bishops showed the Established Church how insincere were the King's promises. The Parliament felt that there was no place for it in the constitution, for of what use was it to enact laws if these laws could be dispensed with by an arbitrary monarch. But a short time had elapsed since Louis XIV. had revoked the Edict of Nantes and driven thousands of Protestants from France, whose only crime was their faith.¹² England was Protestant, but of late there were many conversions to Catholicity; some were from pious motives, no doubt, but many because they felt this to be the surest road to royal favour; and if this process of depletion went on might not England cease to be Protestant altogether. James did not approve of the severities of Louis XIV., but he was a strong Catholic; and the worst was that the reign of a Catholic king was not to end with his life, for his wife, in the Summer of 1688, gave birth to a son. In these circumstances the powerful elements of discontent in England coalesced; secret negotiations were opened with James's son-in-law, William of Orange, who was invited to England to defend the Protestant religion and the liberties of the people. In the end of 1688 he came with a large army; and James, deserted by his dearest friends, had not the courage to fight for his crown, and was soon a fugitive and an exile.¹³

These troubles in England had not their counterpart in Ireland, but Ireland was certainly not at rest. After the death of Charles, the Earl of Rochester became Lord Treasurer of England, and his brother, the Earl of Clarendon, became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,

¹² Michelet, *Histoire de France*, Vol. XIII., pp. 301-15, 337-42.

¹³ Macaulay. Chapters 4-10.

and landed at Dublin in the following January. Among the colonists he found widespread unrest. In the hearts of these Cromwellian planters the fierce Puritan intolerance still burned. They looked with terror to the reign of a Catholic King. They knew they held their lands by no other tenure than spoliation, and though it was confirmed and legalised by Parliament, it was spoliation still. The despoiled proprietors or their children still lived; and, regarding the settlers as intruders and plunderers, wistfully gazed on their lost fields, and hoped, perhaps, that a Catholic king would right the wrong that had been done them. He might not be able to repeal the Act of Settlement, but he might try, and even in this there was danger, and so the Cromwellians were agitated and alarmed, not from what they suffered, but from what they feared.

Clarendon's instructions from the King were that the Act of Settlement was to be maintained, but some means should be devised for rewarding some of the natives who had rendered great service to the Crown, and yet were dispossessed of their estates; Catholics were to be free to practise their religion without hindrance and were to be appointed to all offices, equally with Protestants; and finally, some individuals in the army who professed dangerous principles, principles savouring of republicanism and subversive of monarchy, were to be removed from the positions they held.¹⁴ With strong Protestant convictions, Clarendon was little disposed to be tolerant to the Irish Catholics. But his orders were imperative, and he was ready to carry them out, no matter how distasteful; for he was above all things a courtier, pliant, timid, submissive, careful to study the wishes and earn the applause of the imperious monarch.¹⁵ Three Catholics were raised to the bench; others were made magistrates, sheriffs and privy councillors; and the revenues of two vacant Protestant sees were appropriated for distribution among the Catholic bishops.¹⁶ Colonel Richard Talbot was given command of the army; and though his commission was given him by the Viceroy, in reality

¹⁴ Lingard, Vol. x., pp. 117-18.

¹⁵ *Clarendon Correspondence*, Vol. I., pp. 283, 321.

¹⁶ Lingard, p. 118.

he was independent of him. He was a prime favourite of the king, to whom he was devotedly attached, and by whom he was now created Earl of Tyrconnell. He had seen the capture of Drogheda by Cromwell, when a boy. Since that day he hated the Puritans; and the treatment himself and his brother received in the reign of Charles II. had intensified that hate. But he was the champion and the darling of the Catholics; and now that he was invested with the control of the army he proceeded to reform it according to his own ideas; and on the pretence that officers favoured revolutionary principles large numbers were cashiered, and so also were large numbers of the rank and file. In this way, 300 officers and 6,000 soldiers were dismissed, the vacant places being filled by Catholics.¹⁷ Such sweeping changes were doubly distasteful to Clarendon, because they had been carried out by Tyrconnell.¹⁸ Indeed it was this last circumstance which irritated him most, for he was himself willing to dismiss Protestants and put Catholics in their places, but objected that Tyrconnell should have such power, and could exercise it without consulting himself.¹⁹ Clarendon's humiliation went further in a short time. His brother Rochester was dismissed from office in England, and himself was deprived of the Viceroyalty; and such was the influence of Tyrconnell that he was appointed to the latter position.²⁰

These changes filled the Irish Protestants with alarm. While Clarendon was in office they had some confidence that injustice would not be done them; but with Tyrconnell, a declared enemy, in power, they must have felt that their final ruin was near. The new Viceroy proceeded to justify their worst fears, and commenced to reform the civil government with the same thoroughness as he had already reformed the army. Once more Mass was publicly said throughout Ireland, and religious went abroad in their habits; a Catholic was for the first time appointed Provost of

¹ *Clarendon Correspondence*, Vol. I., pp. 494-5; *Somers' Tracts*, Vol. II., pp. 416-17; Burnet, Vol. II., pp. 304-5.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 291.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 276. "Methinks," he says, "the Lord Lieutenant should not be the last man who is to know these things."

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 134, 143-4.

Trinity College; Catholic magistrates and sheriffs were appointed; and of the few non-Catholics promoted to these positions the greater part were Quakers, who had hitherto experienced harsh treatment from the Protestants and Puritans, and who were naturally embittered by the recollection of what they had suffered. The Protestant Primate, Boyle, was dismissed from the Chancellorship, and the place given to Fitton, a convert from Protestantism.²¹ Nagle, who had written anonymously "A Letter from Coventry," demanding the repeal of the Act of Settlement, and who was well known to be the author of the letter in question, was made Attorney-General; and of the nine judges who constituted the courts of King's Bench and Exchequer, and amongst whom in the last reign not a single Catholic was to be found, only three Protestants were left by Tyrconnell.²² Before these courts the various corporations were accused of having violated the terms of their charters; and in the new charters given them a proviso was inserted that at least two-thirds of the freemen should be Catholics, a proviso insisted on even in Derry, where the majority of the inhabitants were Protestants.²³ Worse still was the attack on the Act of Settlement. It was well-known that Tyrconnell viewed it with disfavour and would repeal it if he could, and it was ominous that Nagle, who had assailed it, should be appointed to high office.²⁴ A little later two of the new Catholic judges—Rice and Nugent—were sent to London in the hope of inducing the King and the English Council to have the obnoxious Act repealed; but their reception was bad and their mission a failure. The London mob pursued them through the streets with insults, carrying long sticks, on the top of which potatoes were fastened; and they mockingly cried aloud to make way for the Irish ambassadors. Nor did the Irishmen convince the Council; though the King was at first disposed to be convinced, his views changed; and

²¹ *Studies in Irish History and Biography*, pp. 145-7.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 195; *Clarendon Correspondence* Vol. I., p. 296. Clarendon did not object to them as Catholics, but because they were not English. *Jacobite Narrative*, pp. 192-7.

²³ Clarke, Vol. II., pp. 96-8; King's *State of the Protestants*, pp. 100-4.

²⁴ King, pp. 184-5.

Nugent and Rice had to report in Ireland the failure of their mission, and the insults offered to their persons.²⁵

What were the Irish Protestants to do? Compared to the Catholics they were few in number; but the greater part of the lands and wealth, and all the sources of influence and power in the country, had been in their hands, the Parliament, the Established Church, the University, the courts of justice, the magistracy, the corporations. They had filled every position, from the Viceroy to the messenger who carried his letters, from the Lord Chancellor to the crier in his court, from the judges to the sheriff's officers who executed his decrees. It was thus they had been able to hold their own, and even to assert a predominance. The tables were now turned, the positions reversed; the Catholics, so long shut out from the avenues of influence and wealth, were at last admitted to all. The Protestant had no longer the army exclusively of his own religion and sympathies; the Viceroy was not his friend but his enemy; and when a Protestant officer named Ashton murdered a Catholic gentleman, he was promptly taken prisoner and accused in a court of justice, and being found guilty was hanged.²⁶ It does not appear that the Catholics as a body misused the power with which they were thus suddenly invested; but the instances are rare in which men will altogether forgive those who have oppressed them; and it is not reasonable to expect that some of the Catholics did not retaliate upon the Protestants some of the injuries they had received. Nor was this all. There was general unrest and insecurity; rumours that the Protestants were to be massacred; that the Catholics were to be the victims; business was dislocated, industry at a standstill; terror was everywhere: and, fearing that their lives as well as their properties would be sacrificed, large bodies of Protestants fled to England.²⁷

As the King was distrustful of the English army, Tyrconnell sent to England, in the Summer of 1688, 3,000 Irish soldiers; and a rumour was circulated in London, and to some extent believed,

²⁵ Macaulay, Vol. I., pp. 538-9.

²⁶ King, p. 69: *Clarendon Correspondence*, Vol. I., 396-7. King more than suggests that Ashton was done to death, but Clarendon believed him guilty.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

that these Irish were massacring the Protestants, and this roused the passions of the English to madness. With a similar object an anonymous letter was sent, dated 3rd December, 1688, to Lord Mount-Alexander of Ulster, warning him that the Irish Catholics had sworn to repeat the massacre of 1641, and that on the 9th of December following they were to fall upon the Protestants everywhere, the intention being to kill man, woman, and child, and spare none. Whoever killed a leading Protestant was to have a captain's commission. and, being a leader, Mount-Alexander was specially warned not to stir out either night or day without a guard. He was desired to give a similar warning to the leading Protestants within his reach.²⁸ This spark set the smouldering embers of Protestant discontent aflame, and everywhere they rushed to arms. Where there was a strong castle they flocked to it for shelter; and at Kenmare, Charleville, Mallow, Bandon, and Sligo, centres of resistance and rebellion were formed. But in Ulster the Protestants were strongest; and the Protestant Militia, who were supposed to have been disarmed by Tyrconnell, took care in most cases to retain their arms. Enniskillen closed its gates, after admitting the Protestants around, and expelled the Catholics. The place was then put in a state of defence; a little army of 200 foot and 150 horse was formed; swords and pikes being scarce, smiths were employed to fasten scythes on poles; and when Tyrconnell sent two companies of soldiers north to reduce the town and make it their headquarters, the Enniskillen men, without waiting to be attacked, sallied forth and defeated the Viceroy's troops.²⁹ A similar spirit of defiance was shown in Derry. The vast majority of the inhabitants were either Presbyterians or Protestants; the Catholics were few; and though the non-Catholics differed in many things, in hatred of Catholicity they were at one.

The place was garrisoned by Lord Mountjoy's regiment, and as Mountjoy himself and good part of his officers and men were Protestants, they did not excite the hostility of the citizens. But in the end of November the garrison was recalled to Dublin, and

²⁸ King, p. 414.

²⁹ Macaulay, Vol. I., p. 724.

a regiment lately formed by Lord Antrim was ordered from Coleraine to Derry. Antrim and his troops were Catholics; the fervid bigotry of the Derrymen took alarm; and when Antrim's force presented themselves at the city gates they were denied admission. The Protestant bishop and the more law-abiding among the people counselled moderation and loyalty; but the advice was spurned as that of cowardice; and Antrim's troops, after waiting at the gates for some time, were compelled to recross the Foyle and return to Coleraine. These events happened on the 7th of December, and the following day the Catholics were expelled from Derry. The magazines were then broken into; arms and amunition were taken out, a town guard was formed, and the Derry men sent one of their number, Mr. Cairns, to London to ask for aid.³⁰ At the same time they wrote to Dublin to Mountjoy, apologising for what they had done; threw all the blame on the young men of the city; and wanted Mountjoy to put their conduct in a favourable light before Tyrconnell.³¹ Their real aim was to gain time until the expected succour came from England, and then they hoped to bid him defiance. If the Viceroy were to maintain even the semblance of a government these Derrymen must be reduced to obedience. But to use force might be inadvisable; it was thought better to try what conciliation, backed up by force, could do; and Mountjoy was again sent North with six companies of his regiment. After negotiation, two of the companies, all Protestants, were admitted into Derry; the remaining four companies, which included some Catholics, were quartered at Strabane, Newtownstewart, and Raphoe.³² And the Derrymen insisted that the townsmen, who were already divided into eight companies, should be armed, and mount guard in turn, as well as the regular soldiers.³³ Early in January, Mountjoy was recalled to Dublin, but his troops remained, and his next in command, Colonel Lundy, became governor of the city.

³⁰ *Siege of Derry*—Mackenzie's *Narrative*, pp. 160-7, 256—(Letter dated 10th December.)

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 169.

³³ Walker's *Diary*.

For Tyrconnell the situation was perplexing. Before the new year dawned James II. had fled the kingdom for France, and William of Orange had entered London, and was proclaimed King in February. From the first the Irish Protestants were his ardent supporters, and the example of Enniskillen and Derry was widely followed throughout Ulster. The Presbyterian ministers sent him an address of welcome; the Protestant ministers hailed him as their champion; in the various counties associations were formed and forces raised to fight his battles. A central council was established at Hillsborough, where the commanders concerted their plans, and during January and February attempts were made to capture Belfast, Lisburn, Carrickfergus and Newry.³⁴ They protested they were only acting on the defensive; that they did not wish "to invade the lives, liberties, or estates" of any of their fellow-subjects, not even of the Catholics, as long as they demeaned themselves peaceably.³⁵ It was no doubt true that much of their property had been damaged by some of the Catholic levies, recently raised and little under control; but it was also true that what the Protestants wanted was the triumph of Protestantism; and that the fight was for privilege and domination rather than for equality. And William III. in his first proclamation, while he was ready to pardon all Irishmen who laid down their arms before the 10th of April, would not grant to the Catholics more than the private exercise of their religion.³⁶ Some Catholics, however, were ready to accept these terms, seeing, perhaps, the futility of further resistance; the troops sent to England for James did so, as did their general, Richard Hamilton. He even promised William, to his Majesty's great satisfaction, that he would go to Ireland and win over Tyrconnell.³⁷ From his subsequent conduct it does not appear that Hamilton was sincere in making this promise, nor is it likely he could have brought over Tyrconnell if he tried. With the triumph of James the Catholics expected the repeal of the Act of Settlement, the restoration of their churches

³⁴ Mackenzie, pp. 173-9.

³⁵ *Siege of Derry*, pp. 259-63.

³⁶ Hardy's *Calendar of State Papers*, p. 6.

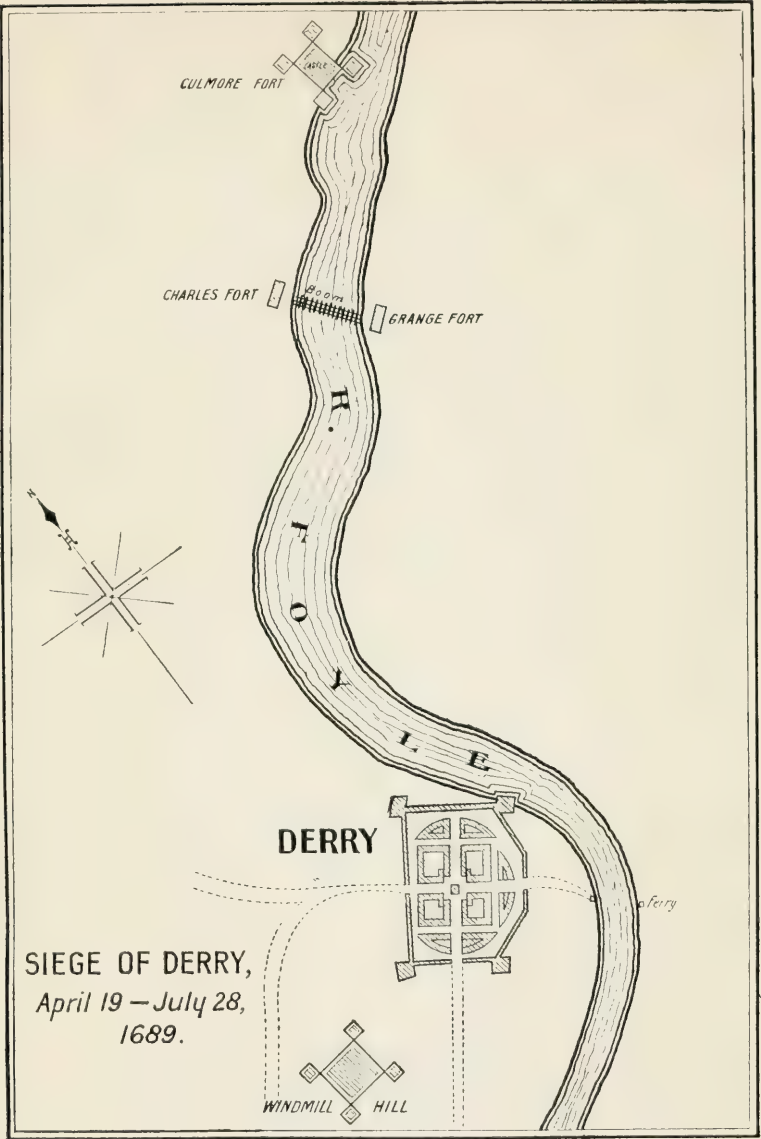
³⁷ Burnet, Vol. II., pp. 447-8.

and church lands, the opening to them of all civil and military offices; Tyrconnell indulged these hopes and shared them; and if he now deserted to King William, his co-religionists would have vehemently denounced him as a traitor to his faith and to his King. And so he stood firm by King James; Hamilton, forgetful of the promise he made to William, joined Tyrconnell; and the war was commenced between the Williamites, or followers of King William, and the Jacobites, or followers of King James.

Nor was the contest so uneven, if there had been a capable leader on the Jacobite side. William was not personally popular in England, in Scotland, the Highland's were in arms; France would certainly aid James, and France was then the greatest military power in Europe, and for the first time was equal to England on the sea. Outside of Ulster, Ireland was Jacobite, and Tyrconnell had enrolled an army of near 50,000 men. Courage they did not want; but they had no experience in war, and little skill in the use of arms. Except a few, who had seen foreign service, the officers were mostly country gentlemen; the inferior officers, artisans from the towns; the rank and file were peasants, perhaps Tories, who had some little experience in arms. They were the raw material of good soldiers, but it would take some time and care, and the teaching of experienced officers, to make them efficient.³⁸

Tyrconnell's first care was for Ulster, and in March, Hamilton was sent north against the levies lately raised by the associated counties, whom he defeated at Dromore. By the end of the month all Down and Antrim were in the hands of the Jacobites. Of the enemy some got protection from Hamilton; others fled in terror to the seaports, and took shipping for England; a good number took refuge in Coleraine. Thither they were pursued, and Coleraine was abandoned, as was Dungannon and Omagh; and from all quarters the Protestants fled to Derry as to a city of refuge. In April, Hamilton with his army had reached the banks of the Finn. At Claudy Bridge and Lifford the passage was disputed, but the Williamites were driven back and fled to Derry, and two days later

³⁸ *Studies in Irish History*, p. 188—(Notes.)



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the Catholic army was before the walls.³⁹ At their head was King James himself. He had arrived from France in March, bringing some French officers with him, and now hastened to Derry, thinking that he had but to show himself and this stubborn city would submit. And it would, if the advice of Lundy had been taken. In answer to repeated requests, two regiments had been sent from England to the relief of the city, and arrived in the Foyle on the 15th of April. The whole force was under the command of Colonel Cunningham, who was directed to obey the orders of Lundy, and the latter, calling together a council of officers, strongly advised that terms be made with King James. If Cunningham's two regiments were landed the provisions in the city would not last more than ten days; the city defences were weak, and could not hold out against a strong force. Negotiations were then opened with King James, but they were kept secret. Gradually, however, the secret leaked out. Some members of Lundy's military council were opposed to his views; Captain Murray, who had come in from Culmore, denounced them as the views of treachery and dishonour, and Murray was supported by the populace and by the rank and file of the army; and when King James appeared before the walls, expecting a favourable reception, the guns from one of the bastions were turned on him, and one of his officers was struck dead by his side. Finding his advice rejected and even his person in danger, Lundy escaped, disguised as a porter, and Colonel Cunningham, taking with him his two regiments and some officers who shared Lundy's views, sailed down the Foyle and returned to London. James also returned to Dublin, leaving a French officer, General Maumont, in supreme command of the besieging army. And thus began, on the 19th of April, a siege memorable in history.⁴⁰

The ancient name of Londonderry was Derry Galgach, which signifies the oak wood of the fierce warrior. In Christian times, from its connexion with Columbkille, it was often called Derry-Columbkille; and until the English settled there under Dowcra, its importance had been mainly ecclesiastical. In the confiscations which followed the flight of the Earls and the rebellion of O'Doherty, Derry

³⁹ *Siege of Derry*, pp. 180-5, 107, 209.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-11, 208.

and 7,000 acres adjoining was given to the Irish Society formed of London merchants; a charter was granted; the new owners surrounded it with a wall; and Derry, out of compliment to London, became known as Londonderry. But the old name still survives, and the city is given one name or the other according to caprice.⁴¹ It successfully repelled the attack of Sir Phelim O'Neill in the rebellion of 1641, and in 1649 was held by Coote for the Parliament, after which date, until 1688, its history is uneventful. Built on the left bank of the Foyle, on the eastern side of a hill which slopes upward from the river, its situation was picturesque. On the south and west were small hills, on the east and north was the river, which at that point was 43 feet in depth and more than 1,000 feet broad. A little below the city it widened in its course, then narrowed somewhat, and about four miles below Londonderry it emptied its waters into Lough Foyle. There were then no buildings on the east bank, nor did any bridge span the river, and the only communication between both banks was by ferry. So placed, on such a noble river, capable of carrying on its bosom the largest vessels, in easy communication with the open sea, it was advantageously situated for trade and commerce. But its capacity to stand a siege was not great. The adjacent hills were fatally convenient for an enemy's guns; and if he obtained command of the river he could cut off communication with the sea. The form of the city was an ellipse, its direction lengthwise being from north-west to south-east; the surrounding wall, a mile in circumference, was of stone, and in places 20 feet high; it was 8 feet thick, and was entered by four gates, Bishop's Gate in the south, Butcher's Gate on the west, Ship's Gate on the north, and on the east was New Gate; there were eight bastions, on which were placed 20 pieces of cannon. Outside, on the south and close to the walls, the besieged held a strong fort on Windmill Hill.

In the preceding month Captain Hamilton had brought from England 480 barrels of powder, and arms for 10,000 men; within the city were 7,500 officers and soldiers, aided by numbers of volunteerers, who did good service, and who swelled the number

⁴¹ *Siege of Derry*, pp. 307-27.

of armed defenders to 10,000 ; according to a Williamite authority, who was in the city and ought to know, the number was 12,000.⁴² Some of these were in the regular army, and were part of those sent from Dublin under Mountjoy ; many others must have belonged to the Militia disbanded by Tyrconnell ; all were non-Catholics, and, living in a province where religious and racial differences were strong, and where the habitual attitude was one of defiance, they had learned the use of arms, and had the confidence of a dominant caste. Since Lundy's escape, the forces were under eight colonels. The governor was Colonel Baker, a man of ability and resolution ; Colonel Murray, equally resolute, had charge of the cavalry ; while aiding Baker as assistant governor was the Rev. George Walker. When the city first closed its gates he was Rector of Donoghmore ; thence he made his way to Dungannon, where he organised a revolt ; and finally, he reached Derry. He was one of these militant parsons of the 17th century, the product rather of Puritanism than of Prelacy, energetic, zealous, intolerant, bigoted and brave. There were many other clergymen within the walls, Protestant and Presbyterian, and for once they agreed. The Protestant Cathedral was shared between them, its pulpit in turn occupied by them ; day after day the fiercest invectives were poured forth against Popery ; the duty of fighting was inculcated as a matter of religious obligation ; the fiery zeal of the preacher was communicated to the congregation ; and the soldier as he paced the walls or pointed the guns was confident that his work was the work of God.⁴³

Yet were the difficulties considerable. The garrison was largely untrained ; horses were few ; there were no engineers ; the guns were ill-mounted ; provisions were scarce ; and there was a constant stream of deserters to the enemy. A further difficulty was the number of non-combatants. In the beginning the whole population was 30,000 ; but during the siege 10,000 of these were allowed to leave, a foolish thing for the Jacobites to allow, as it prevented the earlier starving out of the besieged.⁴⁴

⁴² *Macarise Excidium*, pp. 320-1.

⁴³ Mackenzie, pp. 222-4.

⁴⁴ Walker's *Diary*, p. 111-14

If the Duke of Berwick is to be believed, the besieging army did not exceed 6,000; ⁴⁵ the highest estimate is 20,000; and perhaps there were times during the siege, before disease had played such havoc with them, when this number was reached. Maumont was in supreme command, with Pusignan and Hamilton next. There were some mortars and cannons, but there were no heavy siege guns. The headquarters were fixed at St. Johnstown, five miles to the south, and in a few days a strong position was taken up at Pennyburn, to the north-west. On the 21st of April this position was assailed by the Williamites, but they were quickly driven in and hotly pursued by the enemy's cavalry, Colonel Murray narrowly escaping. The enemy pursued too far, and coming within range of the troops who lined the ditch, a murderous fire was opened on them, and Maumont and Pusignan, and 200 more were killed.⁴⁶ A week later another sally was made, though nothing decisive was done. But a more important action took place on the 6th of May. Under cover of darkness Brigadier-General Ramsey attacked the Windmill fort, drove in the outposts, seized the ditches and walls, and before morning dawned had a line of entrenchments from the river in the east to a bog west of the fort. To recapture this important post Baker and a strong force issued from the gates, on the morning of the 6th, and after a sharp, fierce struggle the Jacobites were driven from the positions they held. Ramsey and many officers were killed, and so were 200 of the rank and file; the victors also got some drums, colours, arms, and ammunition, and "good store of spades, shovels and pickaxes."⁴⁷ After this there was a lull. Both husbanded their resources, and during the whole month of May there was no more fighting, owing, says Walker, "to the enemy's want of courage and our want of horse."⁴⁸ But during the interval the besiegers crept nearer, and effectually surrounded the city. Their headquarters had been moved within two miles of the walls; the castle and fort of Culmore had been taken, and more forts erected there. Some

⁴⁵ Berwick's *Memoirs I.*, pp. 340-5.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 115, 220, 281-2, also Story's *Map*.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Diary*, p. 117.

mortars had been placed on the east side of the Foyle, and played with effect on the buildings in the city ; near Culmore a boom had been thrown across the river, protected at each side by a strong fort ; and the Frenchman who had designed it, wrote to his master, the King of France, assuring him that he intended to make another boom higher up the river, and then, what he desired was that the English would come, so that he should have the pleasure of defeating them.⁴⁹

On the 4th of June, the Jacobites made a determined effort to capture the entrenchments on Windmill Hill. The whole line was simultaneously attacked, the grenadiers on the left, in the centre the infantry, on the right three squadrons of cavalry, all under Colonel Butler, son of Lord Mountgarrett. From across the river the guns opened fire and disconcerted the defenders. Butler, urging his horse, topped the entrenchment and was followed by 30 others ; but their horses were shot under them, and Butler and some others were taken prisoners ; the remainder were killed. The centre attack also failed. The grenadiers did better, and for a time possessed themselves of the works, and were like to become masters of the fort itself. The defenders fled, but quickly rallied ; enthusiastic volunteers rushed to their assistance ; even the women mingled in the combat, and hurled stones at the assailants. Such magnificent valour was irresistible, and the grenadiers, driven from the positions they had captured, were pursued across the open with great slaughter. In the whole attack the Jacobites had lost 400, either killed or wounded, and Butler and six officers were taken prisoners.⁵⁰ To attack defences so resolutely manned seemed hopeless ; it was better wait for starvation to do its work ; and from that date the siege became a blockade. From across the river the mortars threw their bombs into the city, and caused alarm and suffering, tore up the streets, demolished buildings, killed some while sitting at dinner and others in bed, until at last the people dreaded to walk the streets or sleep in their houses, and slept out under the shelter of the city walls. A ship coming to the relief of the besieged on the 7th of June was unable to pass

⁴⁹ Hardy's *Calendar*, pp. 147-8.

⁵⁰ Walker's, Mackenzie's and Ashe's *Diaries*.

the fort at Culmore, and had to put back. On the 10th, General Kirke with 30 vessels reached Lough Foyle, with large stores of provisions, and a daring messenger brought the news to the city, bidding them be of good cheer. But the time wore on, and Kirke, fearing the guns at Culmore and the boom higher up, did not venture to leave Lough Foyle.

King James lost patience, and sent Marshal de Rosen, who had come with him from France, to take command. He arrived on the 24th of June; ordered up three mortar pieces to Windmill Hill, drew his lines within a few yards of Butcher's Gate, hoping to seize the outworks, or lay mines under the walls; and from his trenches a continuous fire was kept up. On the 27th, Hamilton offered the city terms: a free pardon, the free exercise of their religion, full possession of their goods, and compensation to those who had been robbed. De Rosen gave them until the 1st of July to accept. After that date, no further terms would be offered; he would reduce the place by force, and spare neither age nor sex; but before doing so he would drive all the Protestants for miles around to the city gates, to be admitted by their friends or to starve outside the walls.⁵¹ The temptation to close with the offer was strong, for the distress was great. Disease was playing terrible havoc among soldiers and citizens; cannon balls being all spent, they had to use balls of brick covered with lead; provisions were nearly exhausted; even the soldiers who had to fight were living on horseflesh, dogs, cats, rats, mice, tallow, and starch, and salted and dried hides. There seemed little hope of relief from Kirke, and to further dishearten them, Governor Baker died. Yet their resolution to hold out was unshaken; they bade de Rosen do his worst; and were resolved, says Walker, to eat the Irish and then one another rather than to surrender to anyone but King William.⁵²

De Rosen retorted by gathering the Protestants from all quarters within a radius of several miles, and on the 2nd of July drove them, men, women, and children, to the walls. But the besieged, in sight of the Jacobites, set up a gallows, and sent out a messenger

⁵¹ Mackenzie's *Diary*.

⁵² King, pp. 488-91; Clarke, Vol. II., p. 367.

to say that if the Protestants were not allowed to depart, all the prisoners in their hands would be executed. These persons appealed to Hamilton, and, perhaps through his intervention, the Protestants were allowed to go, after they had remained before the walls for 48 hours. Some of the strongest had been smuggled into the city, and 500 of those inside mingled with the crowd outside, and got away with them. James was so incensed with de Rosen that he recalled him, and Hamilton was again in chief command ; the gallows in the city was taken down ; and the dreary progress of the dreary siege was resumed.

The condition of the besieged grew worse, and on the 13th negotiations for surrender were opened. The Williamites would surrender on the 26th, if not relieved before that date, and then they were to march out with arms in their hands ; meanwhile hostilities were to cease. But Hamilton would not allow beyond the 15th, nor would he allow them to march out with arms, except the officers. After a council of war the besieged declared they would not surrender on these terms. While they were yet deliberating, a message came from Kirke that, being unable to come up the Foyle, he would go round by Lough Swilly and relieve them by land. Perhaps it was this message which emboldened them to continue their resistance. But Kirke did not keep his promise, and as the hot days of July passed their sufferings increased. Sometimes, indeed, they sallied from the walls, and sometimes they feebly repelled the assailants ; but what could starving men do but watch and hope ? The soldiers died rapidly ; death and mourning were in every house ; such was the dearth of provisions that weeds and herbs were eaten ; a mouse sold for sixpence, a rat for a shilling, a cat for four and sixpence, a quarter of a dog for five shillings ; horse flesh was a luxury ; tallow and hides were greedily consumed ; and a certain fat man in the city fancied he saw the soldiers eyeing him greedily, as if they meant to make a meal of him, and in consequence he hid himself for three days. The gaze of the famished multitude was ever eagerly turned down the Foyle ; from the summit of the Cathedral flags of distress were waved ; and as the soldiers paced the walls, or climbed to the highest point of the buildings, they wistfully looked to Kirke's

vessels, and prayed that he would at least make an attempt to save them.

At last, on the 28th of July, the attempt was made. At about 7 o'clock in the evening the watchers on the walls perceived three vessels approaching the fort of Culmore. They proved to be the Mountjoy of Derry, and the Phoenix of Coleraine, both laden with provisions, and escorted by the Dartmouth frigate. From the Culmore fort itself and from the new fort on the opposite side a terrible fire with cannon and small shot was opened on them ; but, wafted by a favouring breeze, they held on, and to the enemy's fire they spiritedly answered with their guns. After a time the boom was reached. The first vessel which struck it—the Mountjoy—recoiled and ran aground ; the enemy were exultant and redoubled their fire ; but the Mountjoy, answering them with a broadside, was again floated, and then advancing, crashed through the boom. Her captain was killed and so also were four others on board, and as the three vessels advanced, the fire upon them from the shore was continuous. But all three arrived safely at the quay just as the shades of night were falling ; and the famished multitude flocked to the waterside to welcome their deliverers. Three days later the besiegers decamped, and the siege of Derry was over, a siege in which little skill had been shown on either side, but great bravery, and on the side of the besieged, a stubborn tenacity, a patience, and a spirit of self-sacrifice which has been rarely equalled in war.⁵³

The loss of Derry, and the other disasters which followed, James might have avoided, if he had hearkened to the warning given him by the French King. That monarch had early divined the designs of the Prince of Orange, given timely warning to James, and offered to aid him. But the warning was disregarded and his aid rejected with disdain ;⁵⁴ and when the Prince of Orange did land in England, French attention was turned away from English affairs, and the French forces employed otherwise than in

⁵³ Walker's, Mackenzie's and Ashe's *Narratives* ; Story's *Continuation*, pp. 4-5 ; *Macarice Excidium*, pp. 318-22 ; Macaulay, Vol. I., pp. 747-54, 766-71.

⁵⁴ Macaulay, Vol. I., pp. 548-50 ; Lingard, Vol. x., pp. 158-60.

helping James. Yet the exile's welcome in France was cordial : and when he resolved to recover the throne he had lost, the French King gave him assistance. It was to urge the speedy sending of such supplies that, in January, Tyrconnell sent two envoys to France—Lord Mountjoy and Judge Rice—though ostensibly their mission was to induce James to allow the Irish to submit to his adversary. Secret instructions were given to Rice, who was a Catholic and a strong Jacobite ; they were kept from Mountjoy, a strong Protestant and a Williamite ; and when the delegates arrived in Paris, Rice was welcomed, but Mountjoy was thrown into the Bastile. But while Louis wished for the success of James, he had no great respect for his capacity ; and while he would give him no army, he furnished him with ships, £112,000 in money, and arms and ammunition for 10,000 men. With these supplies James set sail from Brest and arrived safely at Kinsale, on the 12th of March. Of the officers, Maumont and Pusignan were destined to perish at Derry, and de Rosen to fail ; James's illegitimate son, the Duke of Berwick, also served in Ulster with Hamilton ; and an Irish soldier, Colonel Sarsfield, already of proved capacity, was destined to be yet more distinguished in the coming years. Passing on to Cork, the King was met by Tyrconnell, whom he created a Duke, and by General McCarthy, who had done good service in Munster against the Williamites, and who was now created Lord Mountcashel ; accompanied by these, James proceeded to Dublin, where he arrived on Palm Sunday, the 24th of March. At Cork, and on his way to Dublin, and at Dublin itself, his reception was warm. After taking counsel with his supporters, it was resolved to call a Parliament, but meanwhile James went to Derry and returned.⁵⁵

On the 7th of May the Parliament met. In the House of Lords only 14 of the 54 members were Protestants ; in the House of Commons the disproportion was greater still.⁵⁶ Some of the members were officers who had served abroad ; some were lawyers ; the greater part were country gentlemen, of good family but of

⁵⁵ *Macarix Excidium*, pp. 32, 296-8 ; *Jacobite Narrative*, pp. 43-7.

⁵⁶ Davis's *Patriot Parliament of 1689*, pp. 12-13—Appendix.

small estate, with no large amount of education, and no experience of the work of legislation. And yet many of the Acts of this Parliament showed a desire to be just; and the enactments giving liberty of conscience to all, establishing the independence of Parliament and of the courts of justice, removing the restrictions on trade, granting bounties for the building of ships, and establishing schools of navigation in the seaport towns, were all deserving of praise.⁵⁷ But the repeal of the Act of Settlement was more difficult to defend. All attainders and forfeitures of estates since the 23rd of October, 1641, were reversed; the Cromwellians, or those who inherited from them by blood or marriage, were to be sent adrift without any compensation for buildings or improvements, but they could take away their crops; those who had purchased from such, or had lent money on their lands were to be compensated by the new owners.⁵⁸ These were the proprietors of 1641, or their lawful heirs; and to discover who these were, as well as to measure the amount of compensation, where such was to be given, a Court of Claims was set up. Finally, the estates of the London companies were vested in the King, and so also were the goods and lands of those in rebellion since August 1st, 1688; and he got power to reprise deserving individuals not provided for by the Court of Claims.⁵⁹

The last enactment, and the worst, was one by which more than 1,800 persons were attainted of high treason. The larger number for being actually in rebellion, these being commanded to stand their trial before the 10th of August, failing which, they were declared guilty. Those who had left the country since the 5th of November, 1688, were declared guilty unless they returned before the 1st of September, 1689; while a third class were those who had left Ireland before November, 1688; these were commanded to return before the 1st of October, 1689; or if James should before that date go to England, they were to signify to him their loyalty there.⁶⁰ It is quite true that at the very

⁵⁷ Davis, pp. 44, 47, 56-7, 59, 61.—Appendix

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 83-8, 121.

⁶⁰ King, pp. 232-6; Davis, pp. 125-34.

date on which the Irish Act was passed, a similar Act was sought to be passed in the English Parliament against the followers of King James in Ireland, and would have become law but for the House of Lords and King William ;⁶¹ but this will only prove the injustice of the intended English Act, not the justice of the Irish one ; and it is to the credit of King James that he disapproved of the Irish Act. At the date of its passing, William was already acknowledged King of England, and many in Ireland doubted to which King their allegiance was due. The men of Derry and Enniskillen were undoubtedly rebels, for they had rushed to arms even before James had left England ; but in many cases those who fled to England went through fear, and might have given no aid to William ; they were merely spectators of the conflict, and were ready to give allegiance to whoever prevailed. And it was impolitic, as well as unjust, to punish men on mere suspicion. It taught the Irish Protestants that neutrality would not do ; that they had little justice or fair play to get from a Catholic King ; and that the Irish Catholics, when triumphant, could be guilty of those acts of cruelty and intolerance of which they had so often complained.

It would have been much better for the Jacobites to have concentrated their energies on the war. While they spent their time in angry and useless debates, the Derrymen were gallantly defending their city ; the Enniskilleners, though nominally besieged, in reality were free to issue forth and menace their opponents ; and at Ballyshannon a detachment of them helped to repel an attack of Sarsfield. Another detachment assailed the Duke of Berwick near Derry, but Berwick beat them back with loss. A third and stronger force assailed Lord Mountcashel near Lisnaskea. He fell back to Newton-Butler, burned that town, and took up a strong position in its rear. During the battle which followed one division of the army, being ordered to relieve some troops on the right who were hard pressed, understood the order to be one to retreat, and, throwing down their arms, they fled, panic-stricken, from the field. The cavalry effected their escape ; the foot were overtaken and slaughtered without mercy ; Mountcashel

⁶¹ Davis, p. 143 ; Lecky's *History of Ireland*, Vol. I., pp. 132-4.

was severely wounded and taken prisoner to Enniskillen.⁶² Such was the condition of the Jacobites in Ulster, a few weeks after the Dublin Parliament had ceased legislating: Derry relieved, Ballyshannon not taken, Enniskillen triumphant, Mountcashel's army wiped out. On the 12th of August following, the greatest of the Williamite generals landed in Belfast Lough, with an army of 20,000 men; and the conflict, hitherto between Irishmen and for the triumph of one Irish party over another, became a great international struggle.

⁶² *Macaricæ Excidium*, pp. 310-16—(O'Callaghan's *Notes*.)



CHAPTER XXII.

The Struggle for the Crown.

THE western portion of the Department of Vaucluse, in France, was formerly the Principality of Orange, and in the early part of the 16th century, became the inheritance of the Count of Nassau, and from him it passed to his cousin, William of the Netherlands, who thus became Prince of Orange.¹ He is still regarded as one of the heroes of his own country, the foe of Spain, the advocate of national freedom, the champion of Protestantism. When he was murdered in 1584, the power of Spain was broken in his native land, and the Protestants had asserted their religious freedom.² His death was widely lamented as that of a patriot and a statesman, and by the Confederacy of States which he had helped to call into existence, the position of first magistrate or Statholder was conferred successively on members of his family. In 1647, William II. became Prince of Orange and Statholder, but he died in 1650, leaving an infant son, William, afterwards William III. of England. At that date the independence of the Netherlands was recognised by Spain. Each of the separate provinces which formed the union had its own assembly, and sent a number of delegates to a central council called the States General, invested with supervising powers over the whole united provinces. Of this assembly the Statholder was president. But the office was elective, not hereditary, and, if it had been conferred hitherto on the Princes of Orange, it was

¹ Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Vol. I., pp. 119-20.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 894-900.

because of their eminent public services, and of their abilities, rather than because of any hereditary right. In 1650 the office was abolished, and de Witt, invested with the title of Grand Pensionary, became President of the States General and chief of the Republic. Four years later, in a treaty between the States-General and Cromwell, the Princes of Orange were for ever excluded from the office of Statholder, should it be revived, and the young Prince of Orange, while growing to manhood, was ignored by the heads of the State, and debarred from all public offices. Nor was it until 1672 that a change came. For more than twenty years de Witt had then ruled over the destinies of the Netherlands; and though his abilities were great, and his services to the Republic such as could not be forgotten, he had powerful enemies at home; and, when, in 1672, the French invaded his country, conquered part of it, and seemed likely to conquer the whole, the rage of the populace was turned against him, and he and his brother were murdered. These events opened the way for the Prince of Orange, who was called to the public service, invested with the office of Statholder, which was again revived, and given command of the Dutch forces, both on land and sea. For six years he struggled against France. During that period he had given evidence of considerable talent, both for diplomacy and war, and so established himself in the estimation of his countrymen that the office of Statholder was made hereditary in his family.³

From the first, he regarded France with hostility. That country had attacked the Netherlands; it was Catholic, and intolerant of Protestantism; Louis had seized on the Principality of Orange, and added it to his dominions; and William had sworn to be revenged. His close connection with the English royal family, as the nephew and son-in-law of James II., caused his relations with England to be friendly. But he had little sympathy with the policy of Charles II. towards France, still less with the anxiety of James for the triumph of Catholicism; he even leant a willing ear to the malcontents who flocked from England to Holland; and when the time was ripe, he seconded their efforts with all

³ Harris's *Life of William III.*, pp. 11-40.

his strength, and wrenched the sceptre from James's hand. With great adroitness, and little scruple, he got land and sea forces from the States-General, by proclaiming that it was James's intention to make England Catholic, and then by coalescing with France, to enslave the Netherlands. He got the support of the Emperor and Spain, by declaring that his object was to curb the ambition of France; and on the same pretext, he got money from the Pope, which he used to dethrone a Catholic sovereign, and to aid the Protestants of Derry, whom he encouraged to fight against Popery and slavery.⁴ He lulled James's suspicions by earnest professions of friendship, and by assuring him that his preparations were against France; and while he declared that he landed in England only to have the freedom of Parliament, and the safety of the Protestant religion ensured, he accepted the English crown.

Even when seated on the throne of England he found his new position beset with difficulties. Portion of his army mutinied; the Scotch Highlands rose to arms; France declared war; some of the bishops refused to take the Oath of Allegiance, and became known as Non-Jurors; Parliament refused his request to grant some toleration to the Catholics; and, thus, with disloyalty in the army, and war in Scotland, and dangers from abroad, and factions at home, the King could do little for the reduction of Ireland. He was able, however, to send some aid to Enniskillen and to Derry, and in August a large English army was landed on the east coast of Ulster.⁵

It was commanded by Marshal Schomberg. A native of the Palatinate, and a Protestant, he took service in the French army, where his promotion was rapid, until, finally, he became Marshal, and acquired a reputation second only to that of Turenne and Conde. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he left the French service and entered the army of the Elector of Brandenburg, and, when William was coming to England, he accompanied him with the Elector's permission. So much was his aid appreciated, that the English Parliament voted him £100,000, and William conferred

⁴ Hardy's *Calendar*, p. 16. Harris, pp. 123-5; St. Simon's *Memoirs*, Vol. II., pp. 82-5.

⁵ Harris, pp. 173, 178, 220, 242.

a dukedom on him.⁶ In July, he was appointed to conduct the campaign in Ireland, with Count Solms as his second in command.⁷ But when he arrived at Chester, on his way to Ireland, he found himself confronted by difficulties. The transport arrangements were bad, and the government contractors corrupt; provisions were deficient; the bombs badly charged; the cannon badly cast; the arms badly constructed; there was a want of general officers; none fit for the office of brigadier; while the artillery officers were ignorant, lazy and cowardly.⁸ Count Solms, on his side, complained of Schomberg's inactivity, and of his so favouring the French officers, that of eight *aides-de-camp* only one could speak English.⁹ Some of these drawbacks remained, but the difficulties of transport were got over, and, on the 12th of August, Schomberg and his army landed safely at Bangor. The outlook for William now appeared more favourable. Derry and Enniskillen had saved Ulster; the defeat of Newtown Butler had weakened and dispirited the Jacobites, and, except Carrickfergus, Newry, and Charlemont, all Ulster was lost to them. Numbers and bravery were not wanting; but the soldiers in great part were only half-armed and half-drilled; and except some small bodies of cavalry under Hamilton, and Galmoy, and Sarsfield, there were few who could be depended on against regular troops. James had got but scanty help from France; his money was spent; brass money was coined, and to provide even this was difficult; and so it happened that no opposition was offered to Schomberg's landing, and little to his taking possession of Belfast and Carrickfergus and Newry. When he had garrisoned these places, he advanced south to Dundalk, where he halted and encamped.¹⁰

Some of the Jacobites advocated leaving Dublin to the enemy and crossing the Shannon; but James was determined "not to be walked out of Ireland, without having at least one blow for it," and in this he was supported by Tyrconnell; and, instead of

⁶ Hardy's *Calendar*, p. 65.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-8, 188.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 219-220, 231.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

¹⁰ Story's *Continuation*, pp. 7-9.

abandoning Dublin, he marched north from Drogheda to Ardee. If Story be correct, he had 28,000 armed men under his command, and 10,000 others partially armed, a force which, in numbers, though not in equipment, was superior to that of his opponent. Schomberg settled down at Dundalk, and a little north of the town, at the junction of the Newry and Carlingford roads, he formed an entrenched camp; west and south of the town he also threw up entrenchments, and, in these various positions, protected in each case by artillery, he distributed his army. His policy was to wait and see what the enemy intended to do. At an early stage, they attempted to intercept his communications with Newry, but the force told off for the purpose was insufficient, and was driven back. About the same time, Colonel Lloyd, with the Enniskillen men, crossed the Curlews, and defeated a body of Connaught militia, with heavy loss. But this defeat was quickly avenged by Sarsfield, who captured Jamestown, and then marching by night to Sligo, compelled the Williamites there to surrender. These places he garrisoned, as he did Galway, and thus, in a short time, he had cleared all Connaught of the Williamites, and was able to hold it for King James.¹¹ A second attempt was made by the Jacobites in the direction of Newry, in November, when General Boisseleau attacked the place with 1,700 men. But he was eventually driven off, although he had so nearly succeeded that some of his troops had entered the town.¹²

For some months nothing further was done. Schomberg remained inactive, and when King William urged him to push the enemy before they got aid from France, or his own army perished from disease, he answered that he could take no risks; that an aggressive policy might prove fatal; and that, if the army was once put in disorder, it could not be re-established.¹³ At his first coming to Dundalk, he discovered a conspiracy among his troops. Some French Catholics among them had intended to admit the enemy into the camp; but the conspiracy was discovered in time; the ring-leaders were hanged; and 250 of the soldiers were

¹¹ Todhunter's *Life of Sarsfield*, pp. 41-3.

¹² Story, p. 10.

¹³ Hardy's *Calendar*, pp. 286-88.

disarmed, and sent to England.¹⁴ Following upon this, came the autumn rains. The weather was excessively cold; the trenches were filled with water; the ground was damp; the huts were uncomfortable and unhealthy; the horses, without sufficient forage, died fast; the soldiers were ill-clad; disease broke out, and thousands died.¹⁵ The survivors grew desperate, and gave themselves up to impious revelry; joked at the sufferings of their comrades; cursed, swore, sang immoral songs; drank the health of the devil in glasses of usquebagh; sat upon the corpses of their dead comrades, and murmured when they were taken away, as they had then to sit on the damp ground.¹⁶ The Jacobite Secretary for War, Nagle, circulated a pamphlet among them, with the object of getting them to desert; and, in allusion to what they were suffering, he pointed out that it was the punishment of their treason to a lawful king; it was the vengeance of God that had overtaken them, and proceeded from the same hand which destroyed so many thousands in the camp of Sennacherib.¹⁷ To escape utter destruction, Schomberg, in November, decamped from Dundalk, and set up his headquarters at Lisburn. When he first came to Dundalk, he had nearly 19,000 men under his command,¹⁸ but when he quitted the place, he had less than half that number. It was James's opportunity; and, if he had fallen on the dispirited ranks of his opponents as they marched north, encumbered with sick, he might easily have overwhelmed them. But he was not a man to seize an opportunity—no doubt his own army had also suffered and was weakened—and, instead of attacking Schomberg, he followed his example, and decamped from near Dundalk. Some of his army he left at Drogheda; other portions were scattered throughout Leinster; and James himself and his officers spent the winter at Dublin in debauchery, with little thought for the coming campaign.¹⁹

¹⁴ Hardy's *Calendar*, pp. 269-70.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 272-3, 276-8, 299-301; Bellingham's *Diary*.

¹⁶ Clarke, Vol. II., pp. 382-3; Macaulay, Vol. II., p. 91.

¹⁷ *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 326-30; *Jacobite Narrative*—(Nagle's Letters), pp. 251-3.

¹⁸ Hardy's *Calendar*, p. 273. The exact number was 18,888.

¹⁹ *Macariæ Excidium*, p. 41.

There was grave disappointment in England. A Marshal of France, at the head of 20,000 men, had done nothing, except to capture Carrickfergus; had subsequently remained three months inactive; and had lost, during that time, far more men than if he fought several battles.²⁰ Instead of marching forward to Dublin, he had marched back to Lisburn, and only with half his army. William felt constrained to announce that he would go to Ireland himself, and money was voted to him for the purpose. For the present, however, his departure had to be deferred. Party feeling ran so high in the House of Commons that he dissolved the Parliament. A general election took place in February, and not until the 4th of June was William able to leave for Ireland.²¹

But, meanwhile, additional troops were sent to Schomberg. In January, 7,000 Danes came over under the Prince of Wurtemburgh; in May, several English and Dutch regiments landed; money and arms were also sent; the troops, formerly at Dundalk, had recovered their reason and their spirits; Schomberg was again strong; and, though nothing decisive was done, there were some minor successes to record.²² In December, Belturbet was taken, in May, Colonel Wolsely defeated Berwick at Cavan; ²³ and Charlemont, a place of great strength, which gave much annoyance to Schomberg, and was gallantly defended by Teague O'Regan, surrendered in May. O'Regan and his troops were allowed to march out with arms and baggage, taking also their women and children with them. Teague is described, by Story, as old and weather-beaten and hunchbacked, badly clad, mounted on an old spavined horse, and almost tipsy with brandy. At all events, he was a good soldier, and had made a stubborn defence against vastly superior numbers; and so highly did James appreciate his services, that he conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and appointed him Governor of Sligo.²⁴

On the 14th of June, William himself landed at Carrickfergus, being accompanied by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of

²⁰ Hardy's *Calendar*, pp. 272-3; *Macarice Excidium*, pp. 330-1.

²¹ Harris, pp. 254, 309; Hardy's *Calendar*, pp. 496, 528.

²² Hardy, p. 320; Story, p. 11.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 534.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 320, Story, pp. 15-16.

Ormond, and several English nobles, some of them officers in his army, and some being volunteers. His reception was warm, and at Belfast, whither he marched without delay, he was met by Schomberg and General Scrammore and Count Solms, and was presented with addresses of welcome by the gentry, the Episcopal clergy, and the Presbyterians. At Hillsborough he issued a proclamation against plundering by his soldiers, and against pressing horses and carts from the people without due authority.²⁵ He gave orders for the whole army to take the field, and, when some of his officers counselled delay, he answered that he had not come to Ireland to let the grass grow under his feet, but to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. At the head of all his troops, he marched through Loughbrickland and Newry, to Dundalk. South of Newry, his advance guard came into touch with the enemy, and a detachment of 200 of his men were taken prisoners. But the Jacobites, though somewhat encouraged by this small success, failed to make a stand at the Moyry Pass, nor did they remain at Dundalk, but burned the place and passed on to Drogheda and the Boyne. Thither they were followed by William, and, on the 30th of June, the two armies stood facing each other, the Williamites on the north bank, their enemies on the south bank of the river; for James, after much hesitation, had at last resolved to retreat no further, but on this chosen ground to try the issue of battle.

The soldiers in William's army were of many nations, and had come from many lands: from England and from Scotland, and from the counties of Ulster, from the valleys of Switzerland, beneath the shadow of Alpine peaks, from the flats of Holland, from the plains of Brandenburg, from France, from Sweden, and Norway, and Denmark; and once again the Celt and Dane faced each other in battle, as centuries before they had faced each other on the banks of the Liffey.²⁶ Many of these were mere mercenary soldiers, who would fight for any cause for pay; but the Huguenots, driven from their beloved land by the senseless policy of religious persecution, were embittered against Louis, and, in revenge, fought in the army of his bitterest enemy. Others fought to curb this

²⁵ Harris, pp. 264-6.

²⁶ *Macariæ Excidium*, p. 340.

powerful monarch, whose ambition was a menace to Europe ; and the Dutch followed their prince who had so often led them to battle. For the most part they were Protestants, and wished for the triumph of Protestantism ; but the Dutch Blue Guards, whom William so trusted and loved, were nearly all Catholics, and fought only for King William ; and when James, on one occasion, upbraided some of them for serving a Protestant, they answered that their souls belonged to God, but their swords to William of Orange.²⁷ Among the leaders there was the same diversity as among the rank and file. Schomberg was born in the Palatinate ; Ginkle was a Dutchman ; their titles indicate the nationality of the Princes of Wurtemberg and Denmark and of the Count of Nassau ; Du Cambon and Caillemot were French ; Douglas bore a name illustrious in Scottish history.²⁸ Some of these had already earned distinction ; all had experience in war ; and whatever rivalries or jealousies might exist in other circumstances were now hushed in the presence of their king. The lowest estimate fixes the amount of William's army at about 40,000 ; Story says they were at least 36,000, but the world said they were a third more ; they had between 50 and 60 guns ; they were well clad and provisioned ; " an army in all respects, as well provided, as any kingdom in the world had one for the number of men." ²⁹ Such was the army which approached the Boyne on the 30th of June, an army of trained soldiers and experienced officers, relying on the strength of their numbers, the completeness of their equipment, the skill and sagacity of their King, and fully confident of approaching victory.

On the opposite bank of the river these conditions were reversed. In asking for a French force, James, with his usual perversity, had insisted that Count Lauzun should be given the command, and this in spite of the strongest opposition of the French war minister, Louvois. It was probably on this account that Louvois sent but 7,000 men. These with Lauzun landed at Kinsale, in March.³⁰ It was stipulated, however, that an equal number of Irish should

²⁷ *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 186-7.

²⁸ Story, pp. 28-9.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 341-3.

³⁰ *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 338-9, 360-1 ; Clarke, pp. 387-8 ; Burnet, Vol. III., pp. 18-19.

replace these troops, and by the ships which brought Lauzun's force, 5,000 were sent to France. They were placed under the command of Lord Mountcashel, who had recently escaped from Enniskillen, and formed the nucleus of that Irish army in the service of France, which afterwards became so famous as the Irish Brigade. With these departing Irish there also went D'Avaux, who had been French ambassador in Ireland, and General de Rosen. The former had earnestly counselled James to make a commercial treaty between France and Ireland, and thus benefit both countries by encouraging trade between them; but James refused, thinking such action might prejudice him in the eyes of the English.³¹ Nor would he be advised by de Rosen to adopt more vigorous action when Schomberg's army was at Dundalk; and both the general and the ambassador, weary of serving such a king, were glad to return home and leave a country, where neither honour nor victory was to be gained.³² The force which came with Lauzun were trained soldiers; there were also in James's army many whom Sarsfield and Hamilton had trained; but there were others who were little better than Tories, or Rapparees (to give them their new name); and there were numbers also, whose hands had lately held the plough or the spade, but who, urged into the ranks by the priests, were ready to fight for their altars and their homes.³³

Compared with William's army, there was a marked inferiority in training and experience, and equally so in numbers. Some have put the amount as low as 20,000; Story puts it as high as 32,000; and perhaps, if an average be struck between these two extremes, we shall be near the truth. There were in all but twelve pieces of cannon.³⁴ Of the leaders, Sarsfield and Hamilton, and Galmoy and Berwick had given some evidence of ability, but Tyrconnell had little capacity for command; Lauzun was better fitted for a court than for a camp;³⁵ and as for King James, he was to the last degree vacillating and irresolute. He had thought of

³¹ *Macariae Excidium*, pp. 45-6; *Studies in Irish History*, pp. 253-4.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 335-6, 383-4.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 341-3.

³⁵ St. Simon's *Memoirs*, Vol. III., pp. 384-7, 393-8; Michelet, *Histoire de France*, Vol. XIII., pp. 103-4.

PLAN OF
THE BATTLE
 OF
THE BOYNE

July 1, 1690.



The English Camp

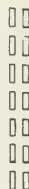


DROGHEDA



Fords

Old Bridge



The Irish Army



DONORE

R. MATTOCK

Slane Bridge

Rosnaree ford

R. BOYNE

blocking the passes from Ulster, and thus retarding the advance of the enemy; he had thought of abandoning Dublin, and retreating behind the Shannon. This would give Louis time to sweep the Channel with his fleet, as in fact, he soon did; it would have cut off William and his army from England; it would, says, Harris, have proved fatal to the enemy if it had taken effect. Without adopting either of these proposals, James fell back on the Boyne, resolving to avoid battle there, but, "finding the position an indifferent good one, set up his rest there and resolved to expect the enemy." ³⁶

The position was well chosen. Passing by Slane, the Boyne was spanned by a bridge, and a mile further east was the ford of Rosnaree, then passable by cavalry. Here the river turns south and east; then sharply turning north, it receives on its left bank the waters of the Mattock; after which its course is east and south, and finally due east to Drogheda and the sea. On the south bank, in the curve formed after it is joined by the Mattock, was the village of Oldbridge, behind which gradually rose Donore Hill. On its summit James had his headquarters. In front of Oldbridge he had thrown up some breastworks; these, and some small buildings in the village, were manned by foot and by Tyrconnell's dragoons. More to the right were the cavalry under Hamilton and Galmoy and Berwick; Lauzun was with James himself at Donore, in special command of the French, and with him also was Sarsfield, in command of the cavalry at that point. Drogheda was garrisoned by James's troops, but the ford of Rosnaree and the bridge of Slane were left undefended.

Opposite Oldbridge was the hill of Tullyallen, and on its northern slope, William's whole army encamped on the 30th of June. He was thus screened from the enemy's view, while he was enabled to examine their position. The season had been a dry one, and when the tide had ebbed there were several fords at Oldbridge which might be crossed both by infantry and cavalry. To examine these, accompanied by some officers, William rode down to the river on the eve of battle. On his return he was observed by Tyrconnell and Sarsfield from the opposite bank, and two

³⁶ Burnet, Vol. III., pp. 52-3.

field pieces were turned on his party. The first discharge killed two horses and a man near the King ; the second, striking the river bank, rebounded and struck the King himself on the right shoulder, and tore the skin and flesh.³⁷ As he was seen to lean heavily forward on his horse, the Jacobites thought he was killed, and a report to that effect reached Dublin and even Paris, and caused much rejoicing in both cities ; but the wound was not mortal, nor even dangerous, and in no way interfered with him on the following day.

In both armies a council of war was held. Hamilton suggested that a strong force should be sent to defend the bridge at Slane, and another to defend the ford at Rosnaree ; but no force was sent to Slane, though Sir Neil O'Neill was sent, with 800 dragoons, to defend Rosnaree. James, it seems, was not confident of success. He had already sent Sir P. Trant to Waterford to have a ship ready for his departure to France ; and he had ordered his baggage to be sent to Dublin with an escort, provided with six of his twelve guns ; and the whole army soon learned that he was thinking more of deserting his army than of winning a victory. In the Williamite council of war, Schomberg suggested that the bridge at Slane should be passed that very night, and, if this had been done, nothing could have saved the Jacobite army from destruction ; for this force could have marched without opposition to Duleek, directly in the rear of James's army. William adopted the advice, but deferred putting it into force until the following morning. The council of war over, he went round his camp at midnight to see that all was well, after which, both armies and both Kings sought repose for a few hours.

At sunrise, William sent 5,000 horse and 8,000 foot across the Mattock, and, in due course, the foot, under Douglas and Overkirk, crossed at Slane, without opposition, while the horse, under Portland and Schomberg, a son of the old Marshal, attempted Rosnaree. For an hour the passage was disputed by O'Neill ; but Schomberg brought up his guns and opened fire, and O'Neill was driven back, mortally wounded. The cavalry then crossed and pressed back the Jacobites towards Duleek. Seeing themselves out-flanked, and in danger of being cut off, Lauzun took with him the whole

³⁷ Story's *Impartial History*.

left centre, a force of 10,000 men, including all the French and some Irish horse under Sarsfield, as well as the six guns, and hastened to confront William's right wing. At this point, however, nothing was done. The two armies were separated by a morass, where cavalry manœuvres were impossible, and even infantry could do little, and across this space they watched each other for hours.

Meantime, important events had taken place near Oldbridge. From an early hour William's artillery had played on the breastworks and buildings there, without, however, any great progress being made. But when he was informed that his right wing had safely crossed at Slane and Rosnaree, he put his force near Oldbridge, into motion. It was then ten o'clock. The sun shone out; the sky was cloudless, the day was dry and warm. The Irish centre had been materially weakened by the departure of Lauzun's force; and, through a valley on William's right, his whole force of foot advanced to the river banks. Old Schomberg was in command. The fords farthest from Drogheda were taken by the Blue Guards, next came the French Huguenots under Caillemot, farther down Hanmer's and Nassau's troops and part of the Enniskilleners; furthest of all the Danes. The want of artillery was here felt by the Irish, with fatal effect. In midstream the Blue Guards were met with a volley from Tyrconnell's dragoons; but the marksmanship was bad, and the Dutch crossed and formed on the south bank, driving before them the Irish, some of whom behaved like cowards. Against the Huguenots and Enniskilleners, some regiments of foot were brought, but portion of them fled, panic-stricken, from the field. The cavalry did better, those under Hamilton particularly well. Hamilton himself was ubiquitous. He drove the Huguenots back into the river, as he did Hanmer's and Nassau's regiments, and he charged the Danes so fiercely, that they retreated to the other bank of the Boyne, and they came back, says Story, quicker than they went. To aid the centre, the right wing, under Berwick and Galmoy, were called in, and gave valuable assistance, driving the enemy repeatedly back by vigorous cavalry charges. In one of these charges Caillemot was mortally wounded, and as he was carried dying, to the other side of the river, he urged his men forward, crying, "*A la*

gloire, mes enfants, à la gloire." Schomberg determined to take the place of the fallen leader, and, without waiting to put on his helmet, rushed impetuously across the river. His fate was the fate of Caillermot; and with two sabre cuts in his head and a bullet wound in his neck, he fell dead. Near the same place, and about the same time, the Rev. George Walker was killed. He had been named Bishop of Derry by King William, who appreciated his efforts at Derry, but who had no sympathy with militant clergymen, and, who, when informed of Walker's death, gruffly asked, "What took him there?"

For more than an hour these charges and counter-charges continued, during which nothing could be seen but dust and smoke. The weight of numbers began to tell, and the Irish gradually fell back to Donore Hill. But here a new danger threatened them; for William, with his whole left wing had crossed the river between Oldbridge and Drogheda, and was now riding hard at the head of his cavalry for Donore, and threatened to reach it before the Irish themselves. The Irish cavalry, however, were first to arrive, reached the summit before him, and dashed upon the King's forces with a cheer, driving them back in confusion. The King was in great danger, and one of the Enniskilleners, not knowing him, was about to shoot him down, until the Colonel called out it was the King. Then, at the head of the Enniskilleners themselves, William charged the Irish, but was driven back. He was struck by two balls, one of which carried away the heel of his boot. Finally, he made a fresh charge at the head of the Blue Guards, and, after some desperate fighting, the Irish were driven from Donore Hill. Further on, the Enniskilleners were pressing the retreating Irish, and Hamilton made a charge of cavalry and swept them back; but he pressed them too far, and was severely wounded and taken prisoner. It is said, that the King asked him if he thought the Irish would fight any more, and he answered, "Upon my honour, I think they will." "Your honour?" said the King contemptuously, thinking, perhaps, of the promises Hamilton had made to bring over Tyrconnell, and how he had broken them. Berwick and Galmoy conducted the retreat to Duleek, where they were joined by Lauzun; the retreat of the whole army was continued to Dublin. William's

cavalry pursued as far as Naul ; but the retreat all through was well managed, and the Irish lost at most, not more than 1,500, the loss on the other side being about a third of that number. William left some of his army at Naul, and returned himself to Duleek, where he slept in his carriage among his troops. Night had then fallen, and the Battle of the Boyne was lost and won.

King James had remained with Lauzun's force, and hearing that the enemy had crossed at Oldbridge, ordered Lauzun to attack William's right wing ; but Sarsfield had reconnoitred the ground, and knew it would be ruinous to carry out the order, and so it was not persisted in. Soon after, James, without waiting for Lauzun to gain Duleek, took Sarsfield and a bodyguard and retreated to Dublin, where he arrived at 10 o'clock. He told Lady Tyrconnell that the Irish had shamefully run away, to which the lady is said to have replied, " But your Majesty won the race." He vowed never again to head an Irish army ; he would shift for himself, as the Irish must also do.³⁸ The next day he posted off for Waterford, and set sail for France, being the first to bring to that country the news of his own defeat.³⁹

Deserted, and even defamed, by the King for whom they had sacrificed so much, it would not be surprising if the Irish had made terms with King William. But, after all, their loss at the Boyne was not great. Except Hamilton, all their leaders were still with them ; and on their arrival at Dublin they learned that the French army had gained on land the battle of Fleurus ; while the French fleet had beaten the English and Dutch off Beachy Head, and, for the moment, were masters of the sea. If unity and discipline were maintained, all might yet be retrieved ; at least the struggle could be prolonged until, perhaps, a fresh French army might arrive. The victors of the Boyne might soon be vanquished ; and, in expectation that events would take some such favourable turn, the whole Irish

³⁸ *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 355-6 ; Berwick's *Memoirs*, Vol. 1., pp. 350-2.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-6, 346-60 ; Clarke, Vol. 11., pp. 393-401 ; Story, pp. 18-26 ; Bellingham's *Diary* ; Hardy's *Calendar*, 53-4, 59 ; Harris, pp. 267-71 ; Ranke's *History of England*, Vol. vi., pp. 140-3—(*Journal of a Jacobite Officer*) ; 117-24—(Lauzun's Letter to M. Seignelay) ; *Jacobite Narrative*, pp. 98-103.

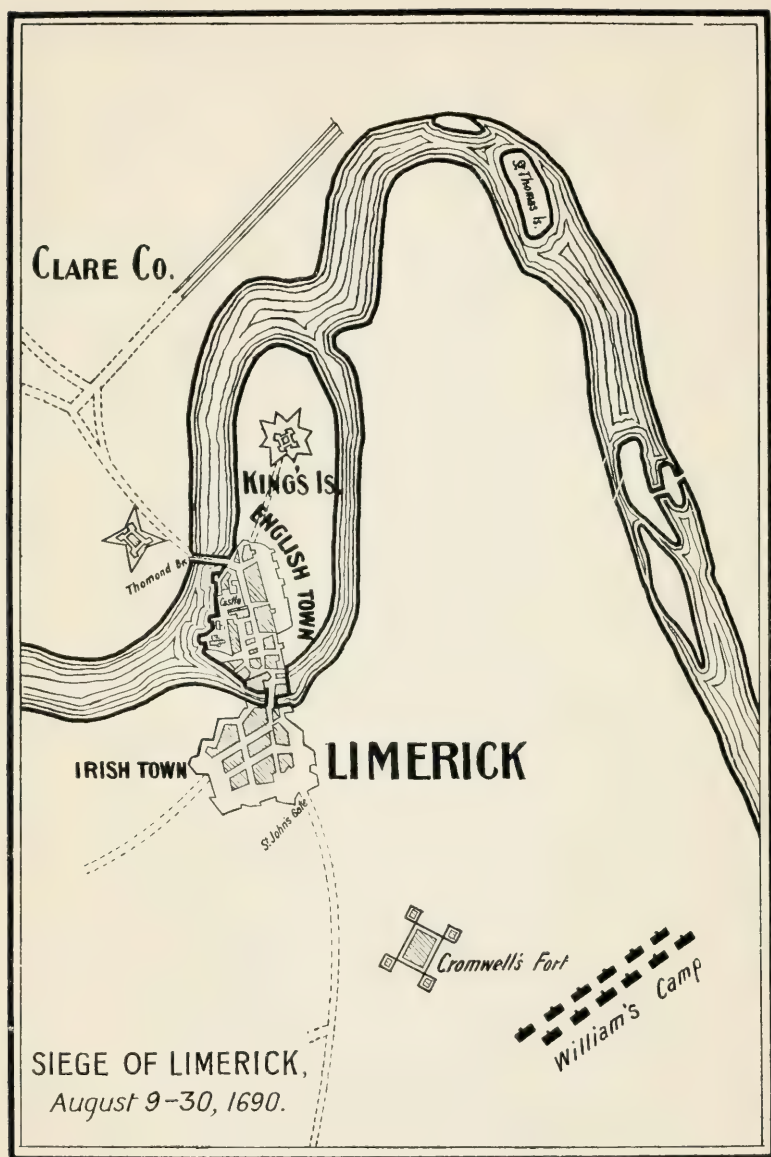
army, marching by different roads, made their way to Limerick "as if they were guided by some secret instinct of nature."⁴⁰

The day following his victory at the Boyne, Drogheda surrendered to King William, the garrison being allowed to march to Athlone, but without arms. Except this, nothing was done for days. The Irish army was allowed to enter and occupy Dublin; nor were they in any way molested on their march to Limerick, though William's army, by a vigorous pursuit, might have destroyed them. But William was cautious and prudent, rather than brilliant; and believed little in running great risks, which might lead to great results, but, on the other hand, might lead to great disasters. He knew that the Irish army had lost little at the Boyne, where they had shown themselves to be good soldiers. As they advanced south, their numbers would increase rather than diminish, while he himself would be entering an enemy's country; and, if he sent a separate force to the Shannon, the Irish might reverse the story of the Boyne. He therefore kept his whole army together, nor was it for some days that he moved south, and set up his headquarters at Finglas. There he learned of the defeat off Beachy Head. Fearing that his transports were not safe in Dublin Bay, and might be attacked and destroyed by the French fleet, he endeavoured to secure Waterford as a safer place of refuge. With this object in view, he took the greater part of his army with him and marched south, capturing Wexford, Kilkenny, Clonmel and Carrick-on-Suir, on his way. Waterford he also captured, and then marched back to Carrick, where he left his army under the command of Count Solms. He returned to Dublin himself, intending to proceed to England at once, as he believed his presence was required there.⁴¹ But he changed his mind. The French made no attempt to destroy his transports, and did nothing in England, but land a small force at Teignmouth, and burn the place. There was, therefore, no pressing necessity to leave Ireland, and William was able to return to his army; and on the 9th of August was before the walls of Limerick.⁴²

⁴⁰ *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 55-6.

⁴¹ Harris, pp. 278, 281; *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 365-6.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 282-5.



[To face page 425.]

In the meantime, General Douglas had been ordered to Athlone, and, on the 17th of July, summoned that town.⁴³ The governor was an old soldier, Colonel Grace, and in answer to the message sent by Douglas, he fired a loaded pistol in the air, and bade the messenger tell his chief that was the only answer he had to give. He had already destroyed the English town on the left bank of the river, and he had constructed a line of breastworks on the right bank, at each extremity of which he placed a battery of two guns; the castle on the Connaught side was also manned with cannon; the bridge was broken; and the guns at the castle and at the earth-works swept the river. In the face of such resistance, the Williamites found it impossible to cross. Forage was also becoming scarce, and sickness broke out among the troops; and a report was current, and believed, that Sarsfield was coming to relieve the place with 15,000 men. On the 25th, Douglas raised the siege, having lost, principally by sickness, between 300 and 400 men. He had done nothing to restrain the plundering of his soldiers; and, in spite of William's proclamations, some of those who had taken out protections were shamefully robbed, with the result that many of the Irish joined the Rapparees and harassed Douglas's army on its retreat. His orders were to join the main body, and, after suffering much from the Rapparees, and from want of provisions, he arrived at Limerick on the 8th of August.⁴⁴

The prospect of defending the place against so large an army as that under William, now augmented by Douglas's force, was certainly not hopeful, and among the leaders, within the city, there were divergent views. Both Lauzun and Tyrconnell were in favour of making terms with William. The Frenchman wanted to get back to France, having no taste for the hardships of an Irish campaign. The situation of Limerick was unhealthy; many of the soldiers were already ill; and the defences were poor, and excited the contempt of one who had seen the elaborate fortifications of Vauban. There was neither rampart nor tower on which cannon could be placed, and Lauzun's opinion was that "the place could

⁴³ *Macariæ Excidium*, p. 367.

⁴⁴ Harris, pp. 282-3—*Appendices*, 47, 48.

be taken with roasted apples.”⁴⁵ In addition to this, Tyrconnell knew that no help would come from France. The tale of Irish cowardice at the Boyne had been told by James himself, and repeated by Lauzun, and, later still, by the Duchess of Tyrconnell, and in Paris the strongest indignation was aroused against the Irish. Instead of sending fresh supplies, an order came that the French already in Ireland should return home.⁴⁶ In anticipation of some such order, Lauzun left Limerick for Galway, taking with him many heavy guns and a large supply of ammunition. Lauzun’s and Tyrconnell’s views were shared by some of the officers who had estates and wanted to keep them, but the rank and file of the army, as well as some of the officers, were for fighting it out. They believed the English would keep no treaty; they were, besides, anxious to vindicate their characters, to show that the accusations of cowardice made against them were false. Among this war party, which soon carried the day in spite of Tyrconnell, were the Duke of Berwick, and Luttrell, lately governor of Dublin; most prominent of all was Sarsfield. Descended on his father’s side from an Anglo-Irish stock, on his mother’s side he came from the O’Mores of Leix; and of all classes of his countrymen he enjoyed the respect and love more than any other living Irishman. In France and in England, as well as at home, his devotion to a soldier’s duty had been shown; the French commanders held him in the highest esteem; and even James, who at first thought little of him, came in time to value his capacity. Among his soldiers he enforced discipline, and he inspired confidence; his bravery, skill, honour and unselfishness were recognised by friend and foe; and even before Lauzun had left Limerick, a council of officers voted that, while Tyrconnell was to be the Captain-General, Sarsfield was to be his second in command. But Tyrconnell had no intention of remaining at Limerick, and soon followed Lauzun to Galway; nor had he any wish to honour Sarsfield; and, before he left Limerick, he appointed Boisseleau, a French officer, as governor of the city, Berwick, Sarsfield, Dorrington, Maxwell and Wauchope being his chief assistants.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Ranke, Vol. VI., p. 124.

⁴⁶ *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 54-5; Hardy’s *Calendar*, p. 100.

⁴⁷ *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 58-9.

These debates and divisions at Limerick were well known to King William, who hurried on without waiting for his siege train, hoping that the city would at once submit. This hope was strengthened, when he learned that Lauzun and the French had left. On the 9th of August he advanced with his whole army from Cahirconlish, drove in the Irish outposts, and reaching Ireton's Fort, not far from the walls, he planted some cannon there, and opened fire on the city. That evening he summoned the place to surrender; but Boisseleau answered he was surprised at the summons, and he thought the best way to earn William's good opinion was "by a vigorous defence of that town, which his master had entrusted him withal." They were brave words, for the task he had undertaken was heavy, and though Lauzun, for his own purposes, had exaggerated the poverty of the city defences, they were indeed poor, and ill-fitted to repel the attacks of a powerful army. The wall was the same as that which had so long defied the efforts of Ireton, but, in part, had since crumbled away. That which surrounded the Irish town was the most substantial; in part it was a double wall, and had bastions and towers; and Boisseleau had strengthened the whole wall with earthworks. On a citadel, at the south-west corner, some guns were placed, others on a projecting spur at the south gate, others at St. John's gate, while more to the north-east was a sally port, near which was the Black Battery, manned by three guns. A covered way connected the south and St. John's gates; near the latter were two small forts; and more to the north-east was a redoubt. The number of guns was much less than those of the enemy, and so was the number of the defenders, for of the 20,000 foot inside the walls not more than half were armed. The cavalry, numbering 3,500, were on the Clare side, some distance from the city, and were under Berwick and Sarsfield. A force guarded the fords north of the city, but these were withdrawn by Tyrconnell before he left for Galway, as if he wished to coerce the place into surrendering. The undefended passages were promptly seized by the Williamites, and a strong force of cavalry crossed under Ginkle and Kirke, and thus threatened to assail the English town, as they had already done the Irish town.

On the 10th, a French deserter from the Williamites entered

Limerick, with the news that a convoy from Dublin was on its way to King William, bringing heavy siege guns, a large supply of ammunition, and some pontoons; if this convoy arrived safely, the position of the city would be much endangered. Sarsfield volunteered to destroy it, and, taking with him 600 picked horsemen, he left Limerick on Sunday night, the 10th, crossed Thomond Bridge into Clare, and proceeding north crossed the Shannon at Killaloe. He had as his guide a noted Rapparee chief, Galloping Hogan, to whom every lane, and turn, and pass were as familiar as the streets of Limerick were to its citizens. Before daybreak Sarsfield arrived at Keeper Hill, and encamped in the recesses of its southern slope, where all that day was spent. From scouts he sent out he learned that the convoy, which numbered only 100 men, would encamp for the night at Ballyneety, seven miles from Limerick, and that the password for the night was "Sarsfield;" and, with this knowledge he passed the day. The Williamites, who belonged to Villiers' horse, encamped on an open ground, on one side of which were some earthen fences, on the other a ruined castle into which they might have put their guns; or they might have put themselves in a position of defence on the very ground they occupied. But they were near Limerick, and felt safe, and, to increase their feeling of security, Sarsfield during the day had sent three of his officers in disguise, who assured the Williamites that from the Irish nothing was to be feared. Thus, careless, confident and unsuspecting, the English commander put but a few guards on duty; the horses were turned loose, and the soldiers laid down to rest. Stealthily the enemy approached, having been since nightfall on the march. The harvest moon was in the sky, its light fitful and intermittent, its face often hidden by clouds which chased each other across the heavens. These periods of darkness, however, did not retard the advance, for Hogan was a skilful guide. At last the outer sentry was reached, and to his challenge the correct password was given, and as friends, they were allowed to pass on. To the next sentry's challenge the reply was given, "Sarsfield is the word, and Sarsfield is the man," and with these words the sentry was cut down. Confusion followed. The trumpet sounded to horse, but the horses were not at hand, and the soldiers were too dazed to make any effective resistance. Some

were killed as they slept; others opened their eyes only to close them in death; others made their escape under cover of darkness. The work of demolition was quickly done. The pontoons were smashed to atoms; the muzzles of the guns were filled with powder, and then buried in the earth; the ammunition waggons were all brought together; a train was laid; and guns and waggons were blown up with a noise which shook the surrounding hills, and was heard even in William's camp. Sarsfield and his men then rode away, taking with them 100 saddle horses and 400 draught horses which had belonged to the captured convoy.

There was urgent need to retire, for a Williamite relieving force was near. An Irish Protestant named Manus O'Brien had seen Sarsfield cross the Shannon, and hastened with the news to William's camp. His story was discredited, and an officer asked him some questions about a supposed prey of cattle, to which O'Brien answered that he was sorry to see a general officer more concerned about cattle than about the King's honour. Brought before William, his story was heeded more, and Sir John Lanier was ordered with 50 horse to march to Ballyneety at nine o'clock that night. But he did not start until two o'clock in the morning, and had gone but part of his journey, when he saw the whole sky lurid with the explosion, and heard the deafening noise; and, when he arrived at the scene of the disaster, he saw Sarsfield's rear guard in the distance. Too late to pursue them, he turned west to intercept Sarsfield's passage of the Shannon, but that skilful leader crossed higher up at Banagher, and arrived safely at Limerick. His splendid exploit filled the city with admiration, and encouraged them to continue the struggle. In the enemy's camp, on the contrary, there was the utmost disappointment, and everyone down to the private soldiers were depressed.⁴⁸

But Limerick was not yet saved. Another siege train was brought from Waterford; the trenches were opened and were pushed gradually to the walls; and in a short time, 40 guns played upon the city and the city walls. Some of these guns threw red hot balls which set houses on fire; shells burst in the streets and killed people as they passed along, or threw down the houses, and

⁴⁸ Harris, pp. 286-7.

killed those within, as they sat at table, or as they slept ; but though suffering and death were the result, there was no talk of surrender ; and to the besiegers' incessant attack there came back a spirited, and not an ineffective reply. From the bastions and towers of the Irish town the guns inflicted loss, and from a battery across the river, in the English town, the advanced trenches were swept by an enfilading fire. Nevertheless the besiegers made progress. They captured two redoubts, which the Irish held, though not without heavy loss ; they advanced their trenches, and played at short range with their guns on the portion of the wall near St. John's gate, and with such effect, that a breach of 36 feet wide was made ; and on the 27th an attack in force was made.

The signal was the firing of three guns, which was given at three o'clock. Then 500 grenadiers advanced to the attack, leaping from their trenches to the counterscarp, which they captured, then drove the Irish back, nor stopped until they entered the breach. Boisseleau was not unprepared, and on a vacant space inside the breach had put up some earthworks, on which at the centre and at the sides he had placed guns ; and, when the grenadiers entered, they were met, both in front and flank, by a deadly fire of canister and chain shot, which rapidly thinned their ranks. Others of them pursued the Irish through the streets, and were killed ; a small remnant were hurled back again through the breach and sought the shelter of their trenches. But this was only the beginning, for behind the grenadiers were 10,000 others, the same who had fought at the Boyne, and were now again ready to fight, under the eyes of the King who had then led them to victory. Throwing hand grenades among the Irish, they entered the breach in force, and attacked with desperate valour, being met with valour as desperate as their own. The rattle of musketry, the booming of heavy guns, the spluttering of bursting shells, the shouts of the combatants, the groans of the dying, were deafening and incessant ; and a column of smoke went up from the city and was wafted along for miles ; until it finally settled on Keeper Hill. The regiments of Fitzjames, and Fitzgerald, and Boisseleau, defended the breach itself ; some Ulstermen, armed only with stones, inflicted loss ; the guns inside the trenches did deadly work ; but the enemy still endeavoured to

advance ; and as those in the front ranks fell dead or wounded, others pressed into the vacant places, only to meet a similar doom. From the windows and roofs of the adjacent houses the citizens watched the terrible contest, and at last it seemed as if the enemy were gaining ground. But the Limerick citizens were a heroic race, and, rather than have these hated foreigners in possession of their city, they would be buried beneath its ruins. No time, however, was to be lost. As if by common impulse the spectators became combatants, and seizing whatever implement was next to hand, sticks, stones, household utensils, broken bottles, both men and women threw themselves on the enemy. The women rushed to the breach itself, and before their reckless valour, many a soldier fell ; not a few of themselves also were found dead on that fatal spot. The fury of this assault was well seconded by Brigadier Talbot, who sallied from St. John's gate, and passing rapidly through the covered way, took the enemy in the rear. The confusion was completed by the fate of the Brandenburghers, half of whom lost their lives by an explosion at the Black Battery. The Williamites wavered ; Boisseleau seized the opportunity and charged with all his reserves ; and with deafening cheers the Irish drove the enemy back, through the breach and covered way, and beyond their trenches, even to the camp. For four hours they had fought, and had all but conquered ; but nothing could prevail against such valour. Over 2,000 of their number were either killed or wounded. Some were brought back dead, some without a leg or an arm, some blinded with powder, and the Brandenburghers, blackened and scorched, were likened to furies. It was expected that William would renew the attack ; but he had had enough of Limerick, and on the 30th he raised the siege. A few days later, after entrusting the Irish Government to Lords Justices, he set sail for England.⁴⁹

At his departure from Limerick, the works he had raised outside the city were destroyed by the Irish, and, a few days later, a supply of ammunition was sent to Limerick from Galway. Lauzun and Tyrconnell then left for France with the whole French forces ;

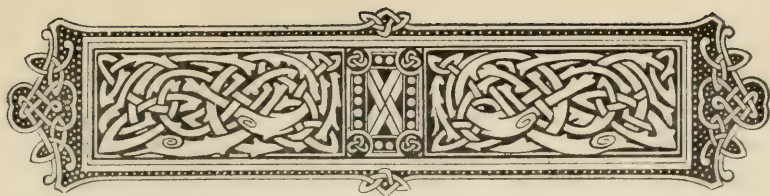
⁴⁹ Harris, pp. 285-8 ; Story, pp. 37-9 ; *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 60-8, 364-74 ; Clarke, Vol. II., pp. 415-18 ; *Jacobite Narrative*, pp. 114-17, 260-6 ; Berwick's *Memoirs*, Vol. I., p. 355.

Lord Torrington succeeded Boisseleau as governor of Limerick ; and Berwick got supreme authority, civil and military. In September he and Sarsfield crossed the Shannon and captured Birr, but had to relinquish it to superior forces and recross the Shannon.⁵⁰ About the same time the Williamites captured Kilmallock, and defeated a large force of Rapparees near Mallow, and, more important than either of these, Lord Churchill captured Cork. The city made but a poor defence, and when Passage was taken, and Shandon Castle, the garrison hastened to make terms. Churchill promised protection to the inhabitants and a promise of his Majesty's clemency to the soldiers ; but he was either unwilling, or unable, to carry out the terms he had made ; and of the garrison many were allowed to die of starvation, while the inhabitants were plundered without mercy.⁵¹ At Kinsale the defences were better than at Cork, and the governor, Sir Edward Scott, was a man of great resolution and made a good defence. But, when attacked by a strong force with abundant siege appliances, and with such a capable general as Churchill at its head, the town could not hold out indefinitely, and the place was given up in the middle of October. The provisions and stores it contained became the property of the enemy, but the garrison of 1,200 were allowed to march to Limerick with arms and baggage. And thus all the strong places in Munster, except Limerick, were in Williamite hands. Winter was then approaching ; further important operations could not be attempted ; and both sides, having lost and gained during the year, retired to winter quarters, and waited for the opening of a new year and a new campaign.⁵²

⁵⁰ Harris, p. 290.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 290-3 ; Story, pp. 44-5 ; Hardy's *Calendar*, pp. 131-2 ; *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 81-2, 388-92.

⁵² Harris, pp. 292-4 ; *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 82-3, 302-5 ; Story, pp. 45-6 ; Hardy's *Calendar*, pp. 111-12.



CHAPTER XXIII.

The End of the Struggle.

THE defence of Limerick was a disappointment, both to Lauzun and to Tyrconnell, and a condemnation of their own desertion and inactivity. The situation had become altered; the prospects of the Irish had ceased to be hopeless; and Sarsfield urged that, if the whole truth were known in France, the order for the French troops to leave Ireland would be countermanded.¹ But neither Lauzun nor Tyrconnell could be moved, and neither would await further instructions from France. Lauzun was sick of Ireland, old age had diminished the energy of Tyrconnell, and both felt the need of justifying their conduct in the eyes of King Louis and King James.² The accounts of the defence of Limerick had preceded them, and, in consequence, public opinion in France regarding Irish cowardice had changed; for the soldiers could not be all poltroons who had made so gallant a defence. Lauzun, however, was determined to end as he had begun, and, on his arrival in France, repeated the old story, like a lesson well learned: and he relied on being corroborated by Tyrconnell. But that nobleman did not wish to stand sponsor for what was unpopular. He tarried at Brest, detained by an illness real or pretended, and allowed his friend to go on to Paris and tell his story; and when

¹ *Macariae Excidium*, pp. 67-8.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 380-1.

he arrived there himself, to the consternation of Lauzun, he blamed the French for having deserted Limerick in her hour of need, and maintained that, if they had stayed, much more might have been done.³ Lauzun fell into disfavour and disgrace, and if James II. had not interceded on his behalf, he might probably have ended his days in the Bastile. Louvois rejoiced at his fall, and induced Louis to vote the Irish some money and arms, and had he not died within a few months, it is probable that much more substantial aid might have been sent.⁴

Meanwhile, Berwick was the Jacobite Viceroy, being assisted, in civil affairs by the council of twelve, and in military affairs by a like number of military officers. They were all selected by Tyrconnell who took care to have his own views strongly represented, and to leave his enemies little influence; and, though he feared to exclude Sarsfield from the military council, he put his name last on the list. From the beginning, there were disputes and divisions. The old Irish and the Anglo-Irish did not agree; the friends of Tyrconnell distrusted and hated the friends of Sarsfield: the descendants of those who had lost their estates by the Act of Settlement, and had them restored by James's Parliament, were anxious to be put in possession of them; the men of the New Interest, who had bought these same estates from Cromwellian planters, wanted to keep possession of them; and, while some wished to continue the war, others were anxious for peace. The wit of man seemed unable to reconcile these conflicting interests; the youth and inexperience of Berwick—he was then but 20—was powerless to repress discord; and, while the time was spent in disputes and intrigues, Cork and Kinsale fell into the enemies' hands. Dissatisfied with Tyrconnell's arrangements, a meeting of the nobility, bishops, lawyers, and principal officers of the army was held at Limerick, at which it was proposed to depose the two councils of twelve; and, as a result of some negotiations with Berwick, it was at last agreed, by way of compromise, that the new military council should consist of all the general officers; and that the civil council should be composed of the twelve already in existence, in addition to two bishops

³ *Macariae Excidium*, pp. 71-2, 75-9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 382-3.

and eight noblemen, selected from the four provinces.⁵ It was further agreed, that if the war were to be continued with any prospect of success, aid should be at once sought from France, in men and arms; and that some French general should be invested with supreme command, whom all would obey, and in whose presence jealousies and rivalries would cease. As there was a want of confidence in Tyrconnell, special agents were chosen—Henry and Simon Luttrell, Colonels Purcell, Dr. Creagh, Bishop of Cork, and Brigadier Maxwell, a Scotch Catholic. This latter was given secret instructions by Berwick to have Henry Luttrell and Purcell detained in France, as incendiaries; and these two, suspecting Maxwell's mission, were with difficulty restrained by the Bishop of Cork from having him thrown over-board during the voyage.⁶ Their mission was little to the taste of King James; nor would Purcell and Luttrell have been allowed to return to Ireland, had not James been warned that, if they were insulted, Berwick might suffer, and perhaps the Irish might hasten to make terms with William.⁷

Their demands were not all granted, but they were promised supplies, and a general of proved capacity to lead them. Meanwhile Tyrconnell arrived at Limerick, in January. He brought some money and provisions and arms, but no soldiers. He also brought from James a patent, creating Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan. Purcell and Luttrell had done their best to discredit Tyrconnell in France, and get the Irish government placed in other hands than his. But James still clung to his old friend; and when Tyrconnell landed at Limerick, he at once liberated from prison Judge Daly and Lord Riverstown, both of whom had been discovered holding correspondence with the enemy.⁸ He also published a proclamation inviting the Williamite soldiers to desert, offering money to each soldier who did so, and to those who wished to go abroad a free passage to France. His plan succeeded, and King James afterwards asserted that, if Tyrconnell had plenty of money,

⁵ *Macarice Excidium*, pp. 83-9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 395-6; Berwick's *Memoirs I.*, pp. 361-2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 396-7.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 407-8, 410-12, 102, 106.

one-third of William's army would have deserted.⁹ From Limerick, Tyrconnell went to Galway ; and it is charged against himself and his friends there that the time was spent in balls and banquets, while the soldiers were in want of bread, and the masses of the people were starving.¹⁰

During these months, the western boundary of the Williamite territory was marked by an irregular line, from Bantry Bay to Macroom and Mallow, north-east by Tipperary and Thurles, thence to Birr, again deflecting east to Mullingar, at which point a westerly turn is taken to Newtownforbes, thence north-east to the shores of Lough Erne, along which the line ran to Ballyshannon and the Sea.¹¹

One advanced post they held in the extreme south-west at Castlehaven ; a good part of Limerick and Tipperary was a debatable territory, which neither side could call its own ; but all Kerry belonged to the Jacobites, who also held the whole line of the Shannon ; were in strength at Limerick and Athlone, at Jamestown and Lanesborough, and held Ballymore as an outpost of Athlone. Farther south, near Roscrea, Anthony Carroll commanded a force which defied all the enemy's attacks ; and Shelden had some regular troops at Tralee. The other posts east of the Shannon were held by the Rapparees.¹² In some instances they were soldiers who had fought abroad, in others dispossessed landholders, sometimes the successors and survivors of the old Tories, who hated the English, and robbed them when they could. They were not organised, or disciplined as regular troops, and in battle they lacked the steadiness, and precision of trained soldiers ; but they knew the use of arms, were familiar with every inch of the country, its roads and passes and mountains, its rivers and woods, the best places to surprise an enemy, or lie hidden, when safety depended on being concealed. They were in sympathy with the people, as the people were with them, and were thus enabled to get the most reliable intelligence of the enemy's

⁹ *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 116, 418 ; Clarke, Vol. II., pp. 435-7 ; Harris, p. 299 ; *Appendix* 54.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 415-16.

¹¹ Story, pp. 46-70.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 62.

movements. They avoided large parties, but swooping suddenly on smaller bodies of the enemy they seized their horses, and, during the winter of 1690, no less than 1,000 horses were thus taken from the English, and furnished for Sarsfield's cavalry.¹³ Nor were they confined to those districts west of the enemy's line of garrisons, but were all over the country, in the King's and Queen's counties, in Westmeath and Cavan, in the hills of Wicklow, and in the Bog of Allen.¹⁴

They kept the Williamite garrisons fully occupied, and, when they were taken, got no mercy, but were instantly hanged. In this respect, the militia were more merciless than the regular troops, and the foreign troops, especially the Danes, were animated with a similar spirit. Nor did they confine their energies to the Rapparees, but, on one pretext or another, robbed and often killed peaceful citizens; and in their general conduct towards the natives manifested the same disposition to rob and plunder as had their ancestors eight centuries before.¹⁵ The English soldiers were little better, and Colonel Wolsely had to complain of the conduct of his troops, declaring that they robbed all without distinction, to such an extent that he was ashamed to speak of it. He excused them only because there was a lack of provisions; if there had been no such want, he would have hanged them to the last man.¹⁶ Other commanders, however, were differently disposed. Colonel Columbine burned all the corn from Nenagh to the Shannon: another force burned all the houses from Clonmel to Limerick; and the Lords Justices found it necessary to issue a special proclamation prohibiting officers and soldiers from plundering the goods of non-combatants.¹⁷ Yet, in the following April, the inhabitants of Mullingar, on the pretext that they were in correspondence with the enemy, were turned out of the town, and had to lie by the ditches in the open air.¹⁸ The war had already assumed the same ferocious character as the wars of Elizabeth; the people, innocent

¹³ Story, pp. 50, 55; Todhunter's *Life of Sarsfield*, p. 132.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50, 62, 75-80.

¹⁵ Harris, p. 295.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 297, 300; Story, pp. 53-4.

¹⁸ Story, p. 68.

and guilty alike, were being hunted down ; and the country east of the Shannon was being rapidly turned into a desert.

Beyond the Shannon, also, Connaught was wasted, and the sufferings of the people were extreme. Berwick had appointed Sarsfield governor of the province ; and the appointment was continued by Tyrconnell, and, without doubt, the difficulties of the position were great. Except the guns at Athlone, Sarsfield had no artillery. Nor had he gold or silver money. The brass money had become useless, and when foreign merchants discovered that no other was to be had, they either avoided the Connaught ports, or took cattle and sheep in payment at a miserable price. The civil authority was ill-defined, and often clashed with the military authority ; the army storekeepers were corrupt and extortionate ; the soldiers not in garrison had to live at free quarters ; and, as if this was not burden enough for the people, vast numbers, hunted and persecuted, flocked from Ulster with their cattle.¹⁹ The leaders were disunited and untrustworthy. In addition to Lord Riverstown and Judge Daly, it was also necessary to dismiss from his position Colonel MacDonnell, the governor of Galway, for holding correspondence with the enemy, and instead of these gentlemen being shot as traitors they were favoured by Tyrconnell.²⁰ At every step he thwarted Sarsfield. Wishing the war ended, he refused to believe that France would send a general or fresh supplies ; and, when Sarsfield heard by letter that a general and supplies were on the way, he pronounced the letter to be a forgery.²¹ His stupidity, his obstinacy, his insolence, his ambition for power which he was incapable of using, his jealousy of men of ability and honour, disgusted all who loved Ireland ; Sarsfield declared that he was capable of spoiling the designs of the best Captain in Europe ; even Berwick grew weary of him, and, throwing up his command at Limerick, retired to France.²²

The confusion in Connaught was augmented by Bealdearg (red mouth) O'Donnell. He was of the O'Donnells of Tyrconnell, and

¹⁹ *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 96, 98.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-4.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 112-13.

²² *Life of Sarsfield*, pp. 126, 132 ; Berwick's *Memoirs*, Vol. I., pp. 309 70.

claimed to be the heir of that illustrious house. Taking service in the Spanish army, he attained to the rank of Brigadier, and from Spain made his way to Limerick, when it was besieged. He soon gathered about him, principally from Ulster, a motley crowd of nearly 8,000 followers. There was a prophecy that an O'Donnell with a red mark on his cheek would conquer the English near Limerick; O'Donnell, who was so marked—hence the name—maintained that to him the prophecy referred; and this, added to the name he bore, helped to swell the number of his followers. At Limerick, he did nothing, but the defeat of the English there helped to augment his credit with the people, and with his followers he retired to Connaught. He had the shallowness, the arrogance, the presumption, the want of sincerity and patriotism which, have been the characteristics of too many Irish chiefs; acted as an independent prince; quarrelled with Colonel Gordon O'Neill, Sir Phelim's son, a man of real ability and patriotism; and disdained to accept his orders from Tyrconnell, the mere Viceroy of an English king.²³

A province so wasted ought to have been easily conquered, yet the Williamites did little. Still they did not remain altogether inactive. Just as the new year opened, Ginkle marched west from his headquarters at Clonmel, while Tetteau, entered Kerry from Macroom. Little, however, was done. Tetteau defeated a small body of horse near Killarney, and captured Tralee, but he failed to take Ross Castle; Ginkle did nothing. Tetteau attributed his failure to lack of provisions and the hardships of the season; Ginkle to bad roads and bad weather; and Harris laments that an expedition from which so much was expected ended in failure. Kerry was still unsubdued; and a body of Rapparees broke through Ginkle's lines near Clonmel and set fire to some villages in the open day.²⁴ Kirke was then at Mullingar, Douglas at Belturbet, and both, as part of the general plan of campaign, were set in motion by Ginkle, just as he and Tetteau made their attack in Kerry. Kirke, aided by Lanier, was to attack Lanesborough, and Douglas to cross at Jamestown and menace Sligo. Of these intended movements

²³ *Macarice Excidium*, pp. 125-8, 431-3; Harris, p. 289; *Jacobite Narrative*, pp. 267-72.

²⁴ Harris, pp. 298-9.

Sarsfield received early information. His headquarters were at Athlone ; Clifford defended Lanesborough, and O'Hara Jamestown ; and his plan was to cross the Shannon and attack Kirke in the rear, while Clifford faced him at the river. This skilful plan he was unable to carry out, as an urgent request for aid came from O'Hara, who was doubtful of holding his own against Douglas ; and if the latter captured Jamestown, Sligo would be in danger. Sarsfield marched to his relief ; but before he reached Jamestown, Douglas had attacked and been driven back ; and on his way back to Athlone he learned that Kirke also had failed, and had retreated with heavy loss to Mullingar. ²⁵ Meanwhile, Ginkle was busy preparing for the coming campaign. From Clonmel he had gone to Dublin, from Dublin to Mullingar, and back again to the city, so that he might personally superintend everything. In March, 1691, provisions came in abundance from England ; in April clothes, arms, ammunition and recruits were daily arriving at Dublin ; early in May, ships put in at Kinsale, with cannon balls, bombs and powder ; and, by the end of the month, Ginkle had fixed his headquarters at Mullingar, at the head of a powerful army, with large supplies, and a train of artillery such as had never before been seen in Ireland. ²⁶

The outlook before the Jacobites was dark. The miserable pittance brought by Tyrconnell had long since been exhausted. Doled out at a penny a day for each man, it lasted but two months. The soldiers were living on horse-flesh, and had no drink but water ; their clothes were scanty—boots and socks and trowsers, but no coats—their beds were of straw ; in Galway they had to break up old ships for firewood ; starvation caused many to desert ; and if relief were not quickly forthcoming no enemy but hunger was required to destroy the whole army. It was the dark before the dawn ; for, even while they were plunged in the deepest misery, and had almost abandoned hope, French ships sailed up the Shannon, bringing no men, it is true, but a good supply of provisions, arms and clothes, as well as the general who was to assume command. ²⁷ His name

²⁵ Harris, p. 299 ; *Life of Sarsfield*, pp. 129-30 ; Hardy's *Calendar*—Letter from Lord Lisburn, 16th January, 1691.

²⁶ Story, pp. 58, 71-2, 77-80 ; Harris, 311-13.

²⁷ *Macaricæ Excidium*, pp. 415-17.

was St. Ruth. In private life, his character was not above reproach, but he was a Catholic, and so zealous against the Huguenots that they called him the Hangman.²⁸ He knew the Irish soldiers already, for Mountcashel's regiment had fought under him in Savoy, and he had, therefore, no sympathy with Lauzun's stories of Irish cowardice.²⁹ Skill and experience in war he had, and his courage not even his enemies could gainsay. But these qualities were marred by great defects. He was harsh and imperious, arrogant and vain, and would neither brook contradiction from his subordinates nor accept their advice; and from the beginning, he disliked Sarsfield. By King James he was made supreme in military affairs; but that monarch still left Tyrconnell with a Viceroy's powers; nor could Tyrconnell be restrained from exercising his authority; and though sinking under infirmity and age, often attempted to interfere in military arrangements.³⁰ He had certainly worked hard to get an army together before St. Ruth arrived, and had urged King James to send supplies; but he had done nothing to furnish means of transport.³¹ There were but six small vessels on the Shannon, and carts and waggons had to be taken forcibly, from the people to carry the provisions and stores to Athlone.³² All this in spite of the utmost exertions of St. Ruth, caused a fatal delay, which enabled the enemy to take the field, and involved the fall of Ballymore. It was summoned to surrender on the 7th of June, Burke, its governor, being threatened with getting no quarter if he did not yield, a threat which till the following day he defied. But, when the defence works were battered into rubbish, and the whole place was open to Ginkle's guns, further resistance was vain, and the garrison surrendered. They were not, however, put to death, as Ginkle had threatened, but were sent prisoners

²⁸ *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 134-5; Macaulay, Vol. II., pp. 278; St. Simon's *Memoirs*, Vol. II., pp. 135-6. St. Simon says, that he habitually beat his wife and was publicly reproved for doing so by King Louis.

²⁹ *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 233-4.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-20.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 417.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 114-17.

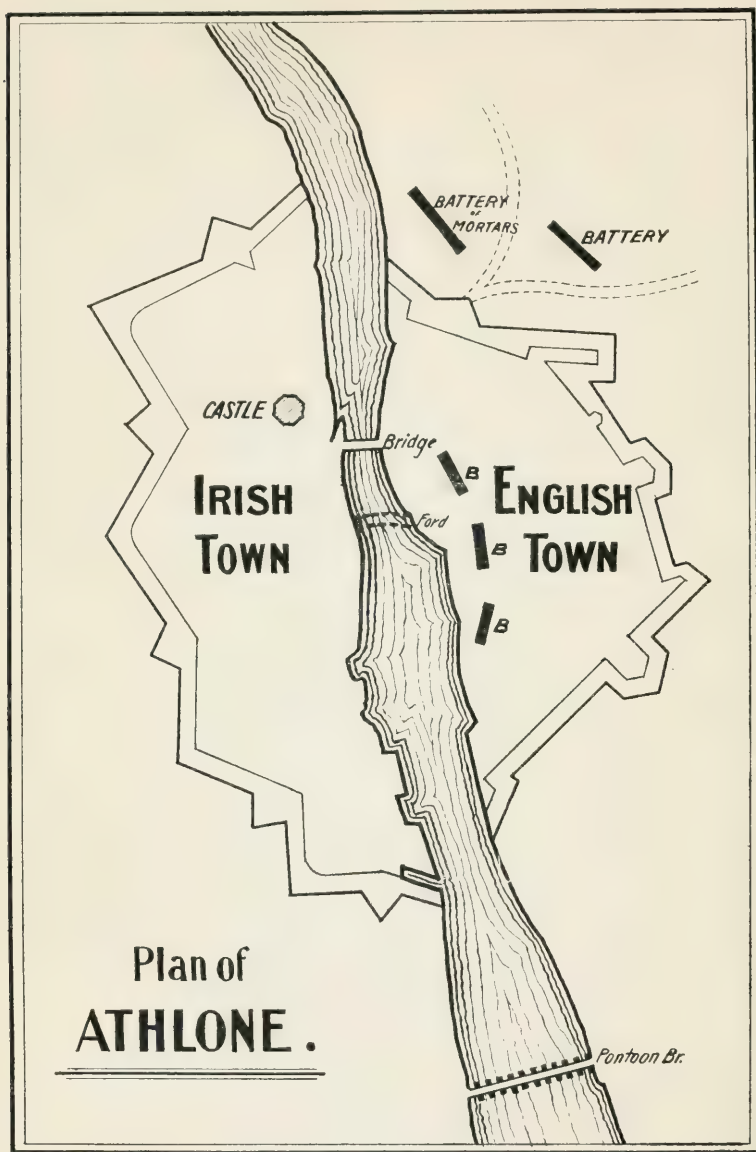
to Dublin ; Ballymore was then fortified by the English ; and, on the 19th of June, the whole army was before the walls of Athlone.³³

In Athlone itself the defences of the English town, which had been destroyed in the previous year, were again repaired by the governor, Colonel Fitzgerald. He had garrisoned it with about 400 men, and had sent out some small parties of dragoons, who occupied the passes leading to the town, and for hours retarded Ginkle's advance. That General had with him about 25,000 men, well clothed, well provisioned, with arms and ammunition in abundance, with some mortars and nearly 50 heavy guns.³⁴ With him were the Duke of Wurtemberg and Count Nassau and De Ruvigny, as well as Talmash, Tetteau and La Melloniere ; but greater than any of these was General Mackay. He had just crushed the revolt of the Highlanders, and, leaving Scotland safe for King William, was come to Ireland to gather fresh laurels. On the 19th of June the guns were placed in position, on the following day a battery of ten twenty-four pounders, placed at the north side of the town, had made a large breach in the walls. Mackay, with 4,000 men advanced to the breach ; they were met with great resolution. But 4,000 against 400 was an unequal contest. The breach was entered ; the Irish fell back fighting, and in diminished numbers reached the bridge. If the enemy could gain possession of this, the Irish town as well as the English town would be theirs. But the Irish soldiers had the courage of heroes, and while some were tearing down the arches of the bridge, the remainder set their faces to the foe. They knew that death was almost certain ; but the town must be saved at all costs ; and if they died, after all, it was for Ireland. Man after man fell ; the bridge had become a slaughter-house ; the dead lay piled in heaps ; but, behind the rampart formed by the bodies of their fallen brothers, the survivors maintained the fight ; nor did they yield until two arches had given way. Some swam across ; others were drowned. In all half of the garrison had perished ; but they had inflicted severe loss on the enemy, and they had effectually barred his progress across the Shannon.³⁵

³³ Story, pp. 90-1 ; Harris, p. 318.

³⁴ *Macarixæ Excidium*, p. 422.

³⁵ Story, pp. 94-8 ; *Macarixæ Excidium*, pp. 419-20 ; O'Connor's *Military History*, pp. 136-7 ; *Life of Sarsfield*, pp. 139-41.



[To face page 443.]

Athlone was still in danger, and St. Ruth, informed of what had happened, hastened to its relief, arriving there on the 21st with his whole army, which numbered between 22,000 and 23,000 men. He proceeded to put the place in a state of defence, manned the strong castle near the bridge with cannon, and repaired or constructed breastworks along the river, with a line of entrenchments in the rear. He appointed Maxwell governor of the town. while himself, with the main body of his army, lay two miles to the rear of Athlone. The English, meanwhile, worked hard, cut entrenchments near the bridge, raised breastworks with embrasures for cannon and mortars, and opened a terrible fire on the Irish town. The eastern side of the castle, near the bridge, was soon battered down, the breastworks levelled, the trenches rendered all but untenable, the houses set on fire, the roads and passages filled with rubbish. But the Irish grimly held their ground, and the French officers declared they never saw more resolution, that the Irish were as brave as lions.³⁶ In face of such resistance, Ginkle's project of crossing the river lower down by a bridge of pontoons was abandoned; even the English trenches, near the river, were found untenable, and the English were compelled to fall back. Attention was then concentrated on the broken arches of the bridge, and, on the night of the 27th, the English laid planks across. The Irish town was in great danger while these planks remained. From the Irish ranks eleven men volunteered to cut them down; and encasing themselves in complete armour, they grasped saws and axes, and rushed on the bridge. On both sides of the river there was silence—the silence of admiration and wonder. But the English quickly recovering from their surprise, opened fire, and the Irish end of the bridge was soon swept with shot and shell. The heavy guns boomed; the musket balls fell like hail; hand grenades were thrown; and, one after another, the gallant Irish fell at their posts, mangled by bursting shells, riddled with bullets, but every man with his face to the foe. Part of the work was done, but it was not complete, and the English, on their side, raised a mocking and exultant cheer. But heroism was not yet exhausted. Eleven others, clad in armour, grasped saw and axe, and rushed upon the bridge. Again the guns

³⁶ *Rawdon Papers*, pp. 346-8.

of the enemy spoke ; man after man fell on those timbers which were slippery with their kinsmen's blood ; but, if the work of death proceeded rapidly, so also did the work of destruction ; the last plank was at length torn up and flung into the river ; and of that gallant band only two came back alive to their comrades. The names of these heroes are forgotten. No monument has been raised to their memory in the town which their valour saved ; the historian passes lightly over their achievements, and the bard has left their deeds unsung, and a nation, too often careless of its history and its heroes, forgets the men who held the bridge of Athlone, though it remembers those who defended Thermopylae. ³⁷

Ginkle began to despair, and, on the 30th, he called a council of officers, with whom he consulted about raising the siege. Forage was running short, and to remain in their present position was impossible. To retire, however, was not without its dangers, for the Irish, passing the Shannon, would certainly harass them as they fell back. There was also danger in making a further effort to pass the river ; but Wurtemberg and Mackay insisted that no brave action could be attempted without hazard, and the council adopted their views. A few days before, three Danes, under sentence of death, were promised pardon if they entered the river, and ascertained if it was fordable. ³⁸ They found it was, a little south of the bridge ; and at this point the passage was to be attempted on the evening of the 30th, just as the clock tolled the hour of six.

Union and discipline always so characteristic of English soldiers were unfortunately not to be found on the Irish side. Unwilling to offend Tyrconnell, King James had made St. Ruth nominally subject to him, but he had promised to write secretly to Tyrconnell not to interfere. If he had written, Tyrconnell disregarded his request, for he appeared in the camp at Athlone, giving orders and making appointments. Threatened at last with violence from the soldiers, he withdrew sullenly to Limerick. But the mischief was already done. St. Ruth's authority was considered dubious ; obedience to his orders was reluctantly rendered,

³⁷ *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 423-4 ; Story, pp. 102-3 ; O'Connor, pp. 141-2.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 427, *Note* ; Hardy's *Calendar*, p. 429.

and in some cases not given at all; and when he ordered General D'Usson to throw down the western wall of the town, so that the passage between the camp and town would be open, that officer remarked that his business was to defend fortifications, not to destroy them. With none of his leading officers did St. Ruth agree. He quarrelled with Sarsfield; and against D'Usson's advice he sent, on the 30th of June, two newly enlisted regiments to man the trenches, for the purpose of having them seasoned to such work. He scoffed at the notion that the English would renew the attack, declaring that if Ginkle attempted such, he would deserve to be hanged, and he himself would deserve hanging if Ginkle succeeded. Finally when Maxwell sent him a message that the enemy were active, evidently meditating some fresh move, St. Ruth replied that if Maxwell was afraid, he would send another to take his place.³⁹

A little before the English resolved to make their attack, two officers deserted from the Irish, and, swimming the river, told Ginkle that now was his time; that the Irish were off their guard, thinking that the siege was about being raised. General Mackay was in command of the attacking party of 2,000 men. The batteries were turned on the Irish defences, so as to disconcert them; and, after the signal was given, which was the tolling of the church bell, the whole force plunged into the river. Having fired one volley the Irish fled, and the enemy were soon masters of the town. Maxwell was taken prisoner; the castle near the bridge, with its garrison, surrendered; planks were then laid across the broken arches, and the whole army crossed. Among the dead was Colonel Grace. Twelve months before, he had baffled General Douglas; to the last he had fought to save Athlone; and meeting a hero's death, he now lay buried beneath its ruins.⁴⁰

When informed that the attack was being made, St. Ruth told Sarsfield it could not be true. He refused at first to send reinforcements, and, when he did send them, he found the western wall, which should have been demolished, manned by the enemy. That night,

³⁹ *Macariae Excidium*, pp. 123-4, 428-30.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 129-30; Story, pp. 106-10; *Jacobite Narrative*, pp. 132-4.

bitterly lamenting his folly, he broke up his camp and retired to Ballinasloe. Some of his officers, Sarsfield among them, advised him to avoid a pitched battle ; suggesting that it was better to prolong the war until the autumn rains came to decimate the enemy with hardships and disease ; or that Ginkle might be blockaded in Athlone. But St. Ruth rejected these councils. He knew that the story of his failure would be quickly conveyed to France by Tyrconnell, who would accentuate his negligence and folly ; the result would be the disfavour of the Grand Monarch, perhaps his recall. He resolved, therefore, to give battle, hoping to retrieve his error by a great victory ; at the worst, he could perish on the battle-field, and even this would be better than to return to France a discredited and beaten man.⁴¹ His conduct towards the army underwent a complete change. His contempt for the officers was replaced by kindness and familiarity, his harshness to the soldiers by caresses, until, between the commander and the whole army, the best understanding prevailed. His next care was to select a suitable battle-ground, and leaving the fords of the Suck undefended, he proceeded three miles from Ballinasloe, and pitched his camp on Kilcommodon Hill.

It was an admirable selection. In front was a bog through which a little stream flowed, and from which the hill rose gradually to a height of 400 feet, extending north and south a distance of nearly two miles. To pass over the bog was impossible for cavalry, and difficult even for infantry. At the north end of the hill was the castle of Aughrim, which was approached by a narrow pass between two bogs, one of which faced the hill, while another of greater extent lay to the north. Beyond the hill, to the south, was the Pass of Urrachree, an open, firm piece of ground, skirted on both sides by low hills. St. Ruth's left rested on the castle of Aughrim, his right at Urrachree, his centre on Kilcommodon Hill. The sloping space between the bog and the summit of the hill, which extended for nearly half a mile, was divided into fields surrounded by hedges, through which he had cut passages for his cavalry.⁴²

Ginkle, leaving a garrison at Athlone, followed his opponents,

⁴¹ *Macarise Excidium*, pp. 433-4 ; Clarke, Vol. II., pp. 454-5 ; Macaulay, Vol. II., pp. 282-3.

⁴² Story, pp. 121-2 ; *Macarise Excidium*, pp. 439-41.



and, on the 11th of July, arrived with his whole army near Aughrim. His experienced eye noted the strength of the position, and the skill with which it was selected; and against such troops as those who fought at Athlone, placed so favourably, the prospects of victory were not bright. Hesitating whether to attack or not, he called a council of war. As at Athlone, the more energetic of the leaders, such as Mackay and Talmash, carried the day, and it was resolved to give battle on the following morning.

That eventful day, the 12th of July, 1691, at last dawned. A fog brooded over the valley, the sun was slow in dissipating the mist and haze, nor was it until after twelve o'clock that the fog finally lifted, and that Ginkle could see the enemy clearly. It was Sunday. All the morning the priests in the Irish camp were kept busy. Masses were said, the Sacraments administered, prayers offered up for victory; sermons were preached, in which the soldiers were exhorted, in the name of God, to stand firm for their altars and their homes. It was the last great stand; the old race was driven to bay. Defeat would mean more confiscations, more penal laws, churches closed, education denied, the priest and schoolmaster outlawed, the bard proscribed; it would mean poverty, and slavery, and exile. On the other hand, victory would mean security of their property, possession of the lands they held, recovery of those they had lost, the right to live in peace in their own country, to worship at their own altars, to gather round their own priests and hear the gospel of salvation from their lips, and be consoled by them in their dying hour. It would revenge the Boyne and retrieve the error of Athlone. It would heal the wounds of their beloved Erin, lift up her drooping head, put courage into her heart, bring life and colour to her faded cheek, and lustre to those eyes that had been dimmed by so many tears. With such hopes and fears as these the soldiers prepared themselves for battle.

The elaborate speech, put into the mouth of St. Ruth by Story, we may pass by with a smile.⁴³ He may indeed have reminded his troops that they were not mercenaries, like so many of Ginkle's men; that they were fighting for their lives and liberties and estates, for their country, their religion, their wives

⁴³ Story, pp. 123-5.

and children. But he could hardly promise to have them canonised if only they fought well, nor would he speak of James as the most pious of Christian Kings. ⁴⁴ It is, at least, certain that he inspired his men with confidence, and that he was confident himself. In numbers he was about equal to his enemy, in guns he was much inferior, having only ten as against Ginkle's twenty-four, in position he had greatly the advantage. Long before 12 o'clock his troops had taken up their allotted positions. His right wing was under de Tesse, who was second in command, and who had four or five guns; the left was under Shelden, supported by Henry Luttrell, Purcell and Parker; two guns were placed at the castle of Aughrim, which was held by Colonel Burke with a regiment of foot. The infantry at the centre were under Dorrington and Hamilton, the cavalry under Galmoy. A battery of three guns was placed on the slope of the hill at the left centre, and swept the bog in front and the narrow pass leading to Aughrim Castle on the left. Behind the hill was Sarsfield in charge of the cavalry reserves, with strict orders to remain there. Instead of being second in command, he was thus relegated to a subordinate position; and on that eventful day the greatest soldier of the Irish race was thus condemned to inglorious inactivity. His services to Ireland ought to have saved him from such a humiliation; but St. Ruth was jealous of him, and would give him no share in the victory he expected to gain. Such treatment must have been bitterly resented by the Irish then, as it has been ever since; it has cast a shade over the fame of St. Ruth; and in the disaster which befel him no tears were shed for himself.

On his side Ginkle also had made his dispositions. The Duke of Wurtemberg was second in command. The left was under Tetteau and La Melloniere, with Count Nassau and the Prince of Hesse, and here were the Danes, and the Dutch, and the French Huguenots; the cavalry at the extreme left was under La Forest and Eppinger and Portland. At the right centre was Mackay, aided by Talmash, the cavalry being under Scravemore and de Ruvigny. Near the bog, at the centre, were two batteries; two more were on the extreme right, and were advanced towards a

⁴⁴ *Grammont's Memoirs* sufficiently contradicts this statement.

point where the pass to Aughrim widened, just before it narrowed again at the castle. The contest began at Urrachree, where a few Danes were sent to drive back the Irish, who had advanced to the little stream, and even crossed it; but, instead of driving them back, they were driven back themselves. Assistance was brought up on each side, and what was at first but an affair of outposts assumed the dimensions of a small battle. Ultimately both parties held their original ground. The English were then driven off, the Irish did not advance, and for a time fighting ceased. Ginkle was still doubtful of giving battle, and from three to half past four a council of war was held. It was decided to attack, and at five o'clock the battle began. Ginkle himself led the attack towards Urrachree. At first the Danes advanced to outflank the Irish, which made it necessary for the latter to extend their lines; and then the Huguenots, with conspicuous gallantry, attacked the hedges near the Pass. As they advanced, the Irish fell back, as they had been ordered: from behind the hedges a destructive flanking fire was opened on the Frenchmen; and when they were thrown into disorder, the Irish horse dashed among them and drove them back into the bog. To support them Ginkle drew upon his right, and again the Huguenots advanced, but again, and yet again, they were driven headlong into the bog, nor were the troops of horse which Ginkle brought to their support able to turn the tide of battle.

To hold his ground against this strong attack at Urrachree, St. Ruth sent support from his force near Aughrim, and Mackay, noting the weakened left and left centre, sent his infantry across the bog. It was then half past six.⁴⁵ Those in the centre, 3,000 strong, advanced up to their waists in mud and water under cover of the fire of their batteries. The Irish fell back from field to field up the hill, and thus enticed the enemy to its summit, then being reinforced, they faced about; those behind the hedges opened fire on the English, and though the latter fought with the courage and steadiness of veteran troops, they were compelled to fall back. Into their ranks the Irish cavalry dashed; and with great slaughter, and the loss of many of their officers, the English were driven into the bog. Nearer to Aughrim, Mackay himself led a body of

⁴⁵ *Macarice Excidium*, p. 445.

infantry, but the resistance they met with was equally obstinate; and, though he brought up regiment after regiment, each time they were driven back.

In one direction only did the English meet with even temporary success. Two regiments effected a lodgment among some old walls and hedges, near Aughrim Castle. It seems that Colonel Burke had got an insufficient supply of bullets, and had to use the buttons from the soldiers' coats, as well as chopped ramrods.⁴⁶ The Irish cavalry, however, came to his assistance, and, sweeping round the castle, drove back the English. The fighting had now continued for hours. One last attack Mackay determined to make, and, at the head of the cavalry of the right wing, he slowly and painfully advanced through the pass leading to Aughrim, where only one or two horsemen could ride abreast. St. Ruth thought it a pity for such brave men to so waste their lives; their failure, he thought, was certain, as his own victory was assured. Sarsfield's turn had come. To order up his reserve of cavalry and hurl it against Mackay could have had but one result, for the valour so long restrained and now let loose, and under such a commander, would have been irresistible. But it was not to be. Even then St. Ruth would not lay aside his personal jealousy, nor allow Sarsfield any share in the battle, and the order he sent him was to send up half his cavalry, but to remain with the other half himself. The sun was then sinking in the west, and hill and valley, and castle were reddened with his dying beams. St. Ruth determined to head the charge in person. He was in high spirits, telling his troops that the enemy were already beaten; he was merely going to complete their defeat. As he rode down the hill he turned to one of his gunners to give an order, and as he did so, a cannon ball from the enemy's battery struck him dead. His headless body rolled from his horse and was carried to the rear, covered with a trooper's cloak, lest the disaster might be known. But the truth leaked out, and paralysis seized the leaders. No message was sent to Sarsfield. Mackay advanced past Aughrim Castle. Galmoy endeavoured to make a stand against him, but was not supported by the Irish cavalry, and the English

⁴⁶ *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 450-1.

cavalry, under de Ruvigny, came on with irresistible force.⁴⁷ The whole left wing of the Irish was driven in, and the victors turned upon the centre, which, with Ginkle in front and Mackay in flank, was quickly overwhelmed. As the shades of night fell, Sarsfield saw with dismay his comrades come running down the hill, and all that was left for him was to cover their retreat. Repeatedly he dashed in among the pursuing English and drove them back, and that even a remnant of the Irish was saved was largely owing to his efforts. Night providentially intervened, and numbers found refuge in the neighbouring bog.⁴⁸

Yet the slaughter was great. The English were enraged at their loss, which fell little short of 2,000, but still more when they heard that the Irish had killed the prisoners taken by them. In consequence, except in rare instances, no quarter was given. Lord Dorrington and some other prisoners were spared, but Lord Galway was killed, after being promised quarter, and at least 5,000 perished on the field or in the pursuit.⁴⁹ Three days after the battle, Story went over the ground, and, in some small enclosures he saw 150 Irish dead, in others 120; and as he looked around from the summit of a hill, and saw scattered the naked bodies of the slain, he thought it looked like a great flock of sheep.⁵⁰

Through Loughrea Ginkle marched to Galway, where he arrived on the 19th, and summoned the town. Lord Dillon was governor, D'Usson in military command, and Ginkle was answered that the place would be defended to the last. But this brave resolution was not adhered to, and on the 21st, articles of surrender were signed, the citizens being confirmed in their estates, and allowed the private exercise of their religion, while the garrison were allowed to march to Limerick, taking with them six of their heavy guns.⁵¹ About the same time, Carroll was defeated near Nenagh, and in September O'Regan surrendered Sligo. He had been

⁴⁷ *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 452-3.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 132-3, 442-61; Story, pp. 123-37.

⁴⁹ Story, pp. 138-41; *Macariæ Excidium*, pp., 454-7; Hardy's *Calendar*—Ginkle to the King. He declares that the fight "was very obstinate," pp. 444-5.

⁵⁰ Macaulay, Vol. II., pp. 284-6; Clarke, Vol. II., pp. 456-8.

⁵¹ Story, pp. 151-74; *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 137-41, 462-6.

expecting aid from Bealdearg O'Donnell ; but that worthless chief was negotiating with the English, first for a peerage, which was refused, and then for a pension, which he got ; and when his duped followers saw him help the English to attack Sligo, they realised that they had been led by a traitor, rather than by a patriot. 52

For the second time during the war the strength of the Irish was gathered at Limerick. In desperation, some of the Irish soldiers, after Aughrim, became Rapparees ; some deserted to the enemy ; some went back to their fields and laid the sword finally aside ; the remainder followed Sarsfield to Limerick. De Tesse became governor of the city ; Sarsfield commanded the cavalry, with Shelden his second in command. Some of the officers wished to surrender ; but Sarsfield and the bishops were for fighting it out ; and they were backed up by Tyrconnell, who had just heard that France was sending fresh supplies. 53 It was therefore resolved to defend the city, a resolution little expected by Ginkle. In May, 1691, King William wanted to have peace on any terms ; but the Lords Justices preferred waiting for some success in the war ; and on the 7th of July they issued a proclamation, offering to those who submitted a free pardon, security in their estates, freedom from religious persecution, and a further relaxation of the penal laws. 54 Ginkle renewed this offer, but it was rejected, even after the death of Tyrconnell, who died at Limerick, on the 13th of August ; and so he had to bring up his guns and turn them on the city. By the 9th of September there was a large breach in the wall of the English town, though Ginkle was afraid to enter. 55 A week later he crossed the Shannon at St. Thomas's Island, without serious opposition ; and, a few days later still, he captured Thomond Bridge, and had the city effectually surrounded. 56

Confronted on every side by disaster and treachery, Sarsfield at length lost heart. A constant stream of deserters was passing

⁵² Story, pp. 180-3 ; *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 140-3, 466-70 ; Hardy's *Calendar*, 475, 528.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 143-4, 470-1.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-20, 184 ; Hardy's *Calendar*, pp. 394-6.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 188-216.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 216-17 ; *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 149, 480-2.

over to the enemy ; ⁵⁷ there was no doubt that it was Clifford's treachery which had enabled Ginkle to cross the Shannon ; ⁵⁸ Henry Luttrell was now found to be corresponding with the English ; ⁵⁹ the French, it seemed, would never come ; finally the loss of Thomond Bridge was a crushing blow. Negotiations were opened on the 24th of September, and were long and tedious, and not until the 3rd of October were articles of agreement signed. By that time the Lords Justices had arrived from Dublin, and the Articles, civil and military, were signed in Ginkle's tent. ⁶⁰ By the Civil Articles, which were entered into on behalf of the Irish inhabitants of the city and county of Limerick, the counties of Clare, Cork, Kerry, Sligo and Mayo, and which were signed by the Lords Justices, Porter and Coningsby, and by Ginkle, it was stipulated that the Catholics of the Kingdom should enjoy such privileges as were consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they enjoyed in the reign of Charles II. ; and that the King should endeavour to obtain for them even more generous terms from Parliament, so that they should not be disturbed on account of their religion. All inhabitants of Limerick, and all garrisons who had not yet submitted, as well as all officers and soldiers, not prisoners of war, holding King James's commission in the counties named ; all absent merchants returning to the country within eight months, if they submitted, were to be restored to the estates they had held in the reign of Charles II., and could exercise all trades and professions as in the reign of James II., on taking the Oath of Allegiance ; and to all Catholics it was this oath which was to be administered, and no other. ⁶¹ By the Military Articles, all persons who wished to leave Ireland might do so, and bring their families and property with them, but were not to settle in England or Scotland. All officers and soldiers might enter the French service, and would be sent free to France in English transports. These vessels were to sail from Cork, and orders were given to have

⁵⁷ Story, pp. 173, 186-8.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 216. "He seemed not very forward in the matter," says Story.

⁵⁹ Clarke, Vol. II., pp. 460-1.

⁶⁰ Story, pp. 228-32, 239-56.

⁶¹ *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 488-9.

them ready. Then the English marched into Limerick, and occupied the Irish town, while the Irish were confined to the English town. Two days later, the long-expected French ships put in at Dingle Bay, bringing supplies and men. Had they come earlier, they might have given a different ending to the campaign.⁶²

The English and Irish soldiers, meanwhile, became the best of friends, and fought their battles over again. But between Sarsfield and Ginkle the relations were not so cordial. The former wanted the Irish troops to go to France, the latter did not; and he offered them employment in William's army, or the option of enjoying peacefully their property at home.⁶³ These difficulties were soon got over, the soldiers were left free to make their own selection, and when the day came for them to do so, 2,000 returned home, 12,000 followed Sarsfield, and only 1,000 took service in the English army.⁶⁴ The first half of those going to France soon left Cork, a further portion went in the French ships. Early in November the last contingent left for Cork, for by that time the transports which carried away the first contingent had returned, and were again ready to put to sea. But all those who left Limerick did not arrive at Cork. Many deserted on the way—some because unwilling to leave Ireland, others because they trusted English promises, others because of the accounts that had come from France of the ill-treatment of their comrades there.⁶⁵

Many more of the Irish might have gone home, or stayed there when they went, but that they had been robbed and insulted; and from all parts of Ireland complaints were pouring in to the Lords Justices as to the ill-treatment of those who had submitted.⁶⁶ Many women and children accompanied the soldiers to Cork intending to go to France. When they reached the water's edge, the men were first taken on board. Perhaps the women feared that they were about being left behind, or, perhaps, some endeavoured to embark who had no claims to be taken. In their eagerness to go

⁶² Story, pp. 271-3; *Jacobite Narrative*, pp. 298-308.

⁶³ *Macariæ Excidium*, p. 491.

⁶⁴ Story, pp. 258-66.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 290-1.

⁶⁶ *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 491-3.

many of them rushed into the water and seized hold of the open boats, as they were going out to the larger vessels. Some of these, losing their hold, were drowned, while others had their fingers cut off by the seamen, and were lost in sight of their relatives.⁶⁷ And thus did the last batch of exiles leave Ireland, their ears filled with the shrieks of drowning women, and the piteous wails of sorrow from the shore. In the month of March, following, a Royal Proclamation declared that the war was ended.⁶⁸ But, long before that date, all resistance had ceased ; the Rapparees had become peaceful citizens, and, so early as November, 1691, Story was able to say that a man might travel alone through the whole country with as much safety as through any part of England.⁶⁹ At last the struggle was ended ; the Dutchman had triumphed ; Protestant ascendancy was firmly established ; and the subjugation of the old race was complete.

⁶⁷ *Macarice Excidium*, pp. 494-5.

⁶⁸ Story, 302.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 280.



CHAPTER XXIV.

The Penal Laws.

AT the accession of Queen Elizabeth all Ireland was Catholic ; and the Parliament which met at Dublin in 1560, though it little represented the nation at large, was but ill-disposed to pass the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity ; nor was it except through a trick of the Speaker that these Acts were passed into law. He declared that Parliament would not sit on a certain day, and, meanwhile, he sent summonses to a few members who were special friends of the Government. These assembled secretly on the very day Parliament was not to sit, and, assuming the powers of the whole assembly, passed the required enactments. The absent members, when next they attended, protested loudly against such fraud, and declared that such enactments were null and void. But the Viceroy, Sussex, solemnly assured them that neither Act would be enforced, and, on this understanding, the assent of all the members was obtained.¹ After a short session of three weeks this Parliament was dissolved by Sussex, " by reason of its aversion to the Protestant religion ; " and it need hardly be added that the promise given by the Viceroy was soon forgotten. Like St. Leger, Sussex had been in turn both a Protestant and a Catholic, and now embraced the religion of his Queen. As he had carried out Queen Mary's orders to restore

¹ Rothe's *Analecta*, p. 234 ; *Cambrensis Eversus*, Vol. III., pp. 10-23 ; *Our Martyrs*, pp. 9-11 ; Monk-Mason's *Parliaments in Ireland—Introduction*, p. 103.

Catholicism in Ireland, he now undertook to carry out Elizabeth's orders : " to set up the worship of God in Ireland as it was in England." Like most of the officials of these days, if asked how he continued to keep office under so many changes of government, he might have replied, as did the Lord Treasurer Paulett, that he was made of the pliable willow rather than of the stubborn oak.² His successors in office were of the same pliant material. They carefully carried out the Queen's orders, studied her caprices, anticipated her wishes, were more inclined to be severe than to be tolerant ; and such was the rigour with which they carried out the laws, that even Elizabeth once declared that she feared the reproach which Bato made to Tiberius—that he had committed his flocks, not to shepherds, but to wolves.³

Against both laity and clergy their persecuting spirit was shown ; but it was the clergy especially who were singled out for destruction, and for them nothing was too severe, and no torture left untried. In some cases a form of trial was gone through ; in other cases they were put to death by martial law, perhaps on mere suspicion of being concerned in some conspiracy, or because they refused to reveal secrets which they were supposed to know. Nor do the cases of O'Hurley and O'Hely stand alone for cruelty and barbarity, for other cases there were, which excite equal horror. At Armagh, two friars were stripped of their habits and publicly scourged to death ; at Youghal, a Franciscan was hanged head downwards ; three members of the same Order were hanged at Down, another at Limerick, another at Youghal. A parish priest was hanged in his church at Coleraine, and the same fate befel a priest at Limerick ; while the master of a vessel was hanged for bringing a priest from Belgium. Gibbon, Archbishop of Cashel, Tanner, Bishop of Cork, and Hurley, Dean of Limerick, died in prison, while Creagh, Archbishop of Armagh, after a long imprisonment, was poisoned in the Tower of London.⁴ Two Franciscans were taken and thrown into the sea, and another was trampled to death by horses. Three laymen, at Smerwick, had

² Olden's *Church of Ireland*, p. 322.

³ Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 101, Note.

⁴ *Spicilegium Ossoriense*.

their legs and arms broken with hammers, and then were hanged, and similar torture was inflicted on the Abbot of Boyle. Three Franciscans, at Abbeyleix, were first beaten with sticks, then scourged with whips until the blood came, and finally were hanged. One Roche was taken to London and flogged publicly through the streets, and then tortured in prison until he died; another, after being flogged, had salt and vinegar rubbed into his wounds, and then was placed on the rack and tortured to death. And Collins, a priest at Cork, was first tortured, then hanged, and whilst he yet breathed, his heart was cut out and held up, the soldiers around crying out in exultation "Long live the Queen." ⁵

Persecution does not generate conviction, and these cruelties did not succeed in winning the people from their faith. With admirable courage the bishops and priests clung to their posts; they felt the confidence with which the soldiers of the Lord should be inspired; and, when one was struck down, another was ready to take the place of his fallen brother. The religious orders did notable service, and their devotion and zeal nothing could surpass. The Jesuits were especially active; the Dominicans and Cistercians also freely shed their blood; but most of all, the sons of St. Francis, who were found in every position of danger, whom no terrors could appal, and who, in greater numbers than any other Order, endured suffering, and tortures, and death. A Jesuit, David Wolf, was sent to Ireland by the Pope in 1560, as Apostolic Nuncio; and when he died, in 1578, after many hardships and trials, another member of the same Order was sent from Rome to fill his place, and with equally ample powers.⁶ Against such zeal and perseverance the selfishness and greed of the Reforming ministers were ill-calculated to succeed, and Sidney had to confess, in 1575, that no progress was being made; Dr. Loftus of Dublin declared fifteen years later, that the people were still in revolt against the new doctrines; and Spenser had to tell an equally mournful tale.⁷ And, when Elizabeth died,

⁵ *Our Martyrs*, pp. 90-219.

⁶ Moran's *Archbishops*, pp. 82-3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 153; Mant pp. 298-9, 323-8; Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland*, p. 254.

in 1603, with a reputation for cruelty which Nero might have envied, the Irish people, exclusively Catholic, rejoiced that the persecutor of their faith was gone; and the hope was universal that, under a Stuart king, their deliverance from persecution had come.

A royal proclamation, in 1606, and two others in 1614 and 1635, commanding all bishops and priests to quit the kingdom under pain of death, and the martyrdom of O'Devanny, Bishop of Derry, and many others, showed how futile were these hopes.⁸ At the close of James's reign there was a period of toleration; and the Archbishop of Dublin, writing to Rome, reports that the Church was then manned by four archbishops, five bishops, vicars in every diocese, and parish priests in every district, and to these were subject 800 secular priests. In addition, there were 40 Jesuits, a few Cistercians, 20 Dominicans, a few Augustinians and Capuchins, and 200 Franciscans, whom he specially extols, "because they never suffered themselves to become extinct in the kingdom, and were the only religious who maintained the fight in some districts."⁹

If the advice of Usher had been taken, there would have been no toleration of Catholics during the reign of Charles I.;¹⁰ but, happily, his advice was rejected, and until the war broke out between the Parliament and the king, there were no fresh penal laws; and those in existence were mildly enforced. For nearly twenty years the Catholics were but little disturbed on account of their religion. But, with the advent of the Puritans to power, there was a disastrous change. Fighting for religious liberty themselves, they would allow no such liberty to others. They hated episcopacy in any form, but they hated Catholicism most of all. It was an abomination which could not be endured, and those who professed it should be placed outside the law. The horrors of 1641 still further inflamed their resentment. The lies of Temple¹¹ and others to some extent were believed. The

⁸ *Our Martyrs*, pp. 229-62.

⁹ Moran, p. 290.

¹⁰ Mant, Vol. I., p. 408.

¹¹ *The Irish Rebellion*.

Irish Catholics were regarded as rebels and murderers, whose crimes must be wiped out in blood ; and Coote, and Broghill, and Cromwell and their friends, soon showed that these were no idle threats. Cromwell would allow no Mass, and whoever received mercy from him, the priests received none. His friend Inchiquin killed 20 priests and 3,000 laity at Cashel, and, at the taking of Drogheda and Wexford, no priests were spared. When Broghill captured the Bishop of Ross he first cut off his hands and feet, and then hanged him ; a Dominican arrested at Jamestown had his fingers and toes cut off, and then was put to death ; a Franciscan, at Clonmel, was put first on the rack, after which his hands and feet were burned off, and finally, he was hanged ; the Parish priest of Arklow was tied to a horse's tail, which was urged furiously on, and thus was dragged along the road to Gorey, where he was hanged ;¹² and the numbers who were cut down by the common soldiers, or who died in prison, or were shipped as slaves to Barbadoes, will never be known. An edict was issued, in 1653, commanding all priests to leave the kingdom, and it was repeatedly published and rigorously enforced.¹³ On the head of a priest the same price was put as on the head of a wolf. Those who informed against them not only received rewards, but were declared to have deserved well of the State ; and, in woods and caverns, and desert places, they were sought out and dragged to torture, or banishment, or death. In 1658, an oath of abjuration was prescribed for all Catholics, in which the authority of the Pope in Church matters was denied ; and the reverence paid to the Blessed Virgin, the belief in the invocation of saints, the Real Presence, Purgatory, and the forgiveness of sins, were condemned.¹⁴ A Catholic refusing the oath, if rich, suffered the loss of two-thirds of his goods, if poor, was sent as a slave to Barbadoes. The rich were thus made poor, the poor driven into exile. The soldiers were gone, and were fighting on foreign fields ; famine and war had decimated the masses of the people ; the churches were in ruins ; the altars overthrown ; the images broken ; the sacred

¹² *Our Martyrs*, pp. 328, 355.

¹³ Moran's *Persecutions under the Puritans*, pp. 118-20.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 187-8.

vessels turned to profane uses ; and the Irish Church, which in 1640 had 27 bishops, and priests in every parish, a few years later, had to lament the loss of a thousand priests driven into exile. Nor was there a single bishop in the country but the Bishop of Kilmore, who, weighed down by age and infirmities, was unfit to discharge his episcopal functions, and even unable to seek safety in flight.¹⁵ The horrors of Elizabeth's reign were equalled and surpassed. But a few years more of Puritan rule and Catholicity would have been extinguished in Ireland.

To a land thus drenched with blood the Restoration was a welcome relief. Charles, indeed, like all the Stuarts, had little gratitude, and ill requited the services of his Irish subjects. But he had little sympathy with the persecution of Catholicism. Yet the bigotry of the Parliament in England, and of Ormond in Ireland, sometimes forced his hand ; and his reign was disgraced by the death of Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin in prison, and, still more, by the death of Oliver Plunkett on the scaffold. This period of toleration with intermittent persecution, was followed by the short reign of James II., when Catholicism was raised to a position, not only of equality, but, of predominance. With the surrender of Limerick the era of predominance, and even of equality, was ended, and a new and shameful era of penal legislation was ushered in.

By the Irish Catholics this turn of affairs was little expected. They relied on the Treaty of Limerick, and believed it guaranteed toleration of their religion, and protected them against further penal laws. Its Military Articles, 29 in number, were only of a transient nature, and affected those actually in arms, with special reference to their shipment beyond the sea. The Civil Articles numbered 13 ; they affected the nation at large ; and it is round these articles, and their proper interpretation, that so many fierce contests have been waged. The phraseology in which they were embodied was not happy, and lent itself to equivocation and ambiguity ; and it is a mild censure on Sarsfield and his friends to say that, in the drawing up of this solemn treaty, on which so much depended for good or ill, they might have shaped it with

¹⁵ Moran's *Persecutions under the Puritans* pp. 121-2.

more caution and care. The Catholics were to enjoy "such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of Charles II.;" and, in either alternative, much or little might be meant. The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity were still on the statute book, and what amount of toleration did these Acts contemplate, or what amount would the Catholics enjoy if these Acts were enforced? Nor was it safe to appeal with confidence to the reign of Charles II. Sometimes, indeed, there was a feeble and contemptuous toleration, when the Church might be said to emerge from the catacombs; when, in fear and trembling, schools and churches were opened. But on the other hand there were times when the spirit of persecution was unrestrained; when the Catholics were disarmed, and excluded from the magistracy and the corporations; when all schools, colleges and convents, were closed; when the Mass was prohibited, and the clergy commanded to quit the kingdom, and the Catholic inhabitants expelled from the garrison towns, and forbidden to meet even to discuss their grievances.¹⁶ It was consistent with the laws of England to believe Oates and Bedloe, and to send multitudes of innocent men to death, as it was with the laws of Ireland that Oliver Plunkett's life should be sworn away by perjured hirelings. If, then, the reign of Charles II. was to be set up as an example to be followed, the question arose, were the Catholics of Ireland to live in hope or in fear? were they to expect a caress or a blow? was the outlook to be a clear sky with the sun shining in the heavens, or were the clouds to be dark and menacing, the atmosphere thick and heavy, while the thunder rolled and the lightning flashed through the gloom? It might be one or the other; all depended on the sense in which the first of the Civil Articles was construed.

The Catholics had no doubt that it should be construed to spell toleration. When these articles were agreed to, Limerick was still in their hands; its defenders were numerous and well armed; its defences had been much strengthened since the

¹⁶ Cox's *Hibernia Anglicana*—(Reign of Charles II.,) pp. 12-15; *Journals of the Irish House of Commons*, Vol. II., pp. 73-4.

preceding year, and it was, therefore, better able to resist than it had been when it hurled back the attack of King William. There was, further, an assured hope of help from France, a hope which was soon realised by the arrival of Chateau-Renaud and his fleet and army in Dingle Bay. On the other hand, the winter was approaching; the enemy's trenches would soon be filled with water; the Irish climate, especially in winter, always told severely on English troops; and, in a few months, the horrors of disease which, two years before, had decimated Schomberg's army at Dundalk, might again decimate Ginkle's army before Limerick. Meantime, King William was at war with France, and the forces at Limerick were badly wanted for foreign fields. For the Irish to lay down their arms in these circumstances, and get nothing in exchange but slavery and chains, would have been to act as madmen. "Since the Irish had it in their power to give us the town of Limerick," says Story, "or keep it for themselves, I see no reason why they ought not to make a bargain for it and expect the performance of their contract." ¹⁷ Nor was it so bad a bargain if it had been carried out in an honest spirit, and not with the desire to overreach and play false.

Not only was there to be such toleration as there had been in the reign of Charles II., but, in addition, the first Article promised that their Majesties would call an Irish Parliament, and endeavour to obtain a further relaxation of the penal laws in force. Those in arms in the several counties and those under their protection were secured in their estates; and from all who submitted to the new dynasty only the oath of allegiance was exacted, a stipulation plainly inconsistent with the oath of Supremacy and its vexatious provisions. The position of the Catholics, then, was that they could vote for members of Parliament, and sit in both Houses, become members of corporations, engage in trade, inherit and possess landed property, practise all professions, and have their churches and schools. All this did not place them on an equality with the Protestants, but it took away many vexatious restrictions, and it raised them

¹⁷ Story's *Continuation*, p. 279.

beyond the level of outlaws and slaves; and, if the Protestants rejoiced at the triumph of William, and looked to the future of their church without fear, the Catholics also could rejoice that petty persecution was over, and that an era of peace and religious freedom had begun.¹⁸

It soon became evident, however, that these bright hopes must be abandoned. While yet Limerick was in their hands, the Catholics got a foretaste of what was to come. In the second of the Civil Articles, which protected the soldiers and inhabitants in the Catholic quarters from forfeiture of their estates, the additional clause, "and all such as are under their protection in the said counties," was agreed to; but when the articles were engrossed this clause was found to be omitted. The fraud was detected and protested against by the Catholic leaders; the omission was made good; and the King, in confirming the articles, included the omitted clause, adding that he knew it had been in the draft copy.¹⁹ This attempted fraud was soon followed by successful and flagrant spoliation. Magistrates and sheriffs, presuming on their power, and without law or justice, robbed the Catholics of their goods and lands; and from all quarters came to the Lord Justices, complaints of ill-usage suffered by those who had their Majesties' protection, and were included in the Articles of Limerick.²⁰ Nor was this all. Dr. Dopping, the Protestant Bishop of Meath, preached before the Lords Justices that no faith ought to be kept with Catholics. They kept, he said, no faith with others themselves, and therefore, it seems, the Protestants were justified in imitating their perfidy. To the honour of those in authority, Dopping's name was struck off the list of Privy Councillors; and the following Sunday, in the same pulpit which Dopping had disgraced, the Bishop of Kilmore preached the obligation of keeping public faith. This was too much for the bigots, who hated the Catholics, and longed for further confiscations; and on the third Sunday, Dean

¹⁸ Story, pp. 239-54. Copy of the Articles, Civil and Military; *Curry's Review of the Civil Wars*, Vol. II., pp. 207-21.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

²⁰ Harris's *Life of William III.*, pp. 350-5.

Synge preached in Christ's Church, maintaining that the Treaty of Limerick should be kept "if possible." But even this attenuated adherence to truth and honesty was too much. The cry went forth that the Protestants were being betrayed; that the insolence of the Catholics should be curbed; that their lands should not be left to rebels and outlaws; and that the Irish Parliament dared not confirm in their entirety the Articles of Limerick.²¹

While the public mind was thus agitated, the Parliament met in Dublin, in October, 1692. Porter and Coningsby had ceased to be Lords Justices, and the Earl of Sydney, just appointed Lord Lieutenant, opened the session with a speech. He was a just and fair-minded man, and wished the Parliament to confirm by law the Articles of Limerick in their entirety. But those whom he addressed had little sympathy with his views. In the preceding year the English Parliament had enacted that no one could sit in the Irish Parliament without taking the Oath of Supremacy, and subscribing to the Declaration against Transubstantiation.²² The Irish Parliament, on other questions, might be disposed to resent being thus bound by a purely English Act, in the passing of which their assent had not been obtained; but when it was a question of fresh disabilities for the hated Papists their acquiescence was readily given. The Catholic members of both houses—they were but a few—presented themselves at the opening of the session, and were tendered the oath and Declaration as a necessary preliminary to taking their seats. They refused both, and were not allowed to sit; and thus the Parliament which Sydney addressed was exclusively Protestant. Its members were quite ready to thank King William for his efforts against "Popish tyranny;" and they willingly passed a Recognition Act, by which he and his heirs were declared the lawful sovereigns of Ireland.²³ They were ready also to encourage French and Flemish Protestants to settle in Ireland, and guaranteed them full freedom of their religion, even though they did not subscribe to the Established Church. But

²¹ Froude's *English in Ireland*, Vol. I., pp. 248-9.

²² Macaulay's *History of England*, Vol. II., pp. 300-1.

²³ *Commons Journal*, Vol. II., p. 506.

in other directions they could be neither led nor driven. Their tone was querulous and critical, and regarding Catholic demands, they were more disposed to coercion than to concession. They declared it a great grievance that Papists should have arms, or serviceable horses, or boats; they expelled one of their own members because he had served King James; they protested against the number of outlawries that had been reversed, and the number of pardons that had been given; and they peremptorily refused to give legislative sanction to the Articles of Limerick. Finally, they refused to vote part of the money asked by the Government for supply, on the ground that the money bill had not originated with themselves.²⁴ An obstinate assembly, such as this, which would do nothing but wrangle and complain, was ill-suited for legislative work; and Sydney angrily prorogued Parliament on the 3rd of November following, and subsequently it was dissolved.²⁵ For the moment Protestant Ascendency was powerless, and a practical toleration of Catholicity went on. But the Ascendency party had friends in England; intrigues were set on foot against Sydney, who was recalled in the following year, and three Lords Justices, Capel, Wych, and Duncombe, took the government of Ireland in hands. The two latter were known to share Sydney's views, but these also were got rid of, and Capel, raised to the peerage, became Lord Lieutenant, and in 1695, a new Irish Parliament was called.

At last the party of intolerance was in power, and was determined to use its power to the full. The defenders of Derry would revenge themselves on the defenders of Limerick; they would teach the Catholics to be submissive, and to remember that they were a conquered race; they would pay off old scores—the rebellion of 1641, the brutality of De Rosen at Derry, the attainders and outlawries of James's Parliament, the robberies of the Rapparees; they would retaliate on their own follow-countrymen the sufferings endured by the Huguenots of France and the Waldenses of Piedmont; and, unmindful of a solemn treaty, they proceeded to fashion a penal code, the most shameful of which there is

²⁴ *Commons Journal*, pp. 600, 602, 615.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 629-30; Macaulay, Vol. II., pp. 418-19; Harris, *Appendix*, 65—(Sydney's Speech).

record. There was nobody to say them nay. The Viceroy was a man after their own hearts, "without any regard to equity or justice," says Harris;²⁶ and he was as much opposed as they were to the Articles of Limerick.²⁷ The King, cold, austere, selfish, without a spark of chivalry, finding the Catholics troublesome and impotent, abandoned them to their foes, and made no serious effort to carry out the engagements he had made, and the Catholics themselves, were entirely unrepresented in Parliament, and had no hope of again trying the fortune of war. Thus free to indulge their animosities and to give them expression in legislative enactments, the Protestant Parliament had a long series of penal laws passed in the session of 1695. They re-enacted those portions of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation which disqualified Catholics from being members of corporations, from voting for such, and even from inhabiting in corporate towns. They were also forbidden to have schools and colleges at home, and if they sent their children abroad, to be educated in a Catholic college or convent, they were at once placed outside the pale of citizenship, rendered incapable of being guardians or executors, or administrators, of filling any office, of inheriting property, and, further, they forfeited all the real and personal property which they already possessed. After the 1st of March following, no Catholic could have arms or ammunition, and, if it was suspected he had any such, two magistrates might search his house. If he concealed arms after that date, he was, for the first offence, fined and imprisoned; for the second offence, he incurred the penalty of *praemunire*. A few noblemen and gentlemen, specially included in the Articles of Limerick and Galway, or those specially licensed, could carry a sword and pistol. In addition to this, no gunsmith could take a Catholic apprentice, nor could any Catholic possess a horse of value more than £5. There was also an Act prohibiting Catholic holydays.

The following year Capel died, and was succeeded by Porter, who also died in the same year. To him succeeded Ruvigny, Earl

²⁶ Harris, p. 417.

²⁷ Moran, *The Catholics of Ireland under the Penal Laws in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 6; Harris, pp. 418-19; *Commons Journal*, Vol. II., pp. 659, 743.

of Galway. Exiled from France, because he was a Protestant, what he had suffered for his own faith had not taught him to be tolerant to others. He was as bitter and as bigoted as Capel; and when he opened the Irish Parliament, in 1697, the Catholics had before them a fresh crop of penal laws. A law was passed commanding all bishops, vicars-general, and regular priests to quit the kingdom before the 1st of May following. If they failed to go they were imprisoned till transported; if, after going abroad, they returned, they were guilty of high treason; and for concealing any such bishop or regular, the penalty was a heavy fine, and forfeiture of goods and lands. To bury the dead in an old ruined church or monastery was also punishable by a fine; and the Protestant heiress who married a Catholic suffered the loss of all her property, which was transferred to her Protestant next-of-kin. Nor could a clergyman assist at such a marriage without the penalty of a fine, as well as contracting perpetual incapacity to fill either civil or military office. Further, those who refused to work on Catholic holydays were liable to be fined or whipped. In the teeth of the Limerick Articles, an Outlawries Act was passed, declaring forfeit the estates of those who had been killed in rebellion, or had died in foreign service, and this though they had been pardoned by the King. An exception was made in the case of Sarsfield and a few other noblemen; but the exception was made at the suggestion of a strong party in the Irish House of Lords, and not at the suggestion either of Lord Galway or the King. By another Act the Articles of Limerick were confirmed, but with the omission of the disputed clause, the preamble stating that so much only of the Articles was confirmed "as might consort with the safety and welfare of his Majesty's subjects in Ireland," a fatal use of the loose wording in which the first of the Civil Articles was drawn. Even in a Parliament from which truth and justice seemed to have fled, such shameless perfidy was condemned. A small minority in the Commons protested; but the protest in the Upper House was stronger and bolder, and only by a majority of one was the Act "confirming" the Articles of Limerick passed into law. Fifteen members recorded a protest, which was entered on the Journals of the House, and in which they declared, and with

truth, that the Act left the Catholics worse than they were before, and that many, previously included within the Articles, were now excluded from them. Five of those who protested were bishops, from which it may be concluded that not all of the episcopacy were of the base character of Dopping.²⁸

About this time the English woollen manufacturers took alarm at the importation of the woollen manufactures from Ireland, and petitioned the English House of Lords to put down their rivals. The Lords petitioned the King, who promised that "he would do all in his power to discourage the woollen manufactures of Ireland," and in the session of 1698, an Act was passed prohibiting the exportation of woollen cloths to any country except England, and to England itself, except subject to ruinous tariffs. Nor could Irish wool be sent to England except through the one port of Barnstaple. This was a measure which affected the Irish Protestants as well as the Catholics, yet but one member of Parliament—Molyneux—protested. It was easy and safe to tyrannize over Irish Papists; but in dealing with the English Parliament the Irish members were quick to recognise their master; and only the feeblest resistance was offered to a measure which destroyed the Irish woollen trade at a single blow.²⁹ The English Parliament also took into consideration the question of the recently forfeited estates. The commissioners appointed by them found many abuses. Some Papists, they said, were treated with too great leniency and pardoned too easily; and King William had made enormous grants to his friends—to the Earls of Galway and Albemarle, to his special friend Bentinck, and worst of all, to his discarded mistress, the Countess of Orkney. All such grants were declared void; and by the Act of Resumption, in 1700, the English Parliament appropriated these lands to the public revenue; at which William was so displeased that, though he gave his assent to the law, he at once prorogued Parliament, without even making

²⁸ *Commons Journal*, Vol. II., pp. 938-40; Froude, Vol. I., p. 283. (Extract from the Journals of the House of Lords); Harris, pp. 420-3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 997, 1104, 1122; Macaulay, Vol. II., pp. 658-9; Froude, pp. 296-8; Harris, pp. 461, 466.

a speech. "He was," says Macaulay, "too angry to thank the Commons, and too prudent to reprimand them."³⁰

He had reason to be more angry in the next year, when Louis XIV., at the death-bed of James II., recognised his surviving son as King of England. The deposed King had seen his fairest hopes of recovering his crown ruined by the defeat of La Hogue (1692), and since then had lived, a pensioner of France, at St. Germain. There had been intrigues and plots in England on his behalf, but they had all miscarried, and the ineptitude of James himself was such that nobody who espoused his cause could succeed.³¹ At last even Louis ceased to support his pretensions, and by the peace of Ryswick he acknowledged William to be King of England. To go back on his word when James was dying was to tear in pieces the treaty he had signed. It meant war, and as such it was understood in England. But William was unable to carry out his project of retaliation for on the 7th of March he died in London. It need hardly be said that Protestant England was not ready to adopt the recommendation of the French King, and take to her bosom the Catholic son of the dead Catholic James. The settlement of the crown had been already made in favour of James's daughter, Anne; and the childless Protestant King was succeeded by the childless Protestant Queen.

To the Irish Catholics neither the death of James nor that of William could be matter for regret. One was a poltroon, the other had shamefully broken his word. Nor could it much interest them whether it was the son or the daughter of James who succeeded to the vacant throne. The Stuarts they found all alike, a family for whom they had made great sacrifices, and from whom they had got nothing in return but ingratitude and treachery. It was, however, of ill omen that the Duke of Ormond came over as Viceroy. Inheriting some of his grandfather's talents, he inherited also his hatred of Catholicism; and when the Irish Parliament hastened to welcome him, and to express a

³⁰ Vol. II., pp. 752-63.

³¹ *Calendar of the Stuart Papers at Windsor*, pp. III-12—(Copy of James's Proclamation).

hope that Popery would be still further discouraged, the Catholics knew that the resources of bigotry were not yet exhausted, and that further repressive legislation was to come. In the session of 1704, such legislation did come, when the "Bill to prevent the further growth of Popery" became law. As can be seen by its many clauses, it aimed rather at the Catholics' property than at their faith, and was inspired more by cupidity than by religious zeal. If the son of a Catholic landholder became a Protestant, no matter how young he was, his father forthwith became merely a tenant for life, and could neither sell his property nor mortgage it, nor dispose of it by will. The converted son was placed under the guardianship of his nearest Protestant relative, and at his father's death the whole property became his. No Catholic could inherit property from a Protestant; nor could he purchase landed estate, or rents, or profits arising out of land, or hold a lease for life or for more than 31 years; and even in this latter case, if the farm yielded him a profit amounting to more than one-third of the rental, any Protestant who discovered this could eject the Catholic and claim the property as his own. Neither could a Catholic marry a Protestant; and a special committee was appointed by the Irish House of Commons, in 1707, to see how this law regarding intermarriages was carried out.³² A Catholic having only Catholic children was bound at his death to divide his land among them in equal shares. No Catholic could fill any office, however small, without taking the Oath of Abjuration, nor could any live in Galway or Limerick, except seamen, fishermen, and day labourers. Pilgrimages to holy wells were forbidden under pain of a fine or a whipping. As to the secular clergy, only one was allowed in each parish, but was bound to be registered, nor could his church have either cross, bell, or steeple.³³ When the Bill was sent to England it came back with the Test Bill added, an addition which struck at the Dissenters, by making them ineligible for office. It was said that this was done, so that the Bill might be lost, as it was thought its provisions were too severe.³⁴ But even the

³² *Commons Journal*, Vol. III., p. 477.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 208, 351, 474; Lecky, Vol. I., pp. 157-8.

³⁴ Burnet, *History of his own Times*, Vol. IV., pp. 22-4.

Dissenters themselves offered no opposition. In their anxiety to put fetters on the Catholics, they were ready to forge fetters for themselves; and the promise made to them by the Protestants, that the Test Act would soon be repealed, they found to be a delusion.

With such legislation as this the Catholics of Limerick and Galway felt specially aggrieved; and three of their number, all lawyers, were heard at the bar of the House of Commons. The chief of them, Sir Theobald Butler, made a strong case. He reminded his audience that the Irish at Limerick and Galway might have prolonged the war, and were pardoned all their offences by their submission. Since then they had committed no offence—let those who had, if there were any such, be punished—and why should they not be free, as in the time of Charles II., to sell or dispose of their property? He appealed to them to remember that even among heathens public faith was inviolable; and recalled as a warning the case of the Gibeonites, who for similar conduct brought famine on their land and a curse on the children of Saul. “For God’s sake, gentlemen, will you consider whether this is according to the golden rule to do as you would be done by?” But appeals to justice and truth, as well as argument, were in vain. The hearts of his hearers were hardened. They answered that the Catholics had none to blame but themselves; let them conform to the established religion and all penal enactments would cease.³⁵ So far from the Bill being lost, it was passed in its entirety, and in the following year, the House of Commons passed a resolution declaring that magistrates and judges who were remiss in enforcing the law were enemies of the State.³⁶ By an Act passed in 1708, no Catholic could be a juror, except in cases where Protestants were not available; and, in 1709, an Act explaining and amending the Act of 1704 was passed, under which Catholics were prohibited from purchasing annuities, or from teaching school, either as principal or assistant. When a Catholic son turned Protestant, his father was at once bound to discover on oath the full value of his estate, and forthwith the

³⁵ *Curry’s Review*, Vol. II., pp. 237-9, 386-99—*Appendix*.

³⁶ *Commons Journal*, Vol. II., pp. 288-9, 312.

Lord Chancellor set aside a maintenance for the converted son, and a like provision was made for a Catholic wife who deserted her husband's faith.³⁷ In the following year all priests, whether registered or not, were bound to take the oath of Abjuration, swearing that the Pretender had no right to the crown, and that this oath was taken "heartily, freely, and willingly." Whoever refused the oath suffered transportation for the first offence, and for the second, death.³⁸

The exhausted bigotry of the Irish Parliament was equal only to three more penal enactments, one, in 1716, prohibiting Catholics from being high constables, or even petty constables; one, in 1727, depriving them of the parliamentary and municipal franchise, and, in 1745, an Act invalidating all marriages between Protestant and Catholic, or between two Protestants when celebrated by a priest or by a degraded clergyman of another faith; and the minister who officiated was liable to the punishment of death.³⁹ It was not, however, the fault of these Irish legislators that yet another enactment, one of the most infamous ever contemplated in a civilised assembly, was not added to this long catalogue of proscriptive laws. It was proposed, in 1723, that all priests should be compelled to quit the kingdom, and if they refused they might be taken and castrated. The Bill was sent to England and warmly supported by the Viceroy, the Duke of Grafton, but to the honour of England and of human nature it was never returned.⁴⁰

Even without this disgraceful enactment, the Penal Code was sufficiently complete—an elaborate and carefully devised instrument of repression—and well deserves its description by Burke—"as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment and degradation of a feeble people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man."

The object of law and government ought to be to safeguard the interests of individual members of the State, to protect the peaceable and law-abiding, to repress disorder, to encourage industry,

³⁷ *Commons Journal*, Vol. III., pp. 686, 697.

³⁸ *Lecky's Ireland*, Vol. I., pp. 159-60.

³⁹ *Commons Journal*, Vol. IV., p. 267.

⁴⁰ *Lecky*, Vol. I., pp. 164-5; *Froude*, Vol. I., pp. 608-12, 620-4.

to reward merit, to promote the greater good of the greater number of the people. No such objects as these were aimed at by the Penal Code. It prevented the fusion of races and parties which time would surely bring, perpetuated antagonisms, and divided Ireland into two warring factions—the privileged and the persecuted, the oppressors and the oppressed. Under its baneful influence the position of the Catholics was that of the Israelites under Pharaoh, or that of the Sicilians under Verres. Every grade of society felt its oppressive hand, and whithersoever the Catholic turned, the sinister shadow of the Penal Code fell darkly across his path. The country gentleman was shut out from the magistracy, the lawyer from the bench and bar, the merchant from the corporation, the trader from the towns, the soldier was deprived of his sword; and the Parliament heard with sympathy the complaints of some Protestant coal-porters, that a Catholic coal-merchant of Dublin employed members of his own faith, “by which the petitioners are hindered from their small trade and gains.”⁴¹ To have sincere religious convictions was to be punished, to have no religion was to be rewarded; and the dissolute son, the disobedient wife, were protected and encouraged, while the dutiful wife and child were hunted down. The Catholic landlord lived in constant dread of some prying neighbour who coveted his estate, and sometimes got it; and at his death he was confronted with the saddening alternative, that the property, belonging to his family for ages, would pass either into strange hands, or into the hands of an apostate child.⁴²

From a land blighted by such laws, where every avenue was closed to energy and enterprise, where the ambitious could get no outlet for their talents and could see no prospect of advancement, thousands of young men went, year after year, in an ever-flowing stream. They left, the very flower of the nation, carrying in their hearts the bitter memory of wrong, and sought and found in foreign lands a home, and often fame and fortune as well. Others conformed to Protestantism, and preserved their estates

⁴¹ *Commons Journal*, Vol. II., p. 699.

⁴² Scully's *Penal Laws*, pp. 250-2.

and practised their professions without hindrance. A small number, too conscientious to abandon their faith, too timid to go abroad, managed, with the connivance of some friendly Protestant, to hold their properties. The remainder gradually sank to the level of the peasantry, and thus disappeared in poverty and obscurity some of the greatest Irish names. The condition of these was pitiable. The woollen manufactures were destroyed and, therefore, gave them no employment ; the linen manufactures were confined to Ulster. Along the southern coast, indeed, the fisheries furnished a living to some.⁴³ But the main reliance was on the land. In many cases the landlord was an absentee, and got his rents through an agent, who let the lands to substantial tenants called Middlemen, or sometimes Squireens. These again sublet to others at a profit rent, who in turn sub-let at a further profit-rent ; until at the lowest rung of the ladder we reach the Catholic tenant, living on a small patch of land, and compelled to pay whatever rent the middleman chose to exact. Usually it was a rackrent. In addition, the tenant had to pay tithes, which the parson let to a tithe-farmer, who exacted what he pleased, and far more than he was entitled to exact by law. And between the tithe-farmer and the middleman, the tenant was ground to the earth. He had to build his own house ; he had to work for the middleman for miserable wages, and often for nothing ; his food was of the poorest, so also was his dress ; his wife and children were without shoes, and sometimes they were almost naked ; his cabin was of sods covered with earth or heath, consisting of but one room, through the door of which the smoke made its way. In that single room the whole family lay down to rest at night, and with them also were the cat, the dog, the fowl, the donkey, the cow, and the pig.⁴⁴ The dividing line with them between hunger and food was narrow. Last year's potatoes were often exhausted before the new crop came in ; in July and August, the poor lived on cabbage mixed with milk ; and in Kerry, when Sunday came, the cows were bled and the blood cooked, so

⁴³ Lecky, Vol. I., pp. 337-9.

⁴⁴ Young's *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. II., pp. 40-55 ; Berkeley's Works, Vol. II., pp. 438-9.

that on that day at least the owners had an appetising meal.⁴⁵

The sufferings of the sorely-afflicted tenantry were aggravated by the insolence and brutality of the squireens. Some of them amassed wealth, and Young mentions cases where they had incomes of £10,000 a year. But such cases were rare, the more usual income being that given by Miss Edgeworth, namely from £500 to £600 a year.⁴⁶ They were an unhealthy product of Irish life. They aped the manners of the upper classes, but in no sense were they gentlemen. They had little education; their manners were coarse and rude, to those above them obsequious, to those below them harsh and hectoring; they drank, they swore, they gambled, they fought duels; they were idle, dissolute, and immoral; they kept packs of hounds; they indulged in horse racing and ran into debt; they exacted free labour from their tenants, horsewhipped them if they were not sufficiently submissive, and loved to insult them by drinking the health of King William and confusion to the Pope.⁴⁷ This, then, was what fell to the lot of the Catholic tenant: a mud cabin fit for a pig, and which he shared with that animal, a patch of ground at a rackrent, precarious and ill-paid labour, chronic starvation, and ever impending famine, rags for his wife and children, extortionate tithes for an alien church, a coarse and brutal landlord with an insult often, and sometimes a blow, and, worst of all, a persistent attempt by government and law to shut him out from the Kingdom of Heaven. It was surely a hard lot.

In such abnormal conditions, political and social, lawlessness was sure to prevail, and sometimes in the perpetration of those lawless acts Protestants and Catholics joined hands. Forcible abduction was of frequent occurrence, and it sometimes happened that mixed bands of Protestants and Catholics were organised to obtain possession of a lady whose wealth or personal attractions had excited the cupidity of some suitor of influence in the

⁴⁵ Lecky, Vol. II., p. 10.

⁴⁶ *Vide, The Absentee.*

⁴⁷ Young, Vol. II., pp. 24-32, 155-6; see also Miss Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent*.

neighbourhood. It might be that the lady was not unwilling, and that these means were used to extort an unwilling parent's consent. On the other hand, she often resisted with all her strength, but her efforts were futile against overwhelming force, and she was carried off to the bogs or mountains, where a suspended priest or disrobed parson, nicknamed a "couple-beggar," was already waiting, and the abducted heiress was married. Mr. Froude more than insinuates that in every case the criminal was a Catholic, and was encouraged by his priests, and that thus did the Catholics revenge themselves for the penal laws and recover some of their lost lands. Mr. Lecky, however, went over the same ground, and examined the same documents in the State Paper Office, and he discovered that this grievous accusation was unfounded. And when Mr. Lecky's character for fair play is remembered, and Mr. Froude's character for exaggeration and inaccuracy, there can be little doubt as to which is to be believed.⁴⁸

In lawless acts of another kind also, the Protestant and Catholic joined hands. The heavy tariff on exported wool made exportation of it to England unprofitable, and both Protestant and Catholic suffered in consequence. But a higher price might be obtained in France, and thither large quantities were smuggled. The little vessels engaged in this illicit traffic were carefully manned and well armed. The revenue cutters found them dangerous to attack on the open sea, and once inshore they were successfully piloted by local knowledge into the harbours and creeks which run so far into the land on the west and south-western coasts. Thus it happened that the Irish wool went off from the coasts of Kerry and Cork and Galway, and not infrequently, in the same vessels went stalwart youths to swell the ranks of the French army, while in exchange came back the silver pieces of Rochelle, the silks of Lyons, and the brandies and wines of Bordeaux. The trade although perilous was profitable, and danger, as well as profit, had its attractions. Nor were the officers of the law above taking a bribe. The magistrate might be easily induced to see a flaw in the evidence when his cellar was filled with smuggled

⁴⁸ Froude, Vol. i., pp. 465-80 ; Lecky, Vol. i., pp. 370-85.

brandy ; the juries would think it a pity if the supply of the same article was cut off ; and both landlord and tenant resented interference with a trade which enabled them to sell wool in France for two shillings, which at home fetched no more than fivepence a pound. Thus did the short-sighted commercial policy of England recoil on herself ; thus was a dangerous intercourse kept up between France and Ireland ; while the English revenue was defrauded of its due.⁴⁹

In other directions the partnership in lawlessness was not maintained. An exception, however, occurred near Killarney, where a wealthy middleman named O'Mahony was surrounded by more than three thousand Catholic tenants, eighty of whom he always kept under arms. They were known as "Mahony's faïresses," and resisted, with success and with impunity, all government officers, such as gaugers, and collectors of hearth money, as well as bailiffs and informers, and terrorised all who were obnoxious to their master or to themselves. Both in Kerry and Connaught, where mountains and bogs were plenty, and roads few, there were numbers of Tories, the dispossessed children of the soil. The wild and desolate district of Iar-Connaught, stretching westward from Loch Corrib, was as lawless as any portion of Kerry ; and in the two years from 1711 to 1713, bands of armed men went abroad at night houghing cattle and mutilating sheep. They were disguised and intelligently organised, and, under a leader called Captain Eaver, they spread terror far and wide. In a short time they extended their operations all over Connaught except Leitrim. Some landlords had recently taken to evicting their tenants, so as to consolidate the small farms, and give them to a few large graziers, and this, it is thought, was the origin of the Houghers ; but it may be also that they were taking revenge for the penal laws. To some extent, and for a short time, they succeeded. The landlords and the graziers were seized with panic, and men ceased to be sent adrift in order to make room for cattle and sheep. No one seemed to know where the houghers came from, nor who were their leaders. The very earth seemed

⁴⁹ Froude, Vol. I., pp. 496-503 ; Lecky, Vol. I., 357-8.

to have suddenly vomited them forth, and as suddenly and as mysteriously swallowed them up; and though the organisation lasted for two years and covered a large area, only a few were captured and brought to trial.⁵⁰

The terror they inspired at no time extended beyond Connaught, and even there soon passed away, and the work of turning tillage into pasturage went on. The landlord found this the easiest way to manage his property, preferring one substantial tenant able to pay his rent punctually to several smaller ones who were ever struggling and poor. The large farmer found that pasturage paid. It required no great capital or skill; and, if the English ports were closed against Irish beef, he knew that foreign ports were open, and that there good prices were obtained. As for the tenants, they were only Papists, not worth considering, and under the impulse of this new movement towards larger farms, whole villages were sent adrift. Some begged from door to door, often from people as poor as themselves. Others got a few acres of bog or mountain, and endeavoured to earn something as day labourers. But labour was scarce where tillage had almost ceased and only shepherds were employed; the patch of bog or mountain was unable to support a family; the little cabin was deserted, and the owner, like so many others, went forth to beg. Of the thousands who thronged the roads as beggars—in 1742 there were 30,000—it may be that some preferred begging to work. Dobbs was sure that this was true, and suggested that workhouses should be built and that meantime those who were found begging outside their own parishes should be whipped; Swift would have them forcibly driven out; and so mild a man as Berkeley suggested that the able-bodied should be put to work, loaded with chains.⁵¹ The Irish Parliament, knowing that the increase of pasturage was the cause of this misery, proposed a law, that five out of every hundred acres let to tenants, should be under tillage. But the English dreaded competition from Irish grain if tillage was increased,

⁵⁰ Froude, Vol. I., pp. 454-61; Lecky, Vol. I., pp. 355-7, 359-67.

⁵¹ Dobbs's *Essay on Trade*, Book II., pp. 45-7, 50-1; Lecky, Vol. I., p. 229; Swift's *Prose Works*, Vol. IV., 220; Berkeley's *Works*, Vol. III., p. 387.

and not for years was the consent of the English Privy Council given to the Irish Bill. It passed in 1727, but the Irish Parliament, as if they wanted to defeat their own measure, passed an Act in 1735, freeing pasture lands from tithes. This measure was followed, as it had been preceded, by famine; and in 1727-8, and again in 1742, whole districts were swept away.⁵²

Among the Dissenters there were no such miseries as these, but there was much discontent. They had their churches and schools, and held their meetings and synods undisturbed, and except for a short period—from 1711 to 1714—they were regularly paid the *regium donum*, which, after all, was a State recognition of their church. Yet they had grievances, and some of them serious. They were almost exclusively confined to Ulster, and almost exclusively Scotch, and as such had a high opinion of themselves and of their religion, and a very poor opinion of the Protestants. They still entertained the old Covenanting hatred of episcopacy. They boasted, and with some justice, that they had defended Derry against the Catholics; yet they were looked at askance by the Protestant Parliament at Dublin, in which they had but a few representatives. The English Toleration Act was not extended to them till 1719, but the Test Act was, with the result that they were excluded from office and from the magistracy; and their meeting-houses and synods, though connived at, were really against the law.⁵³ Their industry and thrift were hampered by the laws against exporting cattle to England, against the woollen manufactures, and against the exportation of striped or coloured linen.⁵⁴ When the leases of their farms expired, the rents had been raised by the Protestant landlords; the repeated famines were depressing; and perhaps they thought, as the Catholics had died of hunger, so also might their turn come.⁵⁵ Their industrial capacity sought for an outlet in other lands; the stream of emigration began to flow, and as time passed it swelled in volume, until from Ulster alone a total of 12,000 a year was reached.

⁵² Lecky, pp. 218-25; Froude, Vol. I., pp. 445-8.

⁵³ Latimer, pp. 272-8, 289-90, 295.

⁵⁴ Dobbs, p. 62.

⁵⁵ Lecky, Vol. I., pp. 424-8, 432.

Some, Protestants as well as Presbyterians, went to Germany; some settled at Rouen, and were well received by Louis XIV.; some went to the West Indies; some to Virginia and North Carolina; and some to the New England States.⁵⁶ They left with no friendly feeling towards England, and were ready and eager to join her enemies; and if Irish exiles brought disaster on her troops at Fontenoy, others swept them back at Lexington and Bunker's Hill.⁵⁷

In the meantime, the efforts to root out Catholicity in Ireland were continued. A people with religious instincts do not easily change their religion, nor abandon old convictions for those that are new. If it is sought to affect so sweeping a change, it must be done by persuasion and argument, by kindness, conciliation and sympathy, and by ministers who are earnest and sincere, and inspired by motives which all men may see are lofty and pure. It was thus that the greatest of all teachers acted. He amassed no wealth, coveted no honours, sought for no comfort; He spared no labour in the work of His ministry; He exhorted, entreated, argued, helped the weak, fed the hungry, soothed suffering and sorrow; and when He promulgated His law, He made the transition easy for the converted Jews, allowed them time to abandon the law under which their ancestors lived and died, and thus to bury the synagogue with honour. By the Irish Protestants these gentler methods were scorned. They would whip the Papists out of their errors; they were rebels and traitors, and must as such be hunted down. The Irish Parliament, by resolution, urged the magistrates to put the penal laws in force, and denounced those who were merciful as enemies of the State, as well as made them liable to a heavy fine; while the informers who spied upon their priests were publicly commended.⁵⁸ It was even proposed to fall upon the Catholics and murder them, in revenge for 1641.⁵⁹ The Earl of

⁵⁶ *Cambridge Modern History of the United States*, pp. 55, 221; Bancroft's *History of the United States*, Vol. II., p. 967.

⁵⁷ Lecky, p. 437; Froude, pp. 435-8; *Boulter's Letters*, Vol. I., pp. 260-2.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 161; *Commons Journal*, Vol. IV., p. 25, 383.

⁵⁹ Curry, Vol. II., 269.

Pembroke, the Viceroy, spoke of them in 1706 as the common enemy, and the Duke of Grafton, in proroguing Parliament, in 1721, warned the members to keep a watchful eye on the Papists.⁶⁰ Such was the hatred of Parliament towards them, that a special resolution was passed, in 1713, excluding them from the galleries of the House of Commons.⁶¹ None were more zealous in passing such resolutions than some of the bishops in the House of Lords; nor were any more zealous in carrying them out than the Protestant ministers throughout the land.

And what was the character of the Protestant bishops and clergy? Of the former most were English, for the position was too good for a mere Irishman; and of these Swift's description is well known.⁶² "Excellent and moral men had been selected upon every occasion of a vacancy; but it unfortunately happened, that, as these worthy divines crossed Hounslow Heath on their way to Ireland, to take possession of their bishoprics, they have been regularly robbed and murdered by the highwaymen frequenting that common, who seize upon their robes and patents, come over to Ireland, and are consecrated bishops in their stead."⁶³ At all events, they had no zeal. For the 11 years that he was Bishop of Raphoe, Porter lived outside the diocese, except for 18 months. Hackett of Down was 20 years a bishop, and all the time resided at Hammersmith, near London.⁶⁴ Ashe of Clogher and Digby of Dromore were both absentees, and the latter was appointed because he could paint well. At the age of 76, Fitzgerald of Clonfert married a girl of 20, and, for the 12 years he lived, it was his wife who ruled the diocese, so that there was "no discipline nor care of spirituals or temporals."⁶⁵ The clergy imitated the Bishops; and those who did reside in their dioceses did nothing but "eat, drink, grow fat, rich, and die."⁶⁶ It was said that when Berkeley of Cloyne was going to his diocese he sent before him 22 cartloads

⁶⁰ *Commons Journal*, Vol. III., p. 698; Vol. IV., p. 874.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. III., p. 976.

⁶² Lecky, p. 203.

⁶³ *Prose Works*, Vol. III., p. 220.

⁶⁴ Lecky, pp. 205-6.

⁶⁵ Mant, Vol. II., pp. 283, 380.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 581.

of books and one hogshead of wine ; but an Ulster bishop in like circumstances sent one cartload of books and 22 hogsheads of wine ; and the Ulster bishop was far more typical of his episcopal brethren than the great bishop of Cloyne.⁶⁷ "The world," says King, Archbishop of Dublin, "begins to look on us as a parcel of men who have invented a trade for our easy and convenient living."⁶⁸ It was little wonder if it did. The least of these bishoprics, in Young's time, was worth more than £2,000 a year, while the bishopric of Derry was worth £7,000 a year, and the Primacy £8,000. The lands of the Primacy were worth the enormous total of £100,000 a year.⁶⁹

From ministers of the gospel such as these, wealthy, arrogant, pleasure-loving, as well as from the religion which they professed, the Irish Catholics turned with loathing and horror. They turned instead to the clergy of their own race and blood, and together they fought for their faith. If they had been a minority of the nation their resistance would, no doubt, have been overcome ; but it is not possible to coerce effectually a whole nation, nor can a minority, however powerful, permanently hold them down. Disguised as a sailor or merchant's clerk, and perhaps carried in a smuggling craft, the young clerical student went abroad ; and when he had completed his studies, at Louvain or Paris, at Salamanca or Seville, and had been duly ordained a priest, he returned home, again disguised, and again defying the law. And once safely among his own people, he began the perilous duties of his office.⁷⁰ There were times when he was left undisturbed, that is, when the Protestant minister and gentry in the neighbourhood were tolerant, or when the priest-hunter abstained from his degraded calling, dreading the popular indignation. In such cases he went about without disguise, built a poor church, and a school as poor, visited the sick, and consoled the dying. He lived in the houses of the poor, where he was ever welcome and ever respected ; and as he spoke to them of their common faith and of their Master's love, their sordid surroundings

⁶⁷ Lecky, p. 206.

⁶⁸ Mant, Vol. II., p. 155.

⁶⁹ Young, Vol. II., pp. 112-13.

⁷⁰ Mitchel's *History of Ireland*, Vol. I., p. 24 ; Moran, pp. 121, 134.

disappeared, and for the moment, their poverty and sorrows were forgotten.

But these times of peace and security did not last. The rewards offered were large, and whetted the appetite of the priest-hunters for victims; the bigotry of the Dublin Parliament was easily inflamed; and then whip and spur were applied to the laggard zeal of magistrates and law officers, and the priest, and those who aided him, were in deadly peril. Disguise then became necessary. The priest went about in frieze; the Primate lived in Louth as Mr. Ennis; the Bishop of Kilmore, who played the bagpipes well, travelled around as a Highland piper. In the sheltering recesses of woods and mountains many lived. The Archbishop of Tuam addressed his letters from his "place of refuge in Connemara;" Mass was said in the fields in Kilmore, and under an old ash tree in Ballysodare in Sligo; in other districts it was the same; and often as the priest said Mass he wore a veil or screened the altar, so that the people who assisted could answer the law officers truly that although they had heard the priest, they had not seen his face, and were therefore unable to tell his name.⁷¹ There were times, however, when these subterfuges did not avail, when the priest-hunter penetrated the disguise and learned the secrets he wished to know; and then if he were not mobbed by the people or sent on a fool's errand by false information,⁷² what followed was easy to foresee. The Provost of Bandon, finding a priest returning from administering the sacraments to the dying brought him to the nearest cross-road, and without a trial, or semblance of a trial, had him hanged. Others were thrown into prison, others transported, and in Galway, in 1708, some priests were arrested and publicly whipped.⁷³ Yet neither terrors nor threats prevailed. A few priests, fallen through drink, accepted the bribes given, and a few of the people, allured by wealth or position, changed their religion, and that was all. The mass of the people and of the priests stood firm. In 1728, Primate Boulter had to lament that there were 3,000 priests in Ireland; that the

⁷¹ Moran, pp. 24-6, 35-7.

⁷² Lecky, p. 167.

⁷³ Moran, p. 71.

Catholics were to the Protestants in the proportion of five to one; and that the descendants of Cromwell's soldiers had gone over to Popery.⁷⁴ Just half a century later, Young, after careful calculation, estimated that to convert the Irish to Protestantism, supposing the rate of progress be in the future as in the past, would take just four thousand years.⁷⁵

The Irish Parliament and the English Government were perplexed. If the efforts to convert the Irish had been hitherto so barren of result, there was little wisdom in these efforts being continued. The thousands driven abroad by persecution had given England a bad name, and had spread the scandal of the Penal Code throughout Europe; and more than once Catholic powers in alliance with England had remonstrated with her. It was useless to appeal for justification to the case of Philip II., of Spain and the Inquisition, or of Louis of France and the Huguenots. In neither case was the analogy complete; for the Jews and Moors in Spain and the Huguenots in France were but minorities, while the Irish Catholics were in an enormous majority; and in any case, one wrong does not justify the perpetration of another. And if Archbishop King was right in thinking that there never was any design that all the Irish should be Protestants,⁷⁶ surely the Protestants themselves might rest satisfied; for they had impoverished the Catholics to such an extent that nothing was left to excite the rapacity of their persecutors. Their lands were gone; wealth they had none; politically and socially they were degraded outcasts. Nor had the Penal Code been ineffective in degrading them morally as well. They had learned to hate government, and glory in the violation of law; accustomed to the spy and the informer, they had become suspicious of everyone, even of their friends; they had contracted a habit of equivocation, and were chary of telling the truth; their manliness of character was to some extent undermined, and they had learned the attitude and the language of slaves. They flattered those whom they despised, and acquiesced in that which they condemned; disheartened

⁷⁴ *Letters*, Vol. I., pp. 169, 179.

⁷⁵ Vol. II., pp. 66-7.

⁷⁶ *Mant*, Vol. II., p. 230.

by repeated defeats, they had lost the courage even to give expression to their discontent, and sank into a hopeless apathy, from which they could see no prospect of deliverance by human means, and nothing was left to them but to hug their chains.

Yet not all the fine features of their character had disappeared. In the midst of their poverty they were hospitable; their kind-heartedness and sympathy for the distressed remained; they were courteous to others, and careful not to wound their feelings; they were patient and resigned; and their standard of domestic morals was the highest in the world. The close union between priests and people was touching; and the tenacity with which, in the face of terrible trials, they clung to the faith they loved, is absolutely without a parallel. Yet, while attached to their own religion, they were tolerant of others. Among no people was there less bigotry, and this characteristic has survived. In the midst of so many sorrows it was hard to be gay; but the natural buoyancy of the Irish character asserted itself, and Young noted that dancing was universal among the poor.⁷⁷ Music they cultivated as best they could, but their miserable condition deepened the note of sadness in their songs. Finally, ceasing to hope from men, they looked to God alone, and believed that deliverance would come in God's good time. And it did. Both the Pretenders were able to excite rebellions in Scotland; but in Ireland there was no stir. Discontented the people must have been, and secretly rebellious, but openly rebellious they could not be. "They were as inconsiderable," says Swift, "as the women and children, out of all capacity to do mischief, if they were ever so well inclined."⁷⁸ Lord Chesterfield, the Viceroy, was sure that much more was to be feared from their poverty than from their Popery;⁷⁹ and when he was urged to take fresh measures of severity against them, he good-humouredly refused, saying that the most dangerous Papist he knew was a Miss Ambrose, a lady who sometimes appeared at the Castle festivities, and was remarkable for her

⁷⁷ Vol. I., pp. 446-7.

⁷⁸ *Prose Works*, Vol. IV., pp. 16-17.

⁷⁹ *Chesterfield's Letters*—(Letter to Mr. Prior.)

beauty and wit.⁸⁰ Primate Stone, and some of the bishops, began to favour toleration, and successfully opposed, in 1757, a fresh penal enactment.⁸¹ When George II. became King a proposed address from the Catholics was rejected with contempt; but when George III. ascended the throne, an address was graciously received. Fifteen years later, an Act was passed substituting the Oath of Allegiance for that of Supremacy.⁸² This was little, but it was the dawn of hope for the Catholics, as it was a confession of failure on the part of their oppressors. After all, the old Church had weathered the storm; the ship so long buffeted upon the sea was sailing in less troubled waters and far away upon the ocean's rim already could be discerned the dim outlines of the promised land.

⁸⁰ Lecky, p. 269.

⁸¹ Stuart's *Historical Memoirs of Armagh*, pp. 388-9.

⁸² Curry's *Civil Wars*, Vol. II., p. 288.



CHAPTER XXV.

The Irish Abroad.

WHEN Philip II. became King of Spain he succeeded to an inheritance, such as has rarely fallen to the lot of man. King of Spain, Naples, and Sicily, Duke of Milan, Lord of Franche Compte and the Netherlands, ruler of Tunis and the Barbary Coast, of the Canary and Cape Verd Islands, of the Phillipine and the West Indian Islands, and of Mexico and Peru—such were his titles, such was the extent of his dominions. A pious, even bigoted, Catholic, Philip believed he was a chosen instrument, in the hands of God, to put down heresy at home, and to protect Catholicity in other lands.¹ In Spain, he still used the Inquisition; in the Netherlands, he gave Alva a free hand to quench Protestantism in the blood of the Protestants;² he favoured the league in France against the Huguenots; and it was his brother, Don John of Austria, who had won the battle of Lepanto. To this powerful monarch, the champion of their faith, the persecuted Irish Catholics turned in their distress; and thus it happened that Irish priests were educated at Louvain, and that, when Fitzmaurice was coming to Ireland, to fight for Catholicity, it was from a Spanish port he set sail.³ When the Armada failed, the wrecks of many Spanish vessels were strewn along the western coast of Ireland from Dingle to Innishowen; and,

¹ *Robertson's Works*, Vol. vi., p. 267.

² *Motley's Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Vol. II., Part III.

³ *Carew Papers*, Vol. II., pp. 23, 42; *Hamilton's Calendar*, Vol. II., pp. 220, 330, 353.

though the reception of the wrecked Spaniards had not been of the friendliest,⁴ the good relations between Ireland and Spain still continued; and when Philip died, his successor sent Daguilla and his army to aid O'Donnell and O'Neill. After the disaster of Kinsale many of the Irish chiefs sought safety in flight, and the vessels which brought back to their own country the vanquished Spaniards carried thither also some of the best blood of Munster. Some were of the old Irish stock, such as the O'Sullivans and the MacCarthys; others, like Burke and Barry and Lacy, were from an Anglo-Norman source.⁵ They expected to return with O'Donnell. But that chief was soon struck down by a treacherous hand; O'Neill also had meanwhile been overcome; no further Spanish help was sent; and instead of the exiles returning, their number was added to by the flight of the Earls and the Plantation of Ulster.

The fate of some of these exiles we know. The Earl of Tyrconnell, his brother Caffer, and the young Baron of Dungannon, soon died at Rome; MacMahon and Maguire died at Genoa; and the old Earl of Tyrone, with sightless eyes and broken heart, lived on till 1616, when another grave in the Franciscan church was opened to receive his mortal remains. His son Brian was strangled at Brussels; his son Henry died in Flanders, a Colonel in the Spanish army; his son John was also killed in the same service; and the young Earl of Tyrconnell died at sea.⁶ The fate of many others we do not know. Most of them took service in the Spanish army; and in the long struggle between Spain and the Dutch under Farnese and Portocarero, in the Flemish towns or behind the walls of Amiens, the valour of these Irish exiles was ever conspicuous, and the post of danger was assigned to them almost as a matter of course.⁷ The truce of twelve years, entered into, in 1609, between Spain and the United Provinces, released them from active service, and a few, at least, sought

⁴ Captain Cuellar's *Narrative*.

⁵ *Pacata Hibernia*, Vol. II., pp. 64-9.

⁶ Meehan's *Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, pp. 175, 253, 323, 329.

⁷ O'Connor's *Military History*, pp. 31-68.

employment elsewhere. In the desolating Thirty Years War, which turned so much of Germany into a desert, we find Irish officers in the army of Wallenstein; and when Wallenstein, proud of his great victories, had outgrown the position of a subject, and thrown off allegiance to the Emperor, it was an Irish officer (Butler) who plotted his destruction, and another Irish officer (Devereux) who struck him the fatal blow.⁸

Meanwhile the disgrace of Kinsale rankled in their hearts and wistfully did they look across the sea, hoping some day to use at home the skill and experience acquired on foreign fields. With the rebellion of 1641 the time came at last, and the O'Neills, and Maguires, and MacMahons, of the older Irish stock, and Butler and Preston of the newer, hastened home. Discipline and union among them might have effected much; but from the beginning there were jealousies and divisions; and the confusion was increased by the intrigues of Ormond and the uncompromising attitude of the Nuncio. Cromwell soon stamped out the rebellion, and after the war 40,000 Irish soldiers again took service in foreign armies.⁹ The greater part again went to Spain; but not all. Some went to Venice and Austria, and some went to France; and in the war which the latter country waged with Spain, and which ended with the Treaty of the Pyrenees, there were Irish soldiers on both sides, and sometimes they met in actual conflict.¹⁰ Worse still was the fate of those other exiles who had been shipped off to the West Indian Islands. Their number is given by Sir William Petty as 8,000; but this figure is certainly too low, as Father Grace found in the various islands, in 1666, 12,000 Irish; and, even as early as the year 1656, it is recorded that already many had died.¹¹ They were strictly prohibited from practising their religion; they could not have firearms or own a boat; the lash was often administered; they were held in such contempt that the negroes despised them as white slaves; and in the parching sun they

⁸ Gardiner's *Thirty Years War*, pp. 151, 177.

⁹ *Ibid.* cap 19.

¹⁰ O'Connor, pp. 69-71.

¹¹ Moran's *Persecutions under Cromwell*, pp. 174-83.

worked without shirt, stocking, or shoe.¹² Such hardships as these rapidly thinned their ranks, and the white slaves soon disappeared.

During this period, while the power of Spain had declined, the power of France had grown. Torn by dissensions, ruled by incompetent sovereigns, for a time the latter country was weak; but unity and strength came under the vigorous rule of Henry of Navarre. To compare him, as Michelet does, with David and Charlemagne, and call him the chief of Christianity, is absurd,¹³ for it is doubtful if he cared much for any religion, and his morals were certainly not above reproach. But he did much for his own country and at his death, France, both at home and abroad, had established a superiority over her rival. The preponderance became greater under the rule of Richelieu and Mazarin,¹⁴ and was especially evident if the military strength of the two nations be compared. With the battles of Grandson and Morat, where Swiss infantry overwhelmed Burgundian cavalry, the days of the mail-clad knights in battle passed away, and the prestige of the Swiss pikemen and the Swiss mercenary had begun.¹⁵ In the Italian wars, the Swiss method of fighting was adopted, and improved; the Spanish formation became one of dense masses, with pikemen in the centre, and musketeers on the wings; the discipline, courage, and steadiness of the common soldier, and the skill of the leaders did the rest, and, for more than a century, the Spanish infantry was reputed the first in the world. At the battle of Rocroi (1643), Spanish courage was again shown as of old, but Spanish tactics were proved to be obsolete. The alertness of Conde was greater than that of his antagonist, and so was that of his infantry and artillery, and a crushing victory was the result.¹⁶ All men could see that the star of Spain had paled, and that of France had mounted in the heavens. The disparity increased as time passed; and, with such generals as Conde, Turenne, and Vauban,

¹² Saintsbury's *Calendar—Colonial Series*, 1574-1660, pp. 481-7; *America and the West Indies*, pp. 529-30.

¹³ *Histoire de France*, Vol. II., pp. 168-9.

¹⁴ Hume's *Spain, its Greatness and Decay*, Maps.

¹⁵ *Switzerland—Story of the Nations*, pp. 208-13.

¹⁶ Michelet, Vol. XII., pp. 278-81.

Louis became Louis the Great King, and France the greatest monarchy in the world. To this great power the eyes of the more ambitious among the Irish began to be turned, and the stream of emigration was diverted from Spain to France. It swelled in volume under the Stuart kings; and within the 50 years which followed the Treaty of Limerick, 450,000 Irish soldiers died in the service of France.¹⁷

Those who left Limerick with Sarsfield (the Wild Geese, as they came to be called) were destined for the invasion of England, and were all assembled at Brest in May, 1692. But the French navy, which was to have destroyed the combined English and Dutch fleets, was itself defeated off La Hogue, and the invasion of England became impossible.¹⁸ Nominally, the Irish troops were still the soldiers of James; but, in reality, they were the soldiers of France, hired to fight her battles. Mountcashel's Brigade was made up of three regiments, those of Mountcashel, Dillon and Clare. The remaining force was divided into 12 regiments, of which two were cavalry—Shelden's and Galmoy's; the foot being those of Clancarty, Athlone, Charlemont, Dublin and Limerick, the Marine Regiment, the King's and Queen's regiments of Guards, and two regiments of dismounted dragoons; there were also two companies of King James's body-guard, and some supernumeraries. There were complaints indeed that officers had been depressed in rank, and that in many cases soldiers had been drafted into other regiments and so separated from the officers who had led them in Ireland.¹⁹ But these were mere ruffles on the surface and in no way interfered with the efficiency of the troops. Nor was it long until their services were required. The rapid advance of French power had become a menace to Europe. The Protestant sovereigns trembled for their religion; the Catholic, for their territories; and in the League of Augsburg both Catholic and Protestants united against the common enemy; and such was the strength of France that she seemed not unequal to the

¹⁷ MacGeoghegan's *History of Ireland*, p. 599.

¹⁸ Macaulay, Vol. II., pp. 354-7.

¹⁹ O'Connor, pp. 194-200, 371-4; O'Callaghan, pp. 1-142.

struggle. If she had been, in 1690, defeated at the Boyne, she had, on her side, defeated England at sea ; and, on land, she had beaten the Dutch and Germans at Fleurus, and Catinat won the battle of Staffarda. In the next year, as a set off to the defeat of Aughrim, France captured Mons ; and when the Irish Brigade was ready to march from Brest, the fight was raging at the same time in Catalonia, in Germany, in Piedmont and in the Netherlands.

In the latter country some Irish troops under Luxemburg earned distinction near Namur, and so also did another body near Spire.²⁰ More important events occurred in the south. Catinat held the advanced posts of Susa and Pignerol, in Piedmont, and, with the passes of the Alps open, and the towns of Dauphine garrisoned, he felt secure. But, in the summer of 1692, the Duke of Savoy got 20,000 troops from Austria, under Prince Eugene, one of the greatest generals of the age. It was resolved to leave Catinat undisturbed at Susa, and crossing the Alps lower down, to burst into Dauphine in his rear. Under the guidance of the Vaudois this was done. These hardy people had long been settled in Piedmont. Their religious tenets were akin to those of the Huguenots, and, in consequence, they had suffered much from the Duke of Savoy, and from the King of France. But Savoy and France were now at war, and the Vaudois guided the Austrians and Savoyards through the Alpine passes. On their line of march Guillestre and Embrun were garrisoned by Irish troops, and at both places a stubborn resistance was encountered. Time was thus given the French to strengthen the neighbouring towns ; and the Austrians and their allies were compelled to recross the Alps and set up their winter quarters in Italy, where, in the next year, they encountered Catinat himself at Marsiglia. In the battle which followed, the Duke of Savoy, being in supreme command, disregarded the advice of Eugene, both as to the preparations for battle, and as to the disposition of his army, with the result that Catinat won an important victory, and Eugene, after suffering terrible losses, crossed the Po. With Catinat there were 6,000 Irish who shared fully in the victory gained. But they also shared fully in the losses, for Maxwell, who

²⁰ O'Connor, pp. 205-8.

fought at Athlone, and Wauchope, and Lord Clare, were among the dead, and the same fate befel many hundreds of the rank and file.²¹

Nor were these the only losses the Irish sustained in that year. At the battle of Landen, Sarsfield held high command on the left wing of Luxemburg's army. With the Duke of Berwick, and with troops entirely French, he endeavoured to capture the village of Neerwinden, and, as the position was of great importance, the English under King William made a desperate resistance. In the first attack it was captured by the French; but they were driven out, and Berwick was taken prisoner. A second and third attack followed, and finally it remained in French hands. In the third attack, Sarsfield fell, mortally wounded. He was carried to the village of Hay, where he died of his wounds, a few days later, and we can well believe how bitterly he regretted that his last battle had not been fought at the head of his own countrymen and for the land he loved so well.²²

The three years that followed contained nothing striking to record. On the Rhine, Mountcashel was employed, and died there in 1695; Dillon's regiment saw service in Spain; and in Piedmont the Irish with Catinat were not idle. His outposts had been often attacked by the Vaudois, and against these he sent the Irish. These hardy children of the Alps they hated as the enemies of France, as the friends of England, above all, as the special friends of the hated Cromwell, who had relieved their wants and obtained toleration of their religion, even while he was murdering the Irish Catholics, and banishing them from their homes.²³ The Irish soldiers carried out Catinat's orders with a will; pursued the Vaudois over rivers and rocks, and up the mountains; and, so effectually did they hunt them down, that, in these Alpine solitudes, the very name of Irish became one to excite terror and dismay.²⁴

With the Peace of Ryswick the war was ended, and for the first

²¹ O'Connor, pp. 210-22; O'Callaghan, pp. 177-8; Voltaire, *Le Siècle de Louis XIV.*, pp. 165-6.

²² O'Callaghan, pp. 174-5; Macaulay, Vol. II., pp. 437-40.

²³ Gardiner's *History of the Protectorate*, Vol. III., pp. 414-18.

²⁴ O'Callaghan, pp. 180-2; O'Connor, pp. 224-30.

time William was recognised King of England by France.²⁵ The vast resources of that great nation were nearly exhausted. Retrenchment became necessary, and in consequence the army was reduced, and so many of the Irish soldiers were dismissed that a force of more than 18,000 was reduced to less than a third of its strength.²⁶ The Irish thus sent adrift were in a cruel dilemma. To return to Ireland was death, for so the law had decreed. To get employment in other countries would be difficult, since they had fought for France; and, in France itself, it was impossible to obtain civil employment; they were soldiers, and knew only the soldier's trade. Some made their way to Spain, and were taken into its army; others drifted to Austria; others got a miserable allowance from King James; others appealed to Louis, and not always in vain; while many became outlaws, and, as such, infested the roads between Paris and St. Germain.²⁷ Those who were retained in the French army had not many years to wait until their swords were again required; for a new war broke out, even more exhausting than that which the Peace of Ryswick had terminated, and in which all Europe was engaged. The prize was nothing less than Spain and all its dependencies, and the chief antagonists were Louis and Leopold, Emperor of Germany. Each was closely related to the dying King of Spain; Louis wanted the throne for his grandson; Leopold for his son; and for years, round the dying bed of the childless monarch, intrigues and counter-intrigues went on, until at last French agents conquered, and Charles II. of Spain willed his vast dominions to the French aspirant, Philip, Duke of Anjou, who, in 1700, ascended the Spanish throne as Philip V. But this arrangement neither England nor Austria would tolerate. They were joined by Holland, Denmark, and Prussia, and with these powers on the one side, and France, Spain, Bavaria and Savoy on the other,²⁸ the war of the Spanish Succession began.

In generalship the French were deficient. The days of Turenne,

²⁵ Macaulay, Vol. II., pp. 626-30.

²⁶ O'Callaghan, pp. 76, 84, 88, 139.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 188-91.

²⁸ The Princess of Savoy had just married the King of Spain, and hence the attitude of the Duke of Savoy.

and Conde, and Luxemburg, were gone. Catinat, Vendome, and Villars were certainly men of ability; but Tallard and Villeroy were wholly unfit for great commands; and at Blenheim, Oudenarde, Ramillies, and Malplaquet France suffered some of the most terrible defeats which ever befell her arms. But in no case could disaster be attributed to the Irish, and everywhere, in defeat as well as in victory, they fought well. At Luzzarra their valour was conspicuous, as it was at Cassano, at Spire, and at the first battle of Blenheim. But their most noted service during the whole war was rendered at Cremona. The place was held by Villeroy with a garrison of 7,000 men, of whom 600 were Irish—the regiments of Dillon and Burke. An Italian priest within the walls acted the traitor, and opened negotiations with Eugene, then at Mantua. Villeroy was unsuspecting, and knew nothing of the enemy's movements until one of the gates was opened, and the Austrians were already within the walls. When he prepared to meet the danger, he was soon overpowered and made prisoner. The Austrians had entered in strength at St. Margaret's gate on the eastern side of the town, and were making their way across to the Po gate, which was on the south side, and was of supreme importance, as it commanded the bridge of boats across the river. Here the Irish took their stand. They were the first to hear the alarm, and, rushing out of their beds, some in their shirts, they grasped their arms, and prepared to defend the position with their lives. Mahony was in command. He constructed barricades, took all the advantages which the shelter of houses gave, and the defences near the gate, and each time the enemy advanced, they were mowed down by a murderous fire. In vastly superior numbers they attacked in front as well as in flank. They charged with cavalry; but the Irish formed squares which the cavalry found to be impenetrable, and horse and man recoiled from these living ramparts of fire and steel. By twelve o'clock all the town except that near the Po gate had fallen into Austrian hands; Villeroy was a prisoner; the next in command had been killed at the head of his men; his successor shared Villeroy's fate. Prince Eugene asked Villeroy to command these stubborn Irish to surrender; but Villeroy answered he was a prisoner and in

no position to give orders. An Irish officer in the Austrian service, named MacDonnell, was then despatched to bribe Mahony's men with offers of military employment and higher pay; but MacDonnell was denounced as a suborner and even taken prisoner. For hours after noon the heroic band fought on. The houses were in flames or battered down, the streets running with blood, the whole town a mass of ruins. But the contest still raged; and at last, when 2,000 of the Austrians had fallen, Eugene withdrew by the gate of St. Margaret, leaving the Irish in possession of Cremona. Of the 600 who commenced the fight 223 had fallen. The survivors were everywhere the theme of praise; Mahony was promoted Colonel; his officers got an increase of pay; and the fame of the Irish soldiers was spread throughout Europe.²⁹

In other contests they were not able to turn defeat into victory; but they were able to show their bravery, and their fidelity to their flag; and everywhere in this widely extended campaign their record was that of gallant soldiers, at Blenheim and at Ramillies, at Oudenarde and at Malplaquet; against the Camisards on the slopes of the Cevennes; under the Duke of Orleans at Turin; with Vendome in Flanders and in Italy; with Villars on the Rhine; with their own countryman Dillon at Toulon; with Berwick in Dauphine and in the passes of the Alps.³⁰ Mahony, the hero of Cremona, who joined the Spanish army, covered himself with glory during these years. His defence of Alicant against the English was heroic; he was at the head of his dragoons at Almanza; he captured Alcira and Carthagena; he put down a revolt in the Island of Sicily; and so highly were his services rated that he was appointed lieutenant-general in the Spanish army, and honoured with the title of Count of Castile.³¹

With the Peace of Utrecht, followed by that of Rastadt (1714), the war was ended, and for many years further opportunities of acquiring military renown were wanting to the exiled Irish.

²⁹ O'Callaghan, pp. 244-9; Voltaire, pp. 207-8; *Mem. de Berwick*, Vol. I., pp. 425. With characteristic Stuart ingratitude, Berwick never mentions the Irish, though even Voltaire does.

³⁰ O'Callaghan, pp. 285-92, 313-16, 338-9, 345-9, 321-2, 326-7.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 319, 330-1, 354-8.

How many of them died during these years ; how many remained in 1714 of those who left Ireland with Sarsfield and Mountcashel, it is impossible to ascertain. Sarsfield, we know, received his death wound at Neerwinden ; the fourth Lord Clare and Colonel O'Carroll at Marsiglia ; Lord Mountcashel died on the Rhine ; Richard Talbot fell at Luzzara ; Colonel Magennis was killed at Spire ; the fifth Lord Clare at Ramillies ; the only son of Lord Galmoy at Malplaquet ; Colonel Fitzgerald died at Ghent of the wounds received at Oudenarde ; Gordon O'Neill, with the rank of brigadier general, died in 1704 ; Walter Burke, the defender of Aughrim Castle, after going through the whole war of Succession, retired to Spain and died at Barcelona.³² But what of the inferior officers, and what of the rank and file ? Death came to them in many lands ; by the waters of the Rhine or Danube, the Ebro or the Guadalquiver ; where the Adige and the Mincio flow ; amid the passes of the Alps ; or the sea-washed shores of Valentia or Catalonia. Some fell amid the shock of battle, and in the soil of Lombardy or Piedmont, of Flanders or Alsace, they found a grave. Or it may be that even a grave was denied them, and that their bleached bones remained on the field where they had fought so well. Others died in the hospitals of the wounds they had received in battle ; others of sickness or old age ; but all far from the land they loved best ; and except in rare cases, without wife or mother to comfort them at the last, with strange sights before their eyes and the tongue of the stranger in their ears.

Not the least of their troubles during life was the sight of so many of their relatives and friends wandering over the Continent in destitution. What one woman could do for them was done by the exiled English Queen ; but her own resources were insufficient to provide for a tithe of those who were in need, and to many others she appealed. To the Bishop of Valence for the wife and children of Lieutenant MacCarthy ; to the Archbishop of Bordeaux for two priests ; to the Archbishop of Cambrai for the wife and children of Lieutenant Donoghue.³³ Similar letters she wrote to the Archbishops

³² O'Callaghan, pp. 39, 221, 41, 150, 108, 151.

³³ *Calendar of the Stuart Papers at Windsor*, Vol. 1., pp. 87, 95, 100, 107.

of Sens, Rouen and Arles, to the Bishops of Cahors, Tournai, Rennes, St. Omer; to Cardinal Barberini, and to many others. Sometimes she requested free education for an Irish girl, or admission to a convent; sometimes free education for a boy who desired to become a priest; to Cardinal D'Estrees she wrote on behalf of Gordon O'Neill, who had lost his regiment in France and was going to Spain; from Cardinal Barberini she wanted favour shown to Father Plunkett, nephew to the late Primate of Armagh; and when Father Kennedy was going to Spain, to beg for his poor countrymen, she warmly recommended his mission to Cardinal Portocarrero.³⁴ Her efforts were indeed ceaseless; yet there must have been many who suffered want and could not be relieved, and the end of the War of Succession swelled the ranks of the destitute and the unemployed

Nor was it likely that fresh employment would soon be obtained. Exhausted Europe wanted rest; Louis XIV. was dead; the poor attempt of the Pretender in Scotland had failed, and by treaty with England, France expelled him from her dominions. From Spain alone was there danger. Under the vigorous rule of Alberoni an attempt was made to recover her lost Italian possessions, and a naval expedition was sent to Sicily. But the forces against Spain were too great. France, Austria, England and Holland formed the Quadruple Alliance, the object of which was to maintain peace, and especially to keep Spain in awe. She was, therefore, compelled to yield, and to dismiss Alberoni from his office of first minister, and even to expel him from her dominions; and when his successor, Ripperda, also adopted a vigorous foreign policy, and threatened the peace of Europe, he too was dismissed and exiled.³⁵ Thus was the peace kept, and during these years the Irish soldiers abroad had to sheathe their swords. But with the death of the Emperor, Charles VI. their services were again required, for another great war of succession was at hand. Dying without male heirs, the Emperor, by an instrument called the Pragmatic Sanction, left his dominions to his daughter Maria Theresa, wife of the Duke of Lorraine, and to

³⁴ *Stuart Papers*, Vol. I., pp. 121, 168, 183.

³⁵ Major Hume's *Spain, its Greatness and Decay*, pp. 354-5, 366-9.

this arrangement the assent had been obtained of all the great powers of Europe. But no sooner was the Emperor dead than Frederick of Prussia cast covetous eyes on Silesia ; Spain wanted Milan ; the Elector of Bavaria laid claim to the Empire itself by virtue of descent. Frederick was first to move, and, gaining the battle of Molwitz, was soon master of Silesia. Under advice from England, that province was ceded to him by Maria Theresa, and for the time he dropped out of the war. But in the meantime the Elector of Bavaria, aided by France and Saxony, captured Passau and Linz and Prague, and in 1742 was crowned Emperor at Frankfurt with the title of Charles VII. ³⁶ In the next year, France was joined by Spain and Sicily, while Austria was joined by England and Holland and Sardinia ; and in Italy and on the Rhine, the contest was continued with varying success and indecisive results. As to the expedition of the young Pretender, its result was a temporary success, followed by the crushing disaster of Culloden. ³⁷

But in Flanders the French army covered itself with glory. Marshal Saxe, accompanied by Louis XV., and at the head of a well-equipped army, crossed the frontier in 1744, and took Courtrai, Menin, and Ypres ; nor could the English and Austrians at Brussels do anything to stay his march. But, in the meantime, the Austrian general, Prince Charles of Lorraine, crossed the Rhine, overran Alsace and Lorraine, and, with 60,000 men, was advancing west, and even menaced Paris. Leaving Saxe in Flanders with 45,000 men to hold what had been won, Louis reached Metz and established his headquarters there ; but even more important than this, was a treaty entered into between France and Prussia, by which Frederick, jealous of the Austrian successes, and fearful for Silesia, entered Bohemia and menaced Prague. Prince Charles found it necessary to withdraw his army from the Rhine and make head against Frederick, whom he soon compelled to fall back on Saxony ; and the French, relieved of the pressure on their eastern frontier, were free in the next year to resume the campaign in Flanders. ³⁸ Early in May they laid siege to Tournai, and the English, Dutch, and

³⁶ Voltaire, *Le Siecle de Louis XV.*, pp. 55-9.

³⁷ O'Callaghan, pp. 447-55.

³⁸ Voltaire, pp. 79-84.

Austrians marched from Brussels to its relief. Saxe advanced to meet them. Leaving 18,000 men to continue the siege and 6,000 to guard the bridges of the Scheldt, he took up his position at Fontenoy, a small village on the right banks of the Scheldt, about eight miles from Tournai. Between two woods, De Barri's on the left, and the wood of Fontenoy on the right, the village itself stands on a rising ground, which slopes upward from the river. To the right, not far from the river bank, was the village of St. Antoin; to the left, behind De Barri's wood, was the village of Ramecroix. Both in front and flank the French position was protected by redoubts, manned by heavy guns; and near St. Antoin, on the southern bank of the Scheldt, another battery had been placed; so that an enemy advancing in that direction, and endeavouring to turn the French right, would be assailed in front and flank by the artillery from the redoubts; and when he reached the river, he would again be assailed from the other side. Somewhere near St. Antoin, King Louis and his son took their stand as spectators of the battle. The French and Swiss were at the centre and right, the Irish at the extreme left, under the command of Lord Clare. Marshal Noailles and the Duke of Richelieu were next in command to Saxe, who was himself so ill for part of the day that he was unable to go on horseback. The Duke of Cumberland was in supreme command of the enemy, his right under General Ingoldsby, his left, where the Dutch were placed, under the Prince of Waldeck. In numbers Cumberland's force was superior—53,000 to 40,000; but on the French side there was a decided superiority of cannon—110 to 40 guns. Saxe was, no doubt, a greater general than his opponent, but Cumberland was by no means deficient in talent, still less in bravery; and the soldiers in both armies were seasoned troops.

On the 11th of May, at four in the morning, the English artillery opened fire, which was continued till nine o'clock, and then Cumberland's whole line advanced. Ingoldsby was to attack a redoubt on the French left; but he failed—failed even in courage—and was afterwards dismissed the English army. Waldeck and his Dutch showed more courage, but were equally unsuccessful. The French redoubts on the right were not to be carried; and before the terrible artillery fire from these and from the battery across

the river the Dutch recoiled, and showed no disposition to renew the attack. In the centre, Cumberland, at the head of the English and Hanoverians, did better. With 15,000 men and 20 pieces of cannon he advanced slowly, as if on parade; and as he approached the French, his guns opened fire. Against this great body, massed in close formation, and advancing with irresistible strides, regiment after regiment was sent; but they were met by the fire of the English guns and by a murderous rolling fire of musketry, which was incessant, and each regiment which attacked was driven back with loss. Still the English advanced, closing up their ranks as gaps were opened in them by the foe, and, in spite of all obstacles, they continued their march, past Fontenoy itself, past the first and second French lines; and if at this moment the Dutch at the left had co-operated with them the battle was gained. Affairs were so critical that Saxe sent two urgent messages to the King to retire beyond the Scheldt, but he refused to leave, and evidently did not yet despair. With the French reserve were four pieces of cannon, and Colonel Lally, an Irish officer, suggested that these be brought up and turned on the front of the English column, while at the same time from all quarters, from front and flank, both infantry and cavalry were to fall upon it. The advice was considered good by the Duke of Richelieu, and adopted by the King, and in this manner Cumberland's column was attacked.

It was at this point that the Irish, hitherto inactive, were ordered to attack. The bitter memories of wrong were in their hearts; the enemies of their race and of their religion were before them; and on the right wing of Cumberland's column they threw themselves with fury. They were the infantry regiments of Clare, Dillon, Bulkeley, Rothe, Berwick and Lally, with the cavalry regiment of Fitzjames. As they advanced up the slope they were met by a destructive fire. Lord Clare was struck; Dillon fell mortally wounded. The surviving Irish fired a deadly volley into the enemy's ranks, and with a maddening cry of "Remember Limerick and Saxon perfidy," they charged with the bayonet. Through the openings made in the enemy's column by the four pieces of cannon the French cavalry dashed; the Carabineers and the household troops aided the Irish; the regiments of Normandy

struck in on the French right, Cumberland's column fell back, shattered and broken, beyond Fontenoy and up the slope ; and, after eight hours fighting, the battle was won. The English and their allies were not pursued, and fell back in good order, having lost nearly 8,000 killed and wounded, more than 2,000 prisoners, and nearly all their guns.

On their side the French had lost over 7,000, so that if the vanquished had suffered severely the loss of the victors was little less. Of the Irish 98 of their officers and 400 of their men were either killed or wounded. Lally was named brigadier on the field of battle by the King, and others of the officers got pensions and promotions ; and Louis, the day after battle, personally thanked each corps for the services they had rendered to him. These favours were, no doubt, gracefully acknowledged as they were gracefully conferred ; but it was a still greater satisfaction to the Irish to remember that they had turned defeat into victory ; that they had brought disaster on their ancient enemies, and revenged themselves for the violated treaty ; and, in the whole history of the Irish Brigade, no day was so honoured, by the exiles, as the glorious day of Fontenoy.³⁹

Only a few of the Irish joined the expedition of the **Young Pretender** in the next year. The greater part continued in Belgium until Belgium was completely conquered by Saxe,⁴⁰ and until, finally, by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the combatants came to terms. The husband of Maria Theresa was recognised Emperor ; Frederick was left in possession of Silesia ; England and France gave back what they had conquered ; and again Europe was at rest. And not until the Seven Years War broke out were Irish soldiers again sought. But they fought in diminished numbers, for it was now specially difficult to replenish their shattered ranks. The Stuart cause had become hopeless,⁴¹ and thus one object for which some at least enlisted in foreign service was gone. In Ireland

³⁹ O'Callaghan, pp. 350-67 ; Voltaire, pp. 92-108 ; Michelet, Vol. xvi., pp. 243-9 ; Martin, *Histoire de France*. Vol. xv., p. 283 ; Hamont's "Lally-Tollendal," pp. 27-8.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 474-9.

⁴¹ Lang's *Young Pretender*, pp. 74-252.

itself some faint beginnings of toleration appeared. The Penal Code was less savagely administered, and in part not administered at all ; the rigorous exclusion of the Catholics from the English army ceased ; and those who had been admitted to its ranks were found to be as faithful and brave as others.⁴² Concurrently with this new turn of affairs, a law was passed, in 1756, making it death to enlist in the French service, and for an Irishman in the French service to land in Ireland.⁴³ These laws were rigorously enforced, and difficult to evade ; and the number of the Wild Geese who crossed the sea became less every year. But the foreign Irish regiments had their share of fighting, and everywhere acquitted themselves well. In the fatal battle of Rosbach, surrounded as they were by cowardice and incompetence, the cavalry regiment of Fitzjames alone made headway against the Prussians, and merited the praise of the great Frederick.⁴⁴ The Emperor of Germany declared that the more Irish in his army the better, for an "Irish coward was an uncommon character."⁴⁵ And the Bourbon prince, who afterwards became King of France as Louis XVIII. presented the small remains of the Irish Brigade in 1792 with a new standard as a pledge of his remembrance. On the flag was an Irish harp, and the significant words : " 1692-1792, Semper et Ubique fidelis." ⁴⁶ The honour was richly earned ; and, if we do not know where so many of these gallant exiles fell, we know at least that they died at their posts and were ever faithful to their flag.

In the higher ranks many Irish names survived, and acquired great distinction throughout Europe, not only in a military capacity but in civil positions as well. The sixth Lord Clare and Richard Cusack were marshals of France ; Dillon was governor of Toulon ; O'Hara governor of Senegal ; Richard Talbot, third Earl of Tyrconnell, after a distinguished military career, was appointed French Ambassador at the Court of Frederick the Great. MacMahon

⁴² O'Callaghan, p. 608.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 502-3.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 583, 594.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 601.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 634.

was French Ambassador to the United States.⁴⁷ The career of Peter Lacy in the Russian service reads like a romance. From a subordinate position he rose to the rank of field-marshal. It was said that he taught the Russians to beat Charles XII., he assisted in his defeat at Pultowa; then he beat the Poles; at the head of great armies he beat the Turks and Swedes, and finally became governor of Livonia.⁴⁸ His relative, another Peter Lacy, was a field-marshal in the Austrian service, as was Count Browne, a native of Limerick, who was Commander-in-Chief of the armies of Maria Theresa; another Austrian field-marshal was O'Donnell. Count O'Rourke, about 1760, commanded the Russian army; Count O'Reilly commanded (in 1794), the Spanish army of the Pyrenees; Mahony was Spanish Ambassador at Vienna; Richard Wall, Spanish Ambassador at London.⁴⁹ At Vienna, at a St. Patrick's Day Banquet, given by Mahony to those only of Irish descent, there were present, besides Count Lacy, President of the Council of War, six generals, four chiefs of the Grand Cross, two governors, several knights military, six staff officers and four privy councillors.⁵⁰ This was for Vienna alone. If we add the other great men of Irish descent throughout the Austrian dominions, and those also in France and Spain, the list might be indefinitely prolonged.

One of the most illustrious of the Irish exiles was Count Lally, who so distinguished himself at Fontenoy. His whole family had been devoted to the Stuarts. An uncle had sat for the borough of Tuam in James's Parliament at Dublin;⁵¹ members of his family had fought against William; and when Limerick was lost, confiscation and exile followed. Like so many others of the Irish, the Lallys found employment in the French army; and when the Seven Years War broke out the Lally who fought at Fontenoy was already lieutenant-general. In 1758, he was sent to command an expedition against the English in the East Indies, and arrived there in April of

⁴⁷ D'Alton's *King James's Army List*, pp. 88, 657, 822; O'Callaghan, pp. 499-500.

⁴⁸ O'Callaghan, pp. 480-98.

⁴⁹ D'Alton, pp. 164, 371, 553, 556, 758, 930; Major Hume's *Spain*, pp. 386-8.

⁵⁰ O'Callaghan, p. 602.

⁵¹ Davis, *The Patriot Parliament of 1689*—List of Members.

the following year. From being a mere contest between rival commercial companies, the struggle had assumed national proportions, and was to determine whether it was England or France which would be the dominant power in India. Lally declared that he would drive the English out of the country, and if he had got the supplies he asked for it may be that he would have succeeded. Certainly he was a brave man, and in the taking of Fort St. David, and the victory of Cuddalore he showed capacity for military command.⁵² But he failed at Madras, chiefly owing to the failure of Bussy, the Company's general, to co-operate with him. Other reverses followed. There was thus disunion among the military chiefs, want of money from France, corruption among the Company's servants, speculation among the military contractors, until Lally declared in disgust that since he came to India he had not seen the shadow of an honest man. The result was easy to foresee. He lost the battle of Wandewash, and after a gallant defence, had to surrender Pondicherry, and was himself taken prisoner to Madras. He was brought to England in 1762. Bussy meantime had been plotting his ruin, and when Lally crossed over from England to France, he found himself, on the representations of his enemy accused of extortions, oppressions and abuses of authority; and on these charges he was thrown into the Bastille. There he remained for four years, when he was brought forth for trial and condemned. And, that no indignity should be spared him, he was led forth to public execution in a scavenger's coat, with a gag in his mouth. His son, Lally-Tolendal of the Revolution days, had his sentence annulled in 1778 by the King and Council. Thus was tardy justice done to the memory of a brave man, and young Lally himself by his filial devotion, by his loyalty to his sovereign and by the honours he attained, added fresh lustre to the name he bore.⁵³

⁵² Michelet, Vol. xvii., p. 21. Michelet admits his bravery, but denies his capacity to lead; he was but "un fou furieux qui n'avait que de la bravoure."

⁵³ O'Callaghan, pp. 509-77; Carlyle's *French Revolution*; Voltaire, *Le Siècle de Louis XV.*, pp. 226-34; Hamont, pp. 296-316.



CHAPTER XXVI.

Writers and Schools.

IN the long period of strife which followed the death of Brian Boru, the greater part of the monastic schools decayed. But Armagh still remained, and the very year the Anglo-Normans came, the Ard Righ provided for it an annual donation of ten cows, so that its professors would be enabled "to instruct the youths of Erin in learning."¹ The Norman invasion shattered the hopes of brighter days. Such men as de Courcy, de Cogan, and le Gros, had little respect for schools, or even churches, which had been raised by Irish hands, and in the wars which followed, the monastic schools disappeared. The bardic schools fared better, and in the next four centuries, it was in these that Irish Scholars were for the most part to be found. The Anglo-Normans, indeed, did not love these schools. The Statute of Kilkenny penalised the calling of the bards, and prohibited them within the Pale, English officials regarded them as enemies of England, and by Parliament and Viceroy they were treated as such.² But these penal enactments could not be enforced outside the Pale, nor with much effect even within its bounds, and the bards lived on. So bitter an enemy as Spenser admitted that, even in translation, their pieces savoured of "sweet wit and good invention," and were sprinkled with some pretty flowers.³ But they produced no

¹ *Four Masters.*

² Carew, *Papers*, Vol. I., 410; Vol. II., p. 369; Hamilton's *Calendar*, Vol. I., p. 227.

³ Spenser's *View*, p. 124.

work of striking merit ; and a writer who can speak with intimate and extensive knowledge has declared that in all they wrote—genealogies, religious meditations, clan history, elegies—there is a lack of initiative and imagination.⁴ They were patriots, or at least thought they were, and certainly they hated English institutions, and English domination. But their patriotism was provincial and narrow. They had no conception of a great national struggle ; they did nothing to soften local jealousies ; and if they praised their own chiefs they passed by the valorous deeds of others. The poets of Wicklow, for instance, sang of the O'Byrnes, of the heroism of Fiach MacHugh, and the beauty of his wife ; the bard of the O'Briens sang the praises of the English-made Earl of Thomond ; and O'Clery recalled the glories of the O'Donnells.⁵ But, in the midst of wreck and ruin, there was no passionate pleading for unity and discipline. The discord among the chiefs, which involved the overthrow of the great Earl of Tyrone, had its counterpart in the Contention of the Poets, in which the northern and southern bards flung sarcasms at each other ; and the treachery of Nial Garve was paralleled by the poet Aengus O'Daly, who was employed by Carew and Mountjoy to blacken the characters of the Irish chiefs, and this at a time when Carew and Mountjoy were turning Ireland into a desert.⁶

In the 16th century there were many lay colleges, such as Waterford, Cork, Kilkenny, Limerick, and Cashel, in which the sons of the gentry and chiefs were educated.⁷ How the secular priests of the time were trained is not clear. Some, perhaps, in the colleges conducted by themselves, others in the colleges conducted by the religious orders. It has been suggested that the best ecclesiastical education was obtained in these latter colleges ;⁸ and it is noteworthy that a large proportion of the bishops of the time were taken from the religious orders.⁹ But, if these schools sent out bishops, they sent out few writers of eminence. A Dominican wrote the *Annals* of his Order down to 1274 ; a Franciscan a *Commentary*

⁴ Hyde's *Literary History of Ireland*, p. 465.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 472-6, 515.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 476-8.

⁷ Mahaffy, *An Epoch in Irish History*, p. 11.

⁸ Healy's *Centenary History of Maynooth College*, pp. 11-13.

⁹ Knox, *Notes on the Archdiocese of Tuam*, p. 117.

on the Four Books of the Sentences ; Pembridge and Clynn wrote Annals ; Magraiden Lives of Irish Saints ; O'Fihely, who was Archbishop of Tuam and a Franciscan, wrote a Commentary on the works of Duns Scotus.¹⁰

But the great glory of the Franciscans, and indeed of the Irish schools was Duns Scotus himself. Such fame did he acquire that nations have contended for the place of his birth. According to Dempster, he was born about 1274, at Dunse, in Berwickshire ; according to Leland, at Dunstane, in Northumberland ; according to Wadding, in the county of Down, in Ireland. This latter statement is now proved to be the correct one, for a contemporary document has been discovered, which describes him as coming from the Irish province.¹¹ He joined the Franciscans at an early age, and was subsequently professor at Oxford, at the University of Paris, and at Cologne, where he died in 1308. These were the days of Scholasticism, and on questions of theology and philosophy there was a long-standing rivalry between the Franciscan and Dominican Orders. But the vast labours of St. Thomas had turned the scale in favour of the Dominicans. The extent of his knowledge, the profundity of his thoughts, the courage with which he approached the most abstruse questions, and the skill with which he handled them, have never been surpassed. He shirked no difficulty, made clear what was obscure, sounded to their very depths such questions as grace, predestination, free-will, and many others, questions in the discussion and explanation of which the keenest intellects have lost their way. Who could compare with him who had traversed, with the light of the sun, the whole field of philosophy, and built up a system which even genius has often attacked, but has never been able to destroy ? And yet even with such a giant intellect, Scotus bears comparison.

On many points they agreed. Both were obedient children of the Church. In philosophy both looked to Aristotle as their master :

¹⁰ Ware's *Writers*.

¹¹ Scotus, *Opera Omnia*—(Wadding's Edition), Vol. 1., pp. 1-5 ; Dr. Healy, Archbishop of Tuam in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, July, 1880, Feb.-March, 1881 ; Rev. Geo. O'Neill, F.R.U.I., in *New Ireland Review*, May, 1900.

and on the question of universals, which then agitated the schools, both maintained the realist opinion that universals, such as genus and species, outside ideas and the words conveying them, have an objective reality. But when these questions were passed, they had reached the parting of the ways. Scotus relied less than St. Thomas on reason, and denied its ability to prove the immortality of the soul; and while St. Thomas held that the will can only act under the guidance of the intellect, Scotus held that its power was sovereign and arbitrary. On the question of the conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the former held that she was sanctified in her mother's womb, but was conceived in sin, the latter that she was immaculately conceived. It was here that the great Franciscan achieved his most noted triumph. At the University of Paris, then and long after, the first university in the world, his views prevailed; with the lapse of time, and the development of Catholic doctrine, it came more and more into the light of day, until, in our day, it has become the defined doctrine of the Catholic Church. In these and many other questions he showed such critical acumen, such boundless capacity for subtle distinctions; the shadings of his thoughts were so delicate and diversified, that he acquired the title of the Subtle Doctor; and, if he did not displace St. Thomas from his throne, at least he shared with him the sovereignty of the schools.

After the death of Scotus the Irish schools decayed; and in the 14th and 15th centuries we seek in vain for a great scholar or a great school; and any hope of a revival of learning in the 16th century was blasted by the attempted reformation in religion, and the wars which followed. The ruin of monasteries and schools begun by Henry was completed by Elizabeth, and an ignorant clergy was the necessary result. Scarcely any of them had obtained a degree in theology or canon law, and of the former subject the vast majority knew nothing except what they had learned from their catechisms as boys. Pope Pius IV. urged the Irish Bishops, in 1564, to establish a university, to be supported by the property of the monasteries.¹² But this could not be done. The monastic

¹² *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, Vol. 1., pp. 32-8.

lands were already given over to those who had no sympathy with Catholic education, and no respect for a Papal document : and, even if they had been ready to surrender these lands to the Catholics, the penal laws barred the way. The classical schools in the towns were, then, the only resource left to the laity ; and as to the clergy, it became necessary that they should cross the sea. Before the end of the 16th century Spenser speaks of Irish priests coming from Rome and Rheims ; but, early in the next century, special colleges were erected and endowed on the Continent to keep up a supply of priests for the Irish Church.

In this work Spain took the lead. Philip II. helped to erect at Salamanca the " Royal College of the Noble Irish," as it was called ; another Irish College was erected at Lisbon, in 1593 ; nearly 20 years later, an Irish College was established at Seville ; and there were Irish Colleges also at Madrid, Alcala, and Santiago.¹³ But, in the wide extent of his dominions, there were no Irish Colleges so closely in touch with the Irish at home as the Colleges at Louvain. That city had long been a stronghold of Catholic education, and during the 15th and 16th centuries, a few of its students were Irish, among them being Lombard and Creagh, both of whom became Archbishops of Armagh ; and O'Hurley, the martyred Archbishop of Cashel. As yet, however, no purely Irish College had been affiliated to the University ; nor was it until the early part of the 17th century that three such colleges were formed—the Pastoral College for the education of secular priests, the College of St. Antony of Padua for the education of Franciscans, and the Dominican College of the Holy Cross. The first of these, founded in 1623, owed its existence to Mathews, Archbishop of Dublin, then in exile in Flanders ;¹⁴ the second was founded in 1617, chiefly through the exertions of Florence Conry, Archbishop of Tuam ; the third became an affiliated college in 1657, and owed much to the liberality of a family named Joyce from Galway.¹⁵

In the meantime, in other directions also, educational provision was being made for the Irish abroad. Luke Wadding, a native of

¹³ Healy's *Centenary History of Maynooth*, pp. 55, *et seq.*

¹⁴ D'Alton's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 390.

¹⁵ O'Leary's *Irish Dominicans*, pp. 282-6.

Waterford, after joining the Franciscan order, went to Lisbon, and there, and at Coimbra, he finished his training, after which he became professor at Salamanca. Such was his reputation, that when Philip III. sent, in 1621, an embassy to the Pope, Wadding was one of its members. With the permission of his superiors he chose to remain in the Eternal City; and there his learning, his wisdom, his piety, brought him such influence with Popes and Cardinals that he was able to establish for the Irish Franciscans the Convent and College of St. Isidore. A valuable library was soon collected; 30 members of the order peopled the convent; and in its halls not a few zealous and learned Irishmen received their training, and then, crossing land and sea, undertook the dangerous duties of the Irish mission. Wadding founded his convent in 1626. About the same time the Irish College at Rome was founded for the training of secular priests, and, 40 years later, the Dominicans established the Convent and College of St. Clement.¹⁶

But much as these colleges did for Ireland, the Colleges in France did more. Before the close of the 16th century, there were Irish Colleges at Douay and Paris; and during the next two centuries, Irish students were educated at Bordeaux, at Nantz, at Toulouse, until, at the last quarter of the 18th century, more than two-thirds of the Irish educated abroad were being educated in the Colleges of France. And it is the opinion of one who speaks with the authority of extensive knowledge, that three-fourths of the priests who laboured in Ireland, during the 18th century, had come from the French colleges, especially from the Irish colleges of Paris.¹⁷

It was in these establishments, scattered over the Continent from Louvain to Rome, that the brightest Irish intellects were to be found. Compared with what they endured, the sufferings and sorrows of the Irish in foreign armies were little. The Wild Geese who followed Sarsfield in his flight had their thoughts diverted from sadder scenes by the joke and story of the camp and mess-room, the song on the march, the excitement of actual conflict, the hopes of promotion and higher pay. Their talents were appreciated, their

¹⁶ O'Heyne, p. 117—*Appendix*.

¹⁷ Healy, pp. 75, 696-7—*Appendix*, 10.

services rewarded, their religion was free ; they might achieve fame ; and they need not face in their own land the horrors of the penal laws. The Wild Geese in foreign colleges, on the contrary, had winged their flight only to return. In the class-rooms their places were often first ; and when promotion to the priesthood came, they might, had they remained abroad, have attained to the highest positions in the Church. But they were wanted at home to keep the lamp of faith still burning , and once more, disguised as a sailor or concealed in a smuggler's craft, they were borne across the sea. Crowned with the highest academic honours, able to grapple with the deepest questions of theology and philosophy, familiar with the facts and with the lessons of history, these men of culture settled down in the obscurity of an Irish village. But the poverty and obscurity of their position was the least portion of the hardships they endured. Guiltless of crime, they were declared guilty by the law ; eager only to minister to the souls of their fellow-countrymen, they were at the mercy of the common informer, the bigoted parson, the ferocious magistrate, the drunken squireen. Their liberty was ever in peril, their shelter often the woods and forests ; their end in a village cabin, or it might be at the end of a hangman's rope.

Amid such scenes, the writer and scholar found little room for the exercise of his talents. Yet there were a few who rose superior to their surroundings, and among these was Geoffrey Keating. The date and place of his birth is uncertain, as is also the date of his death ; but it is known that he was educated at Salamanca, where he was for many years a professor. He returned to Ireland in the early years of the 17th century, and became parish priest of Tybrid, in Tipperary. For denouncing too boldly the evils of adultery, he incurred the ire of a Catholic lady who had been living in sin with the President of Munster, and to avoid the wrath of the latter he had to fly from Tybrid to the woods and mountains. Nor could he return with safety for years. He wrote a moral treatise called the *Three Shafts of Death*, some poems, and a *History of Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Anglo-Norman Invasion*. This last is his greatest work, and on it he spent many years. Far from the necessary books, outlawed and proscribed, the task he undertook was full of difficulties. But he was anxious to employ his talents

for the service of his country, and, knowing that she had been defamed as well as robbed, he wished to defend her character against so many detractors. Nor was he ill-equipped for the work. He was a competent Irish scholar, and could write the language with such elegance that his works have become the best models of Irish prose. English and Latin he knew well; he was quite familiar with the works of all others who had written on Irish history; and he travelled far and wide in search of Irish manuscripts, annals, histories, biographies, and bardic tales, many of which have since been lost. On Cambrensis he is specially severe; Stanihurst he calls a false historian; he had no respect for Hanmer; Moryson and Campion were but "libellers and pamphleteers;" Davies was uncandid; and all these, added to Spenser and Camden, only followed in the footsteps of Cambrensis, and "copy his falsehoods."¹⁸ But Keating himself did not escape censure. Peter Talbot declared that his *History* was no more than an ill-digested heap of silly fictions, a severe criticism, but not altogether undeserved. Keating had little skill in separating the false from the true, the fabulous from the real, the authentic annals from the bardic tale. In an age of partisans he was not impartial, and fully shared the prejudices of his time. Ill-arranged and ill-digested his work certainly is, yet it is well that it was written; for with many fables it contains many facts not otherwise available, and is of undoubted value to the historian.¹⁹

Two of Keating's contemporaries were David Rothe and Nicholas French, the former born at Kilkenny, the latter at Wexford. Both went abroad for their education; both were men of the highest talents; both became bishops, Rothe of Ossory and French of Ferns; both were prominent members of the Confederate Assembly at Kilkenny. More of a politician than Rothe, French was a man of strong will, and of pronounced convictions. In the Confederate Assembly no man was more respected, no man more trusted by the Nuncio, no man more hated by the Ormondists. Ever in favour of the boldest course, he moved, in 1646, that Preston be deprived of his command; the following year he was one of two delegates sent to Rome; he demanded, in 1650, the resignation of Ormond; he

¹⁸ Keating's Preface.

¹⁹ Ware's *Writers*.

negotiated with the Duke of Lorraine, and incurred the deep displeasure of Clanricarde.²⁰ He was ill near Wexford when the place was sacked by Cromwell, and during the rule of the Puritans he was abroad. Nor was he allowed home at the Restoration, for Ormond was his enemy to the last. It was during these years of exile his works were written. *The Unkind Deserter* is a severe and damaging indictment of Ormond; *Bleeding Iphigenia* gives a sad description of the sufferings of Ireland in these times; and *The Sale and Settlement of Ireland* treats of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and denounces in vigorous language the King himself, for having condemned the innocent without being heard, confirmed unlawful and usurped possessions, violated public faith, punished virtue, countenanced vice, held loyalty a crime, and treason worthy of reward.²¹ Rothe was not so prominent in politics as French, and did not make so many enemies, though Ware charges him with treason and bigotry, while admitting his great learning. His principal work is his *Analecta*, which treats of the condition of the Catholics under Elizabeth and James. Those who will remember Cox's character will not be surprised to be told by him that it is a "most scandalous, lying book, stuffed with innumerable falsehoods." It is more agreeable to read that Usher had a high opinion of Rothe, and in matters of history and antiquities confessed his obligations to him. And Massingham declares that he was well versed in all sorts of learning, an elegant orator, a subtle philosopher, a profound divine, an eminent historian, and a sharp reprover of vice.²²

On the political questions of the day John Lynch, Archdeacon of Tuam, was more in accord with Rothe than with French. Even more than Rothe he was a student and a scholar, with little taste for the turmoil of political life. He was of an Anglo-Norman stock long settled in Galway, where his father taught school, and where he himself was born. He had little love for the old Irish; and he supported Ormond and Clanricarde against what he considered the violence of the Nuncio. But all this did not save him from

²⁰ Clanricarde's *Memoirs*, pp. 114-15.

²¹ French's Works—(Duffy's Library).

²² Ware's *Writers*; Meehan's *Irish Hierarchy in the Seventeenth Century*

being driven from Galway when the Puritans took possession of the city, and it was in France and in exile that he died. He translated Keating's History into Latin, and he wrote the life of Dr. Kirwan, Bishop of Killala, and also a fragment of Irish history, called the *Alinolothia*; in which he defends the Anglo-Irish, extols their fidelity to the faith, and passionately protests his own deep love for Ireland. And in his great work, *Cambrensis Eversus*, he proves this. Till then, on questions affecting Ireland and its history, Gerald Barry was appealed to as an authority. His lively narrative was much admired and extensively read, his accuracy was not questioned, his honesty not impugned, his mis-statements allowed to pass, his lies copied; and throughout Europe the most unfavourable opinions had long been entertained of Ireland and her people. An Irish priest, Father Stephen White, "a man," says Usher, "of exquisite knowledge in the antiquities of Ireland," had already done something to discredit Giraldus; but what he had written was in manuscript and was little known; and it remained for Lynch to complete the work which White had begun. He undertook to prove that Giraldus had not the qualities of a historian; that his statements were false in every particular; and he spared no effort to prove his case.²³ He was a man of wide reading, of extensive knowledge, of strong reasoning powers; and he wrote when advanced in years and when his judgment was matured. He wrote, it is true, with a heart charged with indignation, with vigour and even vehemence, and his epithets are sometimes strong. But he perverted no facts, and made no false statements, and he so exposed Giraldus that his credit as a historian was destroyed.

More prominent as politicians, but less able as writers, were Peter Walsh, a Franciscan friar, and Peter Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin. Walsh is best known as the friend and follower of Ormond. He opposed the Nuncio, but favoured the peace of 1648; he was angry with French (on account of his opposition to Ormond) and supported Clanricarde as Ormond's friend; and in every dispute and in every negotiation he watched over Ormond's interests and wished for Ormond's triumph. He managed to escape

²³ *Cambrensis Eversus*, Vol. I., pp. III.

the wrath of the Puritans, and was unmolested during the period of their rule ; and when the Protector's government fell, and Ormond returned to London, Walsh hastened to bid him welcome. He it was who drew up the Loyal Remonstrance and hoped to have it adopted.²⁴ But his supporters were few. With all his ingenuity he found it impossible to reconcile its bold and disrespectful language with submission and respect to the Pope. Yet he was satisfied he had acted for the best interests of his country and church, and he wrote in his vindication *The History of the Irish Remonstrance*, a work not remarkable for grace of style or any literary excellence, but which contains valuable documents, and throws much light on the history of the time. Walsh died in London, in 1687. Burnet, who knew him well, said that in religion he was almost a Protestant.²⁵ At all events he was for a time under ecclesiastical censure, and was the friend of Ormond to the last. Talbot, who was at first a member of the Jesuit order, wrote against the Remonstrance *The New Remonstrant Religion* ; and besides this he wrote many other volumes, mostly polemical and only of a transient nature. Like his brother, the Duke of Tyrconnell, he had an aptitude for ingratiating himself with those in power. He was the friend of Charles II. and is said to have converted him to Catholicity at Cologne, in 1656 ; he had been the friend of Cromwell, and had worn mourning at his funeral ; he was known at the courts of Madrid and of Rome : and more than once was on intimate terms with the Viceroy at Dublin. Oliver Plunkett thought he meddled too much in affairs of State, and wrote a book to show that the See of Armagh had a primacy over Dublin. But Talbot, in an answering pamphlet, maintained that the primacy belonged to Dublin.²⁶

Among Irish writers educated abroad, whose lives were spent either wholly or in part in Ireland, these are the most prominent names, during the 17th and the last years of the 16th century. But the list is incomplete. Creagh, a native of Limerick, educated at Westminster and Louvain, wrote an *Ecclesiastical*

²⁴ Walsh's *History of the Irish Remonstrance*.

²⁵ Burnet, Vol. I., pp. 216-17.

²⁶ Ware's *Writers* ; D'Alton's *Archbishops of Dublin* ; Stuart's *Historical Memoirs of Armagh* ; Renehan's *Archbishops*.

History, and a *Treatise on the Irish Language*; Primate MacCaughwell wrote *Commentaries on Duns Scotus*; his successor O'Reilly was a student at Louvain, Plunkett of the Irish College at Rome; O'Heyne taught theology at Naples; Tirrey, Bishop of Cork, wrote a *Panegyric on St. Patrick*; Mooney, a Franciscan, a *Short History of Ireland*; Shortall, Abbot of Bective, wrote some sermons, as did O'Gallagher, Bishop of Raphoe; Andrew Sell, a Jesuit who became a Protestant, wrote many controversial works.²⁷ But there were many others who did not return to Ireland, but lived and died abroad; and, like their countrymen of the 6th and 7th centuries, carried the fame of their nation for learning far and wide. Bath, a native of Dublin, wrote an *Introduction to the Study of Music*, and died at Madrid; Peter Lombard, though Archbishop of Armagh, lived and died at Rome, and wrote *Commentarius de Regno Hiberniæ*. Florence Conry, Archbishop of Tuam, died at Madrid; Fleming, a Franciscan, taught philosophy at Louvain; Kearney, a Jesuit, taught Greek at Antwerp; Peter Wadding was Chancellor of the Universities at Prague and Gratz; Sherlock taught at Salamanca, Harold and Bruodin at Prague; O'Sullivan wrote his *Catholic History* in Spain; O'Daly founded the Dominican College at Lisbon; Wadding in his quiet home at St. Isidore's, worked silently for 30 years, and, besides editing the whole works of Duns Scotus, wrote the *Annals of the Franciscan Order* in eight volumes, a gigantic work, which only a giant could have done.²⁸

At Louvain, the Franciscans in their College of St. Anthony procured Irish type and set up a printing press, from which many works dealing with religion were sent to Ireland. With the object of writing a *History of the Irish Franciscans*, Father Mooney, the Provincial, travelled over Ireland to the various houses of his Order, and then wrote his *History* at Louvain. It remained in manuscript until the 19th century, when it was translated into English by one to whom students of Irish history owe much (Father Meehan), and published under the title of *The Rise and Fall of the Franciscan Monasteries of the 17th*

²⁷ Ware's *Writers*.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 224; Grattan Flood, *History of Irish Music*, p. 161; Meehan's *Geraldines*; O'Heyne's *Dominicans*.

Century. Mooney's work did not satisfy three of his contemporaries at Louvain—John Colgan, Michael O'Clery, and Hugh Ward, all Franciscans, and all natives of Donegal. Already a Franciscan, Father Fleming had collected materials for the *Lives of the Irish Saints*, which he proposed to write ; but he was killed in 1631, and had then written only the *Life of St. Columbanus*. The materials he collected fell into Colgan's hands, when Professor of Theology at Louvain, and he undertook the work intended by Fleming. But he wished for fuller information, and O'Clery was sent to Ireland to procure the materials required. He came to Ireland in 1615 and remained there for 20 years. The age of Elizabeth was then over, the age of the Puritans had not yet come ; it was the calm between two violent storms ; and O'Clery took advantage of the comparative tranquility which prevailed. His difficulties, however, were many. The Franciscan monasteries had all but disappeared. Those at Drogheda and Clonmel, as well as at Galway and Kilconnell, had passed into the hands of strangers ; in Moyne there were but six friars ; Ross Errilly enjoyed a precarious existence owing to the kindly tolerance of the Protestant Bishop of Tuam ; at Adare, only the walls remained ; Timoleague was a ruin, and so was Donegal.²⁹ Of the Catholic gentry but few remained ; the lands of Ulster were for the most part in the hands of settlers having little sympathy for Irish monks or Irish manuscripts ; the Government officials hardly abstained from persecution ; and on every side O'Clery met enemies. But he was a brave man, not easily turned aside from his purpose ; and if he met many enemies he also met some friends—in monasteries and convents, in the houses of the old gentry still left, among the bards and chroniclers. With their aid he gathered together an enormous quantity of historical matter, annals, chronicles, genealogies, biographies, family and clan histories, tales and poems, and those legends and traditions which still survived among the people.

From time to time he sent the result of his researches to Louvain ; and thus Ward was able to write an *Irish Martyrology* and a *Life of St. Rumold*, and perhaps he might have written more had he not

²⁹ Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, pp. 16, 28, 58, 63, 72, 78.

died in 1635. Colgan lived for more than 20 years later, and made full use of the materials received in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, and his *Acta Sanctorum*. The former recounts at length the lives and labours and miracles of St. Patrick and St. Bridget and St. Columba; the latter gives the Lives of the Irish Saints in the order of their festivals, but only for the first three months of the year.³⁰ The learning and industry, as well as the piety of Colgan, are fully attested in these works. He grudged no labour in what he considered a sacred task, as it brought fresh glory to the land of his birth, and established its fame for learning and sanctity in ages that were long past. The historian whose work deals with ancient Christian Ireland will turn to his pages with pleasure and profit; but he will do well not to follow blindly in Colgan's footsteps. "He was," says Peter Talbot, "a raker of uncertain things." He was as credulous as Keating; his critical faculty was as poor. Legends and old tales are placed on a level with what is authentic and what is true; fact and fable are intermingled; probability is neglected, evidence not weighed; miracles are unnecessarily multiplied; and to some extent these defects detract from works which constitute a monument of patience and of learning.³¹

In the meantime, O'Clery had undertaken a work greater even than that undertaken by Colgan. With the mass of materials he had collected he settled down, about 1630, near the ruined monastery of Donegal, and there determined to write the Annals of Ireland from the earliest times to the death of Hugh O'Neill. Single-handed he could not reduce to order this mass of matter, and was obliged to obtain the assistance of three others, his brothers Peregrine and Conary, and his cousin Fearfesa O'Mulconry. Like himself, they were skilled in Irish history and antiquities, and wrote the Irish language with ease, and it is in Irish the whole work is written. Farrell O'Gara, a descendant of the O'Gara chiefs of Sligo, then member of Parliament for Sligo, came to their assistance, and supplied them with food and attendance, and to him they dedicated the work when it was finished, in 1636. In places the chronology is defective, and in the earlier portions we are dealing rather with legends than

³⁰ Published at Louvain in 1647.

³¹ Ware's *Writers*.

with facts ; but the due sequence of events is throughout maintained. Nor are any important events omitted. Sometimes the work was called the *Annals of Donegal*, but it is now known as the *Annals of the Four Masters*, from the number employed in its compilation. All of them were of the old race, yet are not consciously unjust to the Anglo-Irish, and are ever ready to speak well of valour and virtue and capacity. They do not undertake to trace in these events the relation between cause and effect, nor closely examine motives, nor describe the passions with which the actors were stirred ; for it must be remembered they are writing annals and not history. But as annals, for fulness and completeness, for the space covered and the events recorded, they are unrivalled in this country, and not surpassed in any other ; and to O'Clery, and his fellow-labourers, their country owes eternal gratitude. Brought to Louvain, where O'Clery died in 1643, the work remained in manuscript until the 19th century, when it was edited, translated, and annotated by O'Donovan, with an ability and a completeness quite worthy of the original.³²

All these works were the outcome not only of much literary activity, but of a scholarship that recalled the days of the ancient monastic schools ; and the Irish Catholic, ground down by persecuting laws, rejoiced that his exiled countrymen so well upheld the fame of their nation abroad, while they also maintained the fight against Protestantism and ignorance at home. On the other hand, those who wished to have Ireland Protestant felt disappointed at the small amount of progress made. From their point of view it was well to have the Catholic schools closed. But ignorance is a bad foundation on which to build a people's conversion ; and if no education were given in place of the education denied, the result would be that the Irish, in ceasing to be Catholics, would cease also to be Christians. The attempt of Lech, Archbishop of Dublin, to establish a university in the 14th century came to nothing ; the College at Maynooth, established in 1513, by the Earl of Kildare, did not claim to be a university, and was of little importance as a college ; and up to the Reformation no university

³² O'Curry's MSS., *Materials of Irish History*, pp. 140-161 ; *Four Masters*.

had existed in Ireland. Archbishop Browne, in 1547, endeavoured to have one established out of the funds of the late suppressed Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, but he failed; a similar project, in 1564, came to nothing, owing to the opposition of Archbishop Curwen; nor was it until 1591 that the matter was seriously taken in hand.³³ Loftus was then Archbishop, and as reluctant as Curwen to part with the revenues of St. Patrick's; but there was an old disused monastery of All Hallows, and he suggested that this be given for the purpose. The Corporation, to whom it belonged, handed it over with some orchards and gardens which surrounded it; the Viceroy, Fitzwilliam, opened a subscription list, and more than £2,000 was subscribed to put the ruined buildings in repair; a charter was then granted by the Queen, and thus did Trinity College begin its career, in 1593.

It was to be, as stated in the Queen's letter "a College for learning, whereby knowledge and civility might be increased by the instruction of our people there, whereof many have usually heretofore to travel into France, Italy and Spain to get learning in such foreign universities, whereby they have been infected with Popery and other ill qualities."³⁴ In this letter Elizabeth's zeal against Popery is shown, but not her generosity. She gave no money, and the College had to rely for its income on a grant of concealed lands in Munster. The difficulty of ascertaining what lands were concealed and attainted was great, especially as the College agents had to contend with such sharpers as Richard Boyle. At last it made good its claim to about 3,000 acres in Limerick and Kerry, with a yearly income of more than £100. Even this small sum was not available during the war with Tyrone, and the government granted it an annual sum of £524 as temporary relief. With this it had to be satisfied in the last year of Elizabeth's reign.³⁵ Her successor was enabled to be more liberal. The flight of the Earls, and O'Doherty's rebellion, placed a whole province at his disposal; and to Trinity College he gave 20,000 acres of the best lands in Ulster, besides large grants

³³ Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, pp. 61-2; Shirley's *Original Letters*, apud Mahaffy, pp. 99-102.

³⁴ Mahaffy.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 88-94.

of land in the southern counties, and a permanent annual subsidy of £400 ; so that by the year 1613 it had been changed from the poor struggling foundation of Elizabeth into a wealthy corporation.³⁶ It suffered somewhat in the rebellion of 1641 ; but the triumph of Cromwell restored its income and its efficiency ; for its tendencies had always been Puritanical, and the Puritans in no way interfered with its government ; and, when the Restoration came, it was flourishing and rich. In the words of one of its most gifted sons, it was a " well-ordered home of learning and piety, with its old estates secured, and its privileges protected." ³⁷

Yet, with all its wealth and privileges, it failed to achieve the object of its founders. Identified with confiscation and religious persecution, and scorning Irish customs, it never reached the hearts of the people. The children of the higher classes, educated in the classical schools of the larger towns, were brought up in hatred of England. Not a few of them joined the Jesuit Order ; and the Jesuits from the first accurately gauged the character of Elizabeth's College, and, regarding it with abhorrence themselves, taught the people to regard it similarly.³⁸ Their sacrifices, their sufferings, their zeal, their energy, their ability, the skill and tact with which they acted, gave them enormous influence. They were able to keep Catholic boys from Trinity College, and, in some cases, when they had gone there, to take them away, and send them to foreign colleges, so that they were still " infected with Popery." Against such zeal and capacity the Protestant clergy sent forth from Trinity College were able to do little. For the most part they knew not a word of the people's language, and took no pains to acquire a knowledge of it, being more concerned about obtaining good church livings and good incomes than for the conversion of the people around them.³⁹

Nor could Trinity College claim to have sent forth many distinguished scholars. Bedell, the well known Bishop of Kilmore, was at one time its Provost, but had never been one of its students ; Sterne, who had studied there and who wrote some philosophical

³⁶ Mahaffy, pp. 154-7.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 276, 297, 317.

³⁸ *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 37.

³⁹ Mahaffy, pp. 11, 12, 37, 45, 177, 204 ; Carte, Vol. I., p. 43

works, received part of his education at Cambridge ;⁴⁰ Swift owed the College little ; and William Molyneux died before his powers had fully matured. But there were two others whose works were not unworthy of a great university, and have shed a lustre on that in which they were trained. These were James Usher and James Ware. Born in Dublin, in 1581, Usher was among the first students of Trinity College, which he entered in 1594. At the age of 40 he became Bishop of Meath, and four years later Archbishop of Armagh. The last years of his life were spent in England, and in that country he died in 1656. His personal character was in the main an attractive one. He was amiable, sincere, pious, attached to his Church, though tolerant of other forms of Protestantism ; but though some of his relatives were Catholics—his uncle Stanihurst was a priest—he had no toleration for Catholicity. As Bishop of Meath he urged that the penal laws be enforced ; as Primate he induced the Bishops to declare that Catholicity was idolatry, and that to tolerate it was to set religion to sale ; and, in 1644, he begged of Charles I. to make no terms with the Catholics.⁴¹ A life-long student, he amassed an enormous amount of knowledge, and acquired a reputation that was European. He had a special aptitude for theological and historical studies ; and his work on the Antiquities of the Ancient British Church is a vast storehouse of knowledge, showing the wide extent of his learning, the thoroughness with which he studied his subject, his mastery of detail.⁴² Conscious of great powers, he was ready at the age of 19 to dispute with one of the ablest Jesuits of the time, Father Fitzsimon, then a prisoner in Dublin Castle. But his biographer's account of the matter will not easily be credited—that a mere boy, no matter how brilliant, terrorised into silence a seasoned disputant like Fitzsimon.⁴³ It is however certain that Usher loved religious controversy ; and his work on the Religion professed by the Ancient Irish was often drawn on by men of his own persuasion,

⁴⁰ Mahaffy, 318-20.

⁴¹ Usher's Works, Vol. I., pp. 221, 58, 73-4.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Vols. iv. and v.

⁴³ *Words of Comfort to Persecuted Catholics*, Edited by Hogan, pp. 13-24.

when they wanted to confound their Catholic opponents. Usher well deserves the description of Johnson, that he was the "great luminary of the Irish Church;" he stands on a level with Colgan, and Lynch, and Wadding, and not unworthy to rank even with Duns Scotus; and when he died, he left in his own Church neither an equal nor a second.

Ware's learning was not of the universal character of Usher's. Born in 1594, and dying in 1666, he held the position of Auditor-General, and was a prominent figure in the public affairs of the time. But he was an official rather than a politician, and before everything else a student and a scholar. To the study of Irish history and antiquities he devoted every spare moment of his long life; his care, his patience, were unwearied; and he amassed such an amount of knowledge that all subsequent historical writers have turned to his pages for light. His *Annals*, his *Antiquities*, his *Lives of the Irish Bishops and Writers*, are exhaustive on the subjects treated; and the deep research is not more commendable than the honest spirit in which he writes. He wrote in no party spirit; he had no case to prove; his desire was to find out the truth; and, when we remember the fierce passions with which the age and country were stirred, his calmness and impartiality are deserving of all praise.

There were a few others who wrote in Ireland, though they were not Irish. Spenser the poet wrote his *View* with the worst passions of a dominant race, he used his pen as Cromwell used his sword; Davies was a lawyer with a brief for his master, King James; Stanihurst and Campion were priests, but are not more impartial on that account; and Fynes Moryson was merely the panegyrist of his master, Mountjoy. Two other names may be mentioned who were Irish, and lived and died in Ireland—Roderick O'Flaherty and Duaid MacFirbis. O'Flaherty was of the ancient chiefs of Iar-Connaught, a studious, cultured gentleman, who loved books and knew how to write; and in his *Ogygia* and his description of Iar-Connaught did valuable service for the country he loved, and for the desolate region over which his ancestors once ruled. MacFirbis was an antiquarian and an Irish scholar of eminence, and, for a time, assisted Ware to decipher those Irish MSS. which that writer

found it hard to understand, but which MacFirbis read with ease.⁴⁴

With the 17th century the great men seem to have all gone. Colgan and Wadding, Usher and Ware, left no successors. Trinity College, it is true, sent forth Swift and Steele and Parnell, and Berkeley and Burke and Goldsmith; but they cared little for the history of Ireland or its antiquities, and took no pride in her ancient fame. Steele and Burke and Goldsmith left their country altogether, and sought in London the most suitable field for their ambition. Swift alone mingled much in Irish affairs, and by his writings influenced the public mind of his own country; but even he was out of touch with the vast majority of the people. Except MacGeoghegan, who wrote a History of Ireland in French, the Irish abroad sought for fame as soldiers and diplomatists, and at home only Charles O'Connor of Belanagare (1710—1790) recalled the learning of the 17th century. Writing Latin and Irish with equal ease, he wrote much and well on Irish history and antiquities; and was no unworthy successor to MacFirbis and O'Flaherty.⁴⁵ As for the mass of the people, deprived of their schools and forbidden to erect new ones, and with the priest and schoolmaster declared outlaws, it was difficult to obtain any education. But even these difficulties were partially overcome, and, in spite of penal laws, the pupil and teacher often met. If in a house, it was poor and ill-adapted for a school, but often also it was in the open air under a sheltering wall or hedge. Yet, even amid such conditions, the spark of learning was kept alive, and a continuity of knowledge maintained. Campion found in his day (1574) that Latin was widely spoken;⁴⁶ thirty years later, Father Mooney, the Franciscan Provincial, met country lads who were familiar with Virgil and Homer;⁴⁷ and Petty, about 1670, found that in the wilds of Kerry French was known, and Latin was freely spoken, even by the poorest of the poor.⁴⁸

In the next century, equally heroic efforts to acquire knowledge

⁴⁴ Ware's *Writers*; MacFirbis's *Annals*.

⁴⁵ O'Connors of Connaught, pp. 292-7.

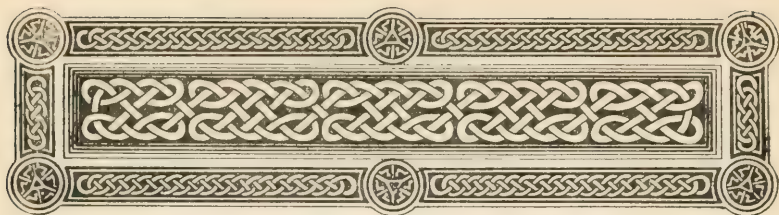
⁴⁶ Campion's *History*.

⁴⁷ Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, p. 66.

⁴⁸ Moran's *Catholics of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 99.

were made ; but no great literary works appeared, such as had marked the 17th century. Such works require long study and sustained effort, and could not be produced without libraries, books, and money, and without a printing press to publish them when written. Landless and outlaws, the Catholics in their own country were only paupers and slaves. But there were poets, and many of them, scattered over the land, who, in the people's own language, gave utterance to the people's feelings ; who mourned over the chiefs that were dead, over the battles that were lost, over the lands that were confiscated, over their kindred beyond the sea. Sometimes they satirised the strangers in their midst, or uttered threats of vengeance against them ; and often, wearied with the cares and sorrows of earth, they turned their thoughts to a better world.⁴⁹ Thus sped the greater part of the eighteenth century, until at last the worst of the penal times was over, and there came the dawn of better days.

⁴⁹ Hyde's *Literary History*, pp. 597-606.



CHAPTER XXVII.

The Parliamentary Struggle.

THE Irish Parliament was not of native origin, nor modelled on any of the ancient assemblies, such as the Aenach or the Feis. Introduced from England, it was at first but a council of the great men of Church and State; but when Sir John Wogan was Viceroy, in 1295, an elective element was introduced by the admission of elected representatives from the counties; and from that date, it assumed the name and character of a Parliament.¹ Usually it met at Dublin, but Parliaments were also held at Kilkenny, Drogheda, Naas, Tristledermot and Trim. It did not meet every year, as the English Parliament does now. In the reign of Elizabeth, for instance, 27 years separated one Parliament from another; and after Perrott's Parliament had concluded its sittings, in 1586, 27 years again elapsed before another Parliament was called. Nor was the assembly, for centuries after Wogan's time, anything more than the Parliament of the Pale. The policy of James extended to all classes the status of English subjects, and, in the Parliament of 1613, the representatives of the whole nation, for the first time, appeared. In 1560 only 98 members were summoned to the House of Commons; in Perrott's Parliament the number was 126; but in 1613 the number had swelled

¹ Cox, pp. 85-6.

to 232. As all Ireland was then shire-ground the present number of counties existed ; and Trinity College also had its representatives. It was not however to these additions, but to the newly-created boroughs the enormous increase was due. In his anxiety to outvote the Catholics James had given charters to many places in Ulster which were but miserable hamlets, inhabited by new settlers from England and Scotland, all of whom hated the Catholics, and might be relied on to vote them down.² To a lesser extent further charters were granted by later sovereigns, and in the time of William III. there were 300 members in the House of Commons. At that number it remained until the Irish Parliament was finally extinguished.³ In the House of Lords the number also fluctuated, and while in 1681 there were but 141 peers, a century later there were 202, of whom 22 were always spiritual, the remaining being temporal peers.⁴

In all this there are points of resemblance between the Irish and English Parliaments ; but they differed widely in the extent of their powers ; and if the English Parliament was supreme in England, the Irish Parliament was certainly not supreme in Ireland. On this subject much controversy arose. It may be, as Hallam thinks, that, for two centuries after the Invasion, English statutes were valid and received in Ireland ;⁵ and the statement is correct if such statutes had been re-enacted by the Irish Parliament, or if, whether re-enacted or not, they were merely declaratory of the English common law. But if they were statutes introductory of a new law, and if, above all, there is question of a later date, the evidence is strong that such statutes did not bind. Any claim of the kind, made by England, is specially repudiated by an Irish Parliament of 1408, declaring that English statutes were not of force "unless they were allowed and published in this Kingdom of Ireland."⁶ One of the provisions of Poyning's Act was that all English statutes hitherto passed,

² Gardiner's *History of England*, Vol. II., pp. 285-303.

³ Mountmorres, Vol. II., p. 19.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 317 ; Swift MacNeill, *The Irish Parliament*, Chap. I.

⁵ Monk-Mason's *Irish Parliaments—Introduction*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 77, 81.

were to be of force in Ireland, an unnecessary enactment if they were already in force. The English laws of Henry VIII., whereby the Pope's spiritual supremacy was denied, were specially enacted in the Irish Parliament, and were not considered of force in Ireland until this was done ; and Charles I. declared that this had been the constant practice.⁷ Nor is there, in the opinion of Sir Richard Bolton, a single record, either in England or Ireland, for 400 years, to show that English statutes bound Ireland without having been accepted by the Irish Parliament.⁸ If objection be taken to this statement, as has been done by another Irish lawyer, Mayart, who quotes an English Act of 1138, operative in Ireland, without the Irish Parliament's consent, Bolton's answer is that such an Act is merely declaratory of the common law.⁹

This controversy showed that the powers of the Irish Parliament had not been accurately defined. But, long before the time of Bolton and Mayart, its powers had been seriously curtailed by Poyning's Act, by which no Parliament could be summoned until the Irish Privy Council had certified the reasons for summoning it, and the laws proposed to be passed ; and only after these proposals had been further examined and approved by the English Privy Council, was the Irish Parliament called. Nor could it even consider any other proposals except those sent from England. An amending Act of 1556 gave it the right to propose laws during its sittings ; but these proposals should be submitted to the Irish and English Privy Councils, by either or both of which they might be amended or even rejected ; and, if returned from England, all the Irish Parliament could do was to accept or reject, for it had no power to modify them.¹⁰ With characteristic contempt for popular rights, Strafford, in 1634, insisted that the Irish Parliament could only petition the Privy Council to have bills proposed, but had no power itself to propose them.¹¹ Cromwell abolished the Irish Parliament altogether, giving Ireland 30 members in the

⁷ Monk-Mason's *Irish Parliaments*, pp. 53, 99—*Introduction*.

⁸ Harris's *Hibernica*, Part II., p. 44 ; Ball's *Irish Legislative Systems*, 17, 19, 64.

⁹ Ball, pp. 48-9 ; *Hibernica*, p. 99

¹⁰ Mountmorres, Vol. 1., pp. 58-9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 323 ; Ball, pp. 27-8.

English Parliament; and in the Parliaments held during the Protectorate this arrangement was continued.¹²

At the Restoration Cromwell's legislative union was ignored; and in 1661 the Irish Parliament was similarly constituted to that which had been browbeaten by Strafford. Nor was the English Parliament willing to forego its claim to legislate for Ireland; and in the laws prohibiting the exportation of Irish cattle to England (1665), that prescribing the Oath of Abjuration (1692), and that dealing with forfeited estates (1700), there is visible evidence of the assertion of such a claim. A Parliament really representative of all classes of Irishmen would have vigorously protested against such laws. But the Irish members in many cases had no representative capacity; and, after 1692, they were exclusively Protestant, inflamed with bigotry, dominated by self-interest, and thinking more of securing forfeited estates, or hounding down the Catholics, than of asserting their independence, or studying questions of constitutional law. There was, indeed, a feeble protest against the law of 1665, but the worst Act for the Protestants themselves—that dealing with the woollen manufactures—in 1698, was accepted and re-enacted in the Irish Parliament, and only one member, Mr. Molyneux, had the courage to protest. In a book published by him, *The Case of Ireland being bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated*, he discussed the whole question of Irish legislative rights. Following in Bolton's footsteps, and going beyond him, he boldly asserted that there was not a single instance of an English Act claiming to bind Ireland, but there were several instances of Irish Acts expressly denying any subordination to the English Parliament; and if Irish members had accepted without protest the English Acts of William's reign it was because these Acts were agreeable to them, and just such as they would have enacted themselves.¹³ Molyneux has been called a patriot, but according to modern notions he little deserves the name. A graduate of Trinity College, and its representative, he gloried in the Revolution of 1688, and favoured Protestant Ascendancy and the penal laws. For the

¹² Mountmorres, Vol. II., pp. 243-4.

¹³ *Case Stated*, pp. 68, 112; Ball, p. 40.

English Parliament he had unbounded admiration, and unbounded confidence in its justice, and in what he wrote he respectfully submitted to its decision.¹⁴ The answer came swift and stern. *The Case Stated* was examined by the English House of Commons and, without any denial of its facts, or answering of its arguments, it was declared to be of dangerous tendency, and was ordered to be burned by the common hangman; and if Molyneux had not died the same year, he would probably have been impeached.¹⁵ There was no other Irish member courageous enough to lift up the standard which had fallen from his dying hands; and instead of the English Parliament receding from its position, it passed, in 1719, an Act expressly declaring that it had power to legislate for Ireland, at the same time taking away the appellate jurisdiction of the Irish House of Lords.¹⁶

While the subordination and impotence of the Irish Parliament were thus emphasised, in England, during the same period the bounds of Parliamentary and popular liberty were appreciably extended. By the Habeas Corpus Act there was an end put to arbitrary imprisonment; the Bill of Rights took away the right, or supposed right, of the King to dispense from law, or raise standing armies; the Mutiny Act placed the soldier under military tribunals, and on being re-enacted yearly, brought the conduct of the whole army frequently under public review; the hearth money was abolished; the Triennial and Septennial Acts put a limit to the duration of Parliaments; the lapsing of the Licensing Act made the Press free.¹⁷ Judges were made irremovable, and placemen could not sit in Parliament after appointment, without first offering themselves for re-election. Finally, all money bills originated in the House of Commons, which had also a voice, and a decisive one, in the expenditure of the public revenue.¹⁸

Not one of these measures had been enacted in Ireland. There was no Habeas Corpus Act, no Triennial or Septennial Act, no

¹⁴ *Case Stated*, pp. 1-4.

¹⁵ Macaulay's *History of England*, Vol. II., pp. 658-61.

¹⁶ Ball, p. 77; Swift MacNeill's *The Irish Parliament*, p. 35.

¹⁷ Macaulay, Vol. I., pp. 650, 677-8, 673, Vol. II., pp. 74, 126.

¹⁸ Ranke's *History of England*, Vol. v., pp. 69-70, 233-4.

annual Mutiny Act, no Bill of Rights. The hearth money was still levied, and bore heavily on the poor.¹⁹ Judges held office at the pleasure of government; placemen and pensioners swarmed on the Parliamentary benches; money bills originated with the English Privy Council.²⁰ The chief source of the annual revenue was the many forfeitures and confiscations of land, and from quit rents, crown rents, and composition rents large sums were raised. The hearth money, the customs and excise, helped to swell the total; additional taxes were imposed from time to time; and the revenue, which in 1675 amounted to £288,000, had risen in 1750 to £450,000.²¹ But over the expenditure of this large sum the Irish Parliament had no control. The crown and quit rents were the hereditary and personal revenue of the reigning sovereign; the hearth money and those customs and excise which were permanent came to be regarded in the same light; and when the revenue from these sources met the expenses of government, as in the years following 1666, no Parliament was called. Throughout the whole of the 18th century it met in each alternate year, principally to vote additional taxes, but even these it could not expend. As to how they were expended it could protest, and that was all. The King was beyond its reach, the Viceroy and the Irish Secretary were responsible only to the English Ministry which appointed them, and by the Irish Parliament, they could be neither censured nor impeached. Regarded, then, as the property of the King rather than of the public, the Irish revenue supplied pensions to royal bastards and discarded mistresses, to court favourites and corrupt politicians; and if an Irish member, or even the whole body of members, raised a protest, these protests were treated with scorn.

Seldom, indeed, were any such protests made in the early years of the 18th century, for at that time the whole energies of Irish legislators were turned to the enactment of penal laws. The greater part of the members held forfeited estates, and to keep undisturbed possession of them, they thought it best to crush the Catholics,

¹⁹ Lecky's *Leaders of Public Opinion*, Vol. I., pp. 24-5.

²⁰ MacNeill, pp. 71-88.

²¹ Mountmorres, Vol. II., pp. 245-300; Lecky, Vol. I., pp. 2-3.

to drive the most energetic of them abroad, to make those at home helpless, ignorant and poor. It was necessary to keep out the Pretender, and it was well to be of one mind with the English Parliament, and to flatter the reigning sovereign and Viceroy. And the Journals of the House of Commons afford ample evidence that these things were done. Every session saw fresh penal laws enacted, until the Penal Code was complete. The hatred and dread of the Pretender had become a madness, until even Queen Anne testily informed them (1713) that the best way to show their loyalty was to discountenance "the restless endeavours of those factious spirits who attempt to raise groundless fears in the minds of her Majesty's people."²² Every pretext was seized upon to present an address, in which the members expressed their most fervid loyalty to the sovereign, and grovelled before him as if he had the perfections of an archangel.²³ And the adulation with which they greeted each Viceroy was little less, though it would be hard to find in Ormond, or Pembroke, or Grafton, still less in Lord Wharton, any remarkable gifts of intellect or character. When not engaged in the congenial task of worrying the weak or flattering the powerful, they were, in the words of Swift, "shouting about the privileges of Parliament till their lungs were spent." It was declared a breach of privilege to seize a member's cattle, to encroach on his land, to insult his servants, to beat his wife, to serve him with a writ even at his own house.²⁴ But, while privilege and persecution so largely engaged their energies, they had little time to devote to the making of laws for the general interests of the public; and for many years there are few such laws on the statute book. An Act was passed to promote the planting of trees, an Act for the making of roads, an Act to suppress gambling, an Act by which the linen manufactures were encouraged.²⁵ There was, further, a resolution of the House of Commons to wear only Irish manufactured clothes;²⁶ and there was, in 1703,

²² *Commons Journals*, Vol. III., pp. 997-8.

²³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV., pp. 21, 169, 438.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. III., pp. 394-5, 846, 902, Vol. IV., p. 267.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. III., pp. 351, 602-3, 808, 932, Vol. IV., pp. 179-85.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV., p. 195.

a strong desire to have a freer constitution, and a closer union with England.²⁷ But England would have no such Parliamentary union; and the Irish Parliament remained, distinct but subordinate; resembling its English parent, but with none of its merits; a Parliament without power, without dignity, without self-respect; a Parliament of pensioners and placemen, of bigots and bullies, of tyrants and slaves. And yet, even in this degraded assembly, public spirit began at length to appear; its patience in servitude became exhausted: and at last it struck out with vigour, when brought face to face with fresh injustice, and under the influence of a powerful mind.

Among the many names on the Irish pension list of 1723 is that of the Duchess of Kendal,²⁸ who received £3,000 a year. She had been the German mistress of George I., and she was, without doubt, in titles and wealth richly paid for the degraded office she had filled. But she was not easily satisfied, and thought it quite proper that for her benefit an impoverished country might be still further squeezed. The copper coinage in Ireland was then running short; the various petitions of the Irish Parliament to have a mint in Dublin had hitherto been ignored; and a patent was granted to have copper coined. The total money in circulation did not exceed £400,000, and a small amount of copper coinage would have been ample. But with sublime contempt of Ireland's wishes, and without consulting either its Viceroy or Privy Council, a certain William Wood, an ironmonger of Wolverhampton, was granted a patent, in 1722, to coin copper half-pence and farthings to the amount of £108,000. The patent was really granted to the Duchess of Kendal, who sold it to Wood for £10,000 and a share of the profits; and under this arrangement Wood proceeded to send his half-pence and farthings across the Channel.²⁹ The Irish Commissioners of Revenue respectfully protested, first to the Viceroy and then to the Treasury Commissioners, but neither protest received the courtesy of a reply. Parliament took the matter in hands and resolved that

²⁷ *Commons Journal*, p. 45.

²⁸ *Ibid.*—List of pensioners.

²⁹ Swift's *Works*, Vol. VI., pp. 4-7.

Wood had been guilty of fraud ; that the coin was excessively adulterated ; and that, if put in circulation, it would entail a loss to the country of 150 per cent. ; would be prejudicial to the King's revenue, ruin trade and commerce, and dangerously encroach on the rights and properties of the subject.³⁰ These resolutions went to the King, who replied that they would receive careful attention. But meantime the coin was being introduced, and Wood boastingly declared that, with Walpole, the English Prime Minister, at his back, he would pour the coin down the throats of the Irish.³¹

It was at this stage that a great Irishman intervened, and with disastrous effect on Wood and his accomplices. Born in Dublin (1667), and educated at Kilkenny and Trinity College, Jonathan Swift became secretary to Sir William Temple, and then, entering the Church, became rector of Kilroot in Down, afterwards of Laracor in Meath, and finally, in 1713, Dean of St. Patrick's in Dublin. Irish by birth and education, yet he took no pride in being an Irishman, and always regarded life in Ireland as an exile.³² He considered the Irish language barbarous ; he despised the Catholics and favoured the Penal Code ; he hated the Presbyterians, opposed the repeal of the Test Act,³³ and helped to deprive them of the *Regium Donum* ; and even among the Protestants he was disgusted at the corruption, the duplicity, the hypocrisy, the servitude which prevailed. Had he been born in affluence, and free to enter the English Parliament, he might have risen to the highest position in the State. For he had remarkable aptitude for public affairs and the qualities which in that field ensure success : a keen judgment, a clear vision, a due sense of adjusting means to the

³⁰ *Commons Journals*.

³¹ Swift, Vol. VI., p. 119.

³² He has left this on record :—

“ Remove me from this land of slaves,
Where all are fools, and all are knaves,
Where every fool and knave is bought,
Yet kindly sells himself for nought.”—

Works, Vol. VII., p. 215.

³³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII., pp. 345-6, 5, 9-10 ; Vol. IV., pp. 5-22.

desired end, skill in reading character, absolute fearlessness, the power to put his own case in the best light and his opponents' case in the worst, and a capacity for satire and invective which even Juvenal has not surpassed. But his youth was darkened by poverty and ill-treatment; his imperious temper was soured; he was by nature gloomy, morose misanthropic; and the disappointments he met with only deepened the gloom. King William promised him his patronage, but forgot his promise; Queen Anne would not appoint him a bishop; Lord Wharton, though asked to help him by Somers, would do nothing; the Prime Minister, Walpole, was his enemy; and he who was able to dictate the policy of the British Empire could get no higher position than being an Irish dean.³⁴

Such was the man who now attacked Wood's patent. Assuming the character of a Dublin tradesman, and under the name of M. B. Drapier, he published in rapid succession four letters, the first addressed to the common people, the second to the printer, the third to the nobility and gentry, the fourth to the whole people of Ireland; and in all of these Wood was roughly handled. He was a wretched ironmonger, an impudent hardwareman, a rat, a sharper, an incorrigible wretch, avaricious, insolent, dishonest. His coin was not wanted, it was not asked for, it was protested against, it was adulterated to excess, it was worth only a twelfth of its face value. Swift warned his countrymen that they were not bound to take it, and if they did he foretold what would happen: trade ruined, credit destroyed, universal bankruptcy, the withdrawal from circulation of all silver and gold. And then, with only Wood's half-pence as a medium of exchange, the farmer who paid £100 a year rent must bring to his landlord three horseloads of copper coin; the squire going to Dublin for the winter must bring six horseloads; and when his wife went shopping in the city she must have a cartload of Wood's half-pence at her heels. It was easy to see that these letters were not written by a shopkeeper, and the author was soon discovered to be the terrible Dean of St. Patrick's. He had

³⁴ Swift, Vol. I., Lecky's *Introduction*, Vol. VI., p. 139.

thrown a torch into a powder barrel, and the whole country was soon ablaze. For once factions and parties were forgotten, and every party, and class, and religion joined in common abhorrence of Wood's half-pence. The Lord Chancellor would have none of them, nor would the Privy Council or the Houses of Parliament; the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of Dublin rejected them; the Corporation of Cork and Waterford resolved they would never receive or utter them in payment; the grand juries at sessions and assizes were equally resolute; the shopkeepers grew angry; the very beggars felt aggrieved; whoever accepted the coin was shunned; whoever offered them in payment was in danger of violence; and anyone might give expression to the most seditious language if he mixed it up with something about Wood's half-pence.

What was the Viceroy, the Duke of Grafton, to do? Behind Wood was the Duchess of Kendal, supported by the King; behind the King was Walpole, talking loudly of the royal prerogative. But Grafton knew that the granting of the patent was a disreputable transaction, with fraud as its source and plunder as its object;³⁵ he knew that the Irish were in the right and were determined not to yield; and he advised that the patent be declared void. Walpole was indignant, charged him with weakness and incapacity, and with betraying his friends in England: and in the end of 1724 he was recalled, and Lord Carteret, one of the ablest men in England, took his place.³⁶ He was a strong man as well as an able one; but he was confronted by one whose courage and ability were more than equal to his own; and the very day he landed in Dublin the fourth of the Drapier's letters appeared. Following Molyneux, Swift denied the right of the English Parliament to make laws for Ireland; this would be government without the consent of the governed, which was the very definition of slavery.³⁷ He boldly asserted that the Irish were and ought to be as free as Englishmen by the laws of God, of nature, and of nations; denied that Ireland was dependent

³⁵ Morley's *Sir Robert Walpole*, p. 71.

³⁶ Swift's *Works*, Vol. VII., pp. 231-49

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI., p. 115.

upon England, though it was united under its king ; and that for himself, if the Pretender were to become King of England, he would spill the last drop of his blood rather than obey him. These last words were greedily seized upon by Carteret ; if they were not actual they were contingent sedition ; and in spite of opposition from many members of the Privy Council, he issued a proclamation offering a reward of £300 for the author of the letter, and ordered a prosecution of the printer. These heroic measures were useless. No one would inform against Swift, though everyone knew he was the author. And, when the bill against the printer was brought before the grand jury, Swift wrote them a letter advising them to throw it out, which they did. When a second jury met, the bill was again thrown out ; and in spite of the judge's protests, a resolution was passed denouncing Wood's fraudulent impositions. At last even Carteret grew alarmed, and began to think that in milder measures there was wisdom. The patent must be given up, or Ireland deprived of its constitution, for a Parliament and Wood's half-pence could not be reconciled. In face of such an alternative the stubborn Walpole and his stubborn master accepted defeat as the lesser evil. The patent was cancelled ; Wood received in compensation a pension of £3,000 a year for eight years ; angry passions subsided ; the whole nation felt relieved ; and from that hour, Swift continued to be regarded by all Ireland as its hero and its deliverer.³⁸

These exciting scenes were followed by many years of unbroken calm. Carteret was followed by Dorset, Dorset by Devonshire ; but the Viceroys, in these days, spent most of their time in England ; and for nearly 20 years the real ruler of Ireland was Boulter, Archbishop of Armagh. He had the Englishman's pride in his own country, and his contempt for Irishmen ; he thought that all the great offices in Ireland should be filled by Englishmen—"As many should come over as can be decently sent,"³⁹—and for the whole time that he was Primate he laboured unceasingly for that end.

³⁸ Swift's *Works*, Vol. vi. (*The Drapier's Letters*), Vol. vii., pp. 169-72.

³⁹ Boulter's *Letters*, Vol. i., p. 12.

His letters to England are full of such petitions and requests, and whenever a great office became vacant, sometimes even before death had come, his letters were sent, so that other claimants might be forestalled. He cared little whether or not his selections were the best qualified; it was enough that they were English, and zealous for English interests. His letters are those of a political intriguer and of a place-hunter rather than of a Christian bishop, zealous for his Church; and when we read, in his pompous epitaph at Westminster Abbey, that he was translated at death from Armagh to Heaven, we are reminded of the worthlessness of an epitaph. Yet, if he was fond of power, he was not fond of money, and in the famine of 1727-8, and again in that of 1739-40, he expended £40,000 of his money in relieving the poor; and at his death left £30,000 to various Protestant charities. He encouraged the linen manufactures; helped to make a canal from Newry to the Bann; and while he regarded Swift as a mischief-maker and a disturber, he had the sense to see that Wood's patent was iniquitous; and it was largely owing to him that a compromise on the question was due.⁴⁰

The Catholics he held in special abhorrence. He desired to see Protestants and Presbyterians unite against them; and in opposition to Swift and others, he struggled hard to have the Test Act repealed. It was through him the Act was passed depriving the Catholics of the Parliamentary franchise, and another Act compelling barristers to take the oath of Abjuration, and to bring up their children Protestants.⁴¹ The emigration of the Presbyterians and Protestants, and the increase of the Catholics, filled him with alarm; and in order to convert the latter, he proposed to set up schools and teach them "the English tongue and the principles of Christianity." He had no hope of the adults, but only of the children;⁴² and, in 1733, he succeeded in getting a royal charter and a small government endowment, which was supplemented by many large private donations, and

⁴⁰ Boulter's *Letters*, p. 51; Froude's *English in Ireland*, Vol. I., pp. 605-6.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 182-3.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 9-11.

thus began the Charter Schools. Religion and labour was their motto. The boys were put to work in the fields or at trades; the girls sewed and knitted, and lest they might relapse into Popery they were usually taken a distance from their homes. Subsequently children from 5 to 12 years found begging were taken up and sent to these schools; nor could the parents get them back.⁴³ But from the first the blight of failure was on Boulter's schools. The priests opposed them; the Catholics abhorred them; the only religion they taught was hatred of Catholicity; the management was bad; the teachers were immoral; instead of labour and religion, there was dirt, filth, sickness, ignorance and immorality; and before the last quarter of the century dawned, these schools, loaded with the curses of the Catholics, were condemned by all.⁴⁴

A bishop, less prominent in the public life of the time than Boulter, was Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, a man of the finest character, a scholar, a student, a philosopher, pious without being bigoted, attached to his own church, yet tolerant of others. Unlike Boulter, he was an Irishman and loved Ireland. He did not believe in fomenting divisions among Irishmen, but rather wished that all would join together for the common good; that the absentee would remain at home; that the landlord would raise the standard of comfort and intelligence among his tenants; that the priests would use their influence with the people, to make them cultivate cleanliness, thrift, and sobriety.⁴⁵ Mild, gentle, inoffensive, a patriot and a Christian, a bishop with much of the apostolic spirit, he was an Irishman of whom Ireland should be proud; and when he died, in 1752, his country had to mourn the loss of her most brilliant son.⁴⁶

Boulter had died in 1742, Swift in 1745, his last days darkened by sorrow, his great intellect gone, for the insanity long threatened had at last come. Not content with his victory over Wood, he poured out his wrath against English treatment of Ireland;

⁴³ *Commons Journals*, Vol. VIII., pp. 250, 316-17.

⁴⁴ Stuart's *Historical Memoirs of Armagh*, pp. 374-84; Froude, Vol. I., pp. 572-81.

⁴⁵ Berkeley's *Works*, Vol. III., pp. 356, 363, 438-9.

⁴⁶ Froude, Vol. I., pp. 566-9.

against the laws prohibiting the woollen trade ; against the system of appointing Englishmen to all great offices in Ireland, and of governing the country exclusively for the advantage of England. Ireland, he said, was in the position of a man who was bid to look upon beautiful scenes, but whose vision of such was cut off by prison walls.⁴⁷ He lamented the recurring famines, and accurately traced their causes, and in bitter irony he suggested as the best way to relieve the people's poverty that their children should be cooked and eaten.⁴⁸ To the last his popularity remained, even when his powerful voice was no longer articulate and the light of reason was extinguished for ever.

With the disappearance of these three the most prominent figures in Irish life disappear ; nor did any of their contemporaries rise beyond mediocrity. Some of the brightest intellects among the Protestants, such as Burke, went to London ; the Catholics went abroad ; in spite of the absentee tax the landlords still went to London and Bath.⁴⁹ At home, especially in Dublin, men of culture were to be found. Lord Orrery was not unworthy to be the friend of Swift and Pope and Johnson ;⁵⁰ and at Dr. Delany's house, the furniture, the pictures, the dinners, the conversation of visitors and host, were characteristic of the best society.⁵¹ And here and there outside of Dublin a gentleman was met, perhaps a cultivated clergyman, or a landlord who fenced and drained, and helped his tenants, remembering that property has its duties as well as its rights.⁵² But such as these were few. Drunkenness had attained the proportions of a national vice. A gallon of claret in 24 hours was not an unusual allowance for one man, and bumper after bumper was drunk to the "glorious and immortal" King William ; and whoever refused to join in this oft-repeated toast was called a Jacobite, a Papist, a knave, and was lucky if he escaped with his life.⁵³ In eating the same excess prevailed,

⁴⁷ *Works*, Vol. VII., p. 85.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 207-14—(*A Modest Proposal*).

⁴⁹ Froude, Vol. I., pp. 657-8 ; *Charlemont Papers*, Vol. I., p. 15.

⁵⁰ *Orrery Papers*, Vol. I., pp. 166, 170, 265.

⁵¹ Swift's *Works*, Vol. VII., pp. 244-5 ; Mrs. Delany's *Autobiography*, Vol. II., pp. 308-10.

⁵² Froude, Vol. I., pp. 666-7.

⁵³ *Orrery Papers*, Vol. I., at the years 1736-7 ; Berkeley, Vol. III., p. 397.

and an observant Englishwoman did not see anywhere less than 14 dishes for dinner and 7 for supper. It was either a feast or a famine, for while the rich gorged themselves, the poor starved.⁵⁴ At the end of Chesterfield's term of office (1747) Lord Orrery saw an improvement. Duels were at an end; politeness, literature, and industry were making progress; and he was confident that Popery would fall before the assaults of the Charter Schools. But three years later he saw that ignorance and idleness were everywhere, and Popery still remained.⁵⁵

Matters became worse in the years that followed. The Munster landlords commenced to enclose common lands on which the people's cattle grazed, or from which the people's turf supply had been drawn; they consolidated farms and sent the smaller tenants adrift; and as grazing lands were exempt from tithes, heavier imposts were placed on the holdings which remained. The Ulster tenants had to complain of excessive tithes and excessive rents, of being compelled to make roads to which the landlords contributed nothing. In both provinces discontent ripened into secret societies, and from these came outrage and crime. In Ulster the secret societies were called Oak Boys and Steel Boys, the former from wearing oak boughs in their hats. Marching in parties of 400 or 500, they sometimes burned houses and houghed cattle, but more frequently made speeches and indulged in threats, and compelled landlords and parsons to swear to moderate their demands. But they killed nobody, and were put down without difficulty. Some were imprisoned, some emigrated, the remainder were persuaded to peaceful ways.⁵⁶ In Munster the secret society was called that of the Whiteboys, because the members went about with shirts over their clothes. Marching at night, they levelled houses, dug up farms, houghed cattle, burned houses, sometimes pulled out men's tongues, or dragged them from their beds and buried them naked in holes lined with thorns. These methods were more violent than those used in Ulster; the Munstermen had less liberty, and had suffered

⁵⁴ Mrs. Delany, Vol. I., p. 351, 353; Swift, Vol. VII., pp. 87, 157-6.

⁵⁵ *Orrery Papers*, Vol. I., p. 320, Vol. II., p. 67.

⁵⁶ Hardy's *Life of Lord Charlemont*, p. 94-6; *Charlemont Papers* Vol. I., pp. 20-1.

more than their northern brethren; and a rebellion of slaves is always more bloody than an insurrection of freemen.⁵⁷ For at least three years (1761-4) they kept the southern counties in terror. But a government of landlords and Protestants was not to be put down by a lawless association of hated Papists; and the Whiteboys were pursued with savage rigour. In Tipperary, martial law was proclaimed; informers were encouraged and rewarded; the jails were filled; special commissions were instituted to try them; on perjured evidence men were condemned; and Father Sheehy of Clogheen, in Tipperary, after a trial which was a disgrace even to Irish law, was sent to the scaffold with a declaration of innocence on his lips.⁵⁸

In the midst of this confused medley of crime and misery, of discontent and disaffection, the proceedings in Parliament began to attract notice. The old question of the right of England to legislate for Ireland had been raised in the Dublin Corporation by Dr. Lucas, who declared that if the English Parliament continued to exercise such powers there was no safety for Ireland; her linen manufactures would be destroyed as were her woollen manufactures; and he added that liberty was the birthright of the people, and they could not relinquish it even if they would.⁵⁹ These were the views of Molyneux and Swift, and were equally unpalatable to the government. Lucas's works were condemned; he was declared an enemy of his country by the Irish House of Commons; and, seeking safety in flight, he lived for a time in the Isle of Man.⁶⁰ Allowed to return after a time, he was elected member of Parliament for Dublin; and for 20 years—until his death in 1771, he sat in the House of Commons, where his courage and ability were respected, and where his influence was great.⁶¹ In the meantime the exile of Lucas did not end the embarrassments of the government, and his spirit appeared in the House of Commons. In 1749 the yearly revenue exceeded the expenditure, and it was agreed on all sides

⁵⁷ Hardys *Life of Lord Charlemont*, pp. 87-8, 95.

⁵⁸ Lecky's *Ireland*, Vol. II., pp. 1-44.

⁵⁹ Ball, p. 83-6.

⁶⁰ *Commons Journal*, Vol. VIII., pp. 58-9.

⁶¹ Hardy, pp. 159-61; Froude, Vol. I., pp. 677-82.

to apply portion of the surplus to the reduction of the Irish National Debt, which then stood at £220,000. The House of Commons sent heads of Bills to England; but in England a clause was inserted that the King's consent had been previously obtained, implying that this was necessary. The Irish Parliament passed the Bill under protest; but they were resolved to assert their right, and when a similar alteration was made in England, in 1753, they threw out the altered Bill, and refused to vote the necessary supplies.

The government was perplexed. To levy taxes without the consent of Parliament would be to destroy the constitution; to rely on the hereditary revenue would be to go deeper into debt; and the prospect of outvoting the patriots seemed dark. A few great families, nicknamed the Undertakers, commanded a majority of votes. In the counties their influence was considerable; in the boroughs it was overwhelming. The boroughs created by James I., had still further decayed; such places as Randalstown, Swords, Augher, and Clogher, to mention but a few, had few burgesses; and there must have been many cases where both inhabitants and voters had disappeared.⁶² Many of these decayed boroughs were the property of the Crown, and were represented by pensioners and placemen; but the greater number of them were in the hands of the Boyles, the Beresfords, the Ponsonbys, the Fitzgeralds, and were as much their property as the houses in which they lived. They could be bought and sold; and it was noted as a sign of reviving interest in Parliament, that, from 1750 to 1754, the price of a borough was trebled.⁶³ To call a party so constituted, the Opposition, and its opponents the Government, is sufficiently correct; but to call it a party of patriots seems a misuse of terms; and it is equally so when their principles are considered. With few exceptions, notably Malone and Hutchinson, they were fiercely anti-Catholic, and gloried in William of Orange; but they hated Primate Stone and the Viceroy; and at a banquet in Dublin, in 1754, they drank

⁶² *Commons Journals*—List of members.

⁶³ Hardy's *Charlemont*, p. 42. In 1760 the price of a borough was £2,000. (*Charlemont Papers*, Vol. I., p. 265.)

to the "Earl of Kildare and liberty," "disappointment to all those who under pretence of supporting the prerogative would destroy the liberty of the subject;" and they fired a volley at the Primate by drinking "speedy exportation of rotten Stone, duty free."⁶⁴ Had they been sincere in cutting down the pension list, in shortening Parliaments, in taxing absentees, in encouraging industry, in demanding free trade and a free Parliament, they might have done much. But their professions were only mock heroics; in their dictionary patriotism and plunder were synonymous; and under the powerful solvent of places and pensions, the opposition of the patriots melted away. Boyle, the Speaker, got a pension and was made Earl of Shannon; Ponsonby became Speaker; Malone, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Stannard, Prime Sergeant; Kildare became Marquis and subsequently Duke of Leinster; in 1755 the usual supplies were voted without a murmur; and the ship of State, lately labouring in troubled waters, sailed into a tranquil sea.⁶⁵

Fresh storms soon arose. An addition of £28,000 a year to the already bloated pension list invited attack; and, in 1759, by a unanimous vote of the House of Commons the pension list was condemned. The Viceroy, Bedford, had to declare that discontent and disaffection were universal; the very placemen and pensioners were restive; the Privy Council was dominated by faction; nor could he count on more than 20 members of Parliament for support.⁶⁶ The Opposition, weakened by defections in 1755, were again strong; and a powerful recruit was added to their ranks when Henry Flood entered Parliament. At the age of 27 he was elected for Kilkenny, in 1759, and at the general election of the following year he was re-elected for the same county. With a large income from landed estate, he was independent of the ruling aristocratic factions; during the Viceroyalties of Halifax, Northumberland, and Hertford, he was prominent on the popular side; and when Lord Townshend became Viceroy, in 1767,

⁶⁴ *Orrery Papers*, Vol. II., p. 122.

⁶⁵ Lecky's *Ireland*, Vol. I., pp. 467-9; Froude, Vol. II., pp. 5-6; *The Earls of Kildare*, pp. 283-4, 294-5.

⁶⁶ Froude, Vol. I., pp. 691-4.

Flood was the acknowledged leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, and the most capable leader who had ever appeared within its walls. Hely Hutchinson was clever, and Sexton Pery, and Fitzgibbon; but Flood towered high above them all. His person was attractive, his voice rich, his knowledge of constitutional questions great, his judgment sound, his logic without a flaw; and both in exposition and in reply he carried conviction to his hearers' minds.⁶⁷

At the general election of 1760 the voters demanded a promise from the candidates to support a Septennial Bill, and some insincere attempts were subsequently made in Parliament to have these promises redeemed. On Townshend's arrival heads of Bills were sent to the Privy Council, the hope being that these proposals would be rejected; but they came back from England with eight years substituted for seven; and with this slight change the Irish Parliament had to swallow the dose concocted by themselves.⁶⁸ A general election followed, and in 1769 Townshend met the new Parliament. To his chagrin they attacked the pension list, refused to increase the army as he demanded, and threw out a money bill because it had not originated with themselves. The great houses had again coalesced; but Townshend was resolved to break their power. He prorogued Parliament, which did not again sit for two years; dismissed Shannon and Ponsonby from the offices they held; struck off the Duke of Leinster's name from the Privy Council; and while others were bought by places and pensions, and invitations to the Castle, the great families and their friends were left out in the cold.⁶⁹ It was said that £500,000 was thus spent in breaking the power of these houses. But it was rolling the stone of Sisyphus. The new placemen were as intractable as the old, and, in 1771, Flood was able to carry a vote of censure on Townshend's administration in the House of Commons.⁷⁰ Nor did Townshend's successor, Harcourt, fare better. Bribery was

⁶⁷ Froude, Vol. II., pp. 52-5; Lecky's *Leaders of Public Opinion*, Vol. I., pp. 39-40.

⁶⁸ *Charlemont Papers*, Vol. I., pp. 25-6, 144—Note.

⁶⁹ Froude, Vol. II., pp. 84, 90, 99.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

again lavishly used ; places and pensions multiplied ; Hutchinson became Provost of Trinity College ; and—more remarkable still—Flood asked for and obtained the office of Vice-Treasurer, with a salary of £3,500 a year. Taxed with thus deserting the popular cause, his excuse was that in Parliament he could trust nobody—all were so corrupt—and he felt that in the Privy Council he could do more for Ireland than in Parliament.⁷¹ This event occurred in 1775, just as the first shot was fired in the American War ; and the year that saw Flood's star as a patriot leader sink below the horizon, saw an even more brilliant one mount rapidly in the heavens, for in that year, Henry Grattan took his seat as member for Charlemont.

The new member and Flood were already well known to each other, and a few years previously had joined in attacking Townshend, in letters to the *Freeman's Journal*.⁷² Both were men of the highest ability, and have sometimes been compared. Flood was cold, measured, calculating, Grattan impetuous and energetic ; in debate the former appealed to reason alone, the latter to the emotions and passions as well as to reason ; Flood could use sarcasm and invective with damaging effect, but Grattan went far beyond him, and those who provoked his wrath were scorched as with living fire ; in voice and manner and gesture Flood had the advantage, for Grattan's voice was thin and his gestures ungraceful, but amid the fire and force of his delivery, the wealth and splendour of his imagery, the beauty of his diction, these defects were forgotten ; and, if Flood was a strong river advancing with measured flow, Grattan was a mountain torrent, swollen with many tributary waters, and carrying in its rushing course everything in its path. In the moral qualities all the advantages were on Grattan's side. Flood was jealous and vain, Grattan was neither ; Flood deserted the popular cause for office, Grattan was incorruptible ; he loved Ireland with an undivided heart, and to serve her was his highest ambition. The ascendancy of his

⁷¹ Froude, 160-2 ; Hardy, pp. 182-4 ; *Charlemont Papers*, Vol. I., pp. 38-9, 41.

⁷² *Baratariana*. Flood wrote under the pseudonym "Sindercome." Grattan as "Posthumus."

talents and character was quickly recognised, and he soon occupied the place which Flood had filled.

The state of the country was then bad and rapidly grew worse. The woollen manufactures and the finer kinds of linen manufactures had been killed by commercial disabilities ; the coarser linens were shut out from the American markets by the war ; one third of the weavers of the whole country were idle ; in two years 10,000 of them had emigrated to America ; the streets of Dublin were paraded by starving crowds, and an embargo laid on provisions was ruining the landed interest. The penal laws were still enforced ; the tenants were harassed by rent and tithes ; new taxes were every year imposed, and new loans contracted ; the National Debt was nearly £1,000,000, and was going up ; national bankruptcy seemed imminent. And, in the midst of all this, the pension list still grew. An Englishman had the salary of a sinecure office raised from £2,300 to £3,500 ; the Sardinian Ambassador was put on the Irish establishment for £1,000 a year ; and three times that amount was annually given to the Queen of Denmark, whose only merit was that she had committed adultery with one of her subjects, and had been very justly driven from her throne. Even greater evils than these were feared. The French and Spaniards had joined the Americans ; on land disaster had fallen on the British arms ; on sea the British coasts were insulted ; and along the Irish coasts privateers swarmed, with the French or American colours flying at their mastheads. A terrible Scotchman, Paul Jones, flying the American flag, scoured the Irish sea in his ship the *Ranger*, captured a Waterford and a Dublin vessel, burned the shipping at Whitehaven, plundered Kircudbright, and then, crossing the North Channel, entered Carrickfergus Harbour in open day and sunk an English ship of war.⁷³

What were the Irish people to do ? The greater part of the army was in America ; the finances would not allow a fresh army to be raised, or even a militia ; the coast towns were feebly manned ; and if a French force landed no effective resistance could be offered. It was, then, the instinct of self-preservation rather

⁷³ Lecky's *Ireland*, Vol. II., pp. 153, 169-71, 226 ; Froude, Vol. II., 223-5, 229-32 ; O'Hanlon's *Irish American History*, pp. 254-5.

than any spirit of disaffection that urged the people as they did to raise an army of volunteers. Some corps were formed by country gentlemen from their tenants, some by the merchants in the towns, some were voluntary associations among the people themselves. Catholic money was subscribed and gratefully accepted for the equipment of this citizen army; but Catholics were not allowed to enter its ranks. Jealous of their numbers, the Government feared to put arms in their hands; nor did it favour the whole movement, —entirely non-Catholic though it was—and not without much hesitation were arms given out from the government stores. Serving without pay, and selecting their own officers, the men submitted freely to military discipline, were regularly drilled, wore distinctive uniforms, and, besides their small arms, they supplied themselves with some artillery. Among their officers were most of the public men of the day. Flood and Grattan were colonels; Lords Clancarde and Charlemont and the Duke of Leinster held high commands. The movement spread rapidly. By the end of 1779 a force of 40,000 men was raised, and within two years it numbered 100,000. Loyal to England it always was, and in these dark days when England was beaten to the dust by her revolted colonies, it was the Volunteers that saved Ireland from foreign invasion.⁷⁴

In the meantime, Grattan had been active in Parliament. Early in 1778 he moved an address to the king that the state of Ireland required to be urgently considered. The Government opposed him; the pensioners and placemen mustered in strength; and the motion was defeated by a heavy majority.⁷⁵ But even the Government felt that the existing state of things could not last; and before the year was out the embargo was taken off, and a Catholic Relief Bill passed enabling Catholics to take land on leases of 999 years, and to inherit land in the same way as Protestants. The following year, to placate the Presbyterians, the Test Act was repealed.⁷⁶ Both the Viceroy and the English ministry felt that the commercial disabilities should be abolished. But the

⁷⁴ Hardy, pp. 195-6; *Charlemont Papers*, pp. 356-70.

⁷⁵ *Grattan's Speeches*, Vol. I., pp. 14-20.

⁷⁶ Lecky, Vol. II., p. 216; Latimer's *History of the Irish Presbyterians*, p. 362.

English manufacturers took alarm; petitions poured into Parliament; Manchester, Liverpool and Bristol shouted themselves hoarse with rage, and even threatened to take up arms; and Lord North's government, cowering before the storm, whittled down the intended relief measure to a shadow.⁷⁷ Ireland was enraged. With few exceptions, every public man condemned these disabilities; Hely Hutchinson made an unanswerable case against them;⁷⁸ the advice of Swift, to burn everything English except her coal, was remembered; and at public meetings resolutions were passed that the manufactures of Great Britain were not to be imported or used.⁷⁹ Finally, the Volunteers became menacing; in the end of 1779 they filled the space at College Green with arms in their hands, and at the mouths of pieces of cannon they had put labels with the ominous words "Free Trade or this."⁸⁰ Even the placemen could no longer be relied on. When Grattan moved an amendment to the Viceroy's speech—"that it was not by temporary expedients but by a free export that the nation was to be saved from impending ruin," he was supported by Flood and Hussey Burgh, the Prime Sergeant; and the Government, knowing they would be defeated, allowed the motion to pass, as did a further motion in both Houses thanking the Volunteers.⁸¹ With Grattan's addition the address was transmitted to England, but the answer which came back promised nothing. Dublin was in a ferment; the Volunteers became more threatening; and Grattan had no difficulty in carrying a motion refusing any new taxes, and a further one granting but six months' supply. On this occasion he spoke with great power; but the speech of Hussey Burgh produced even a greater effect. The state of Ireland, he said, was not one of peace, but of smothered war; England had sown her laws in dragon's teeth and they had sprung forth as armed men. From all parts of the House—from the members' benches and from the galleries filled by the public—these words

⁷⁷ Lecky, pp. 177-80; Hardy, pp. 198-9.

⁷⁸ In his book, *The Commercial Restraints of Ireland*.

⁷⁹ Froude, Vol. II., pp. 241-5.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 257-64.

⁸¹ Hardy, pp. 200-1.

were met by a tempest of cheers ; and when he added that he publicly resigned the office he held the tempest grew louder still. If he had, said Grattan, shut against himself the gates of promotion, he had opened the gates of glory. At last the English Parliament yielded ; the hysterics of Lancashire and Bristol were disregarded ; and Irish exports were free.⁸²

But the millennium had not come. When sober reflection succeeded to universal joy, it was remembered that chronic distress cannot be suddenly relieved ; that decayed manufactures do not immediately revive ; that even yet a large part of the Penal Code remained ; that judges were appointed at pleasure ; that there was no Habeas Corpus Act, or Mutiny Act ; that the English Parliament still maintained its claim to legislate for Ireland ; and that the English Privy Council still had power to alter or reject Irish Bills. And the concessions gained had been wrung from England in her weakness, and might be taken back when her strength returned. About the Catholics there would be little difficulty, for all parties were agreed that there should be a further and substantial relaxation of the penal laws ; and in 1781 the Habeas Corpus Act was extended to Ireland. But the Government was obstinately opposed to the independence of the judges, and to a Mutiny Bill ; and when the Irish Parliament voted for one, the English Privy Council changed it from a biennial to a perpetual one, thus exempting for ever the Irish army from the civil law. In this form it passed in the Irish Parliament in spite of all the opposition which Grattan could give. The conviction was becoming general throughout Ireland that, as long as the Irish Parliament was controlled by the Privy Council, and as long as the power of the English Parliament to legislate for Ireland remained, all that had been gained was nothing. Grattan thought the opportune moment was come to obtain legislative independence ; and early in 1780 he moved in the House of Commons that only the King with the consent of the Parliament of Ireland could legislate for Ireland ; and that Great Britain and Ireland were only united by the bond of a common sovereign. His speech was the finest ever delivered

⁸² *Grattan's Speeches*, Vol. 1., p. 35 ; Barrington, *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*, p. 69 ; Lecky, Vol. II., pp. 240-3.

in the Irish Parliament, and charmed both friend and foe. Yet even some of Grattan's supporters advised that the motion should not be pressed to a division, and when this was done it was defeated.⁸³ Almost immediately, however, one of Grattan's principal supporters, Mr. Yelverton, moved the repeal of Poyning's Act, but he also was defeated. The Viceroy, Buckingham, had done his work well; had dealt out places and pensions and titles with a lavish hand; and, well satisfied that he had beaten the Patriots, he left Ireland, in 1780, and was succeeded by the Earl of Carlisle.⁸⁴

The situation was complex. The Undertakers controlled Parliament and were ready to support the Government; but they must get places and pensions in return; and the embarrassed state of the finances did not allow bribery to be tried on a large scale. Flood had gone over to the Opposition and had been deprived of his office, and to the Government his desertion was a serious blow. The Volunteers were loyal to England, but resolute for legislative independence, and if this were refused their loyalty to England would cease. Taxed with overawing Parliament, they replied that in becoming soldiers they did not cease to be citizens, and at a convention at Dungannon, in February, 1782, at which delegates from 25,000 men attended, they denounced Poyning's Act, the Act of 1719, and the Perpetual Mutiny Act; approved of the relaxation of the Penal Code; and demanded the independence of the judges and of Parliament. These resolutions were drawn up by Grattan and Flood, and by Charlemont, lately chosen Commander-in-Chief of the Volunteers.⁸⁵ Still obdurate, the Government and its majority would not yield, and when Grattan renewed his motion he was beaten by a majority of two to one,⁸⁶ And as if to emphasise the vote, the English Parliament in some Acts just passed inserted the name of Ireland. In revenge the Volunteers dismissed from their positions as officers those who had

⁸³ *Grattan's Speeches*, Vol. I., pp. 39-54.

⁸⁴ *Lecky*, Vol. II., pp. 251-4, 260-4; *Froude*, Vol. II., pp. 290-4.

⁸⁵ *Barrington*, pp. 100-01.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-7; *Hardy*, p. 212; *Charlemont Papers*, Vol. I., pp. 93-4.

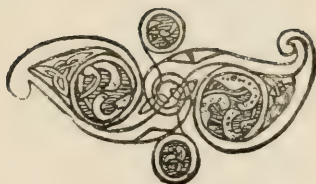
voted against Grattan, and denounced the majority as a corrupt crew. The Dungannon Resolutions were everywhere adopted. The magistrates would not enforce English Acts; the grand juries would not obey them.⁸⁷ To govern Ireland was becoming impossible, and Carlisle advised that concessions be made. But just then (in March, 1782), Lord North's government fell, and Rockingham with Fox and Burke came into power. The Duke of Portland became Viceroy. The new ministers were friendly to Grattan, but pleaded for time. His answer was a stern refusal; he refused even to negotiate, knowing the time had come to act; and on the 16th of April he moved an address to the King declaring that the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, and these alone, had power to make laws for Ireland; and the motion was carried unanimously.

With all their professions of friendship for Grattan's views, it seems certain that Portland's party would not have yielded if they could. But the crowning disaster of Yorktown had taken place; war was still raging with France and Spain; and England was in no condition to face a rebellious Ireland. Some delay there was, some attempt at negotiation, and then England yielded; and when the Irish Parliament met in May, the Act of 1719 had been already repealed; the appellate jurisdiction of the Irish House of Lords had been restored; and the King was prepared to give his assent to the repeal of Poyning's Act. A Catholic Relief Act soon followed; the Perpetual Mutiny Act was made biennial; and the independence of the judges was established. In gratitude to England £100,000 was voted to furnish 20,000 additional sailors to the British navy; and £50,000 was voted to Grattan for his priceless services to his country. Twice the amount was at first proposed, and would have been voted unanimously; but Grattan obstinately refused the larger amount, and only with reluctance accepted the lesser. Unlike Flood, he was a poor man, and proposed to resume the practice of his profession at the Bar, where his marvellous gifts of oratory would have soon brought him wealth. But the mansion and estate purchased for him by a grateful country left

⁸⁷ Lecky, Vol. II., pp. 286-7, 289, 294-5.

him free to devote his whole time to public affairs, and under these conditions he accepted the gift. He was to be his country's servant as he had been her deliverer ; he gloried in what he had been able to do ; and conceived it to be his duty, as it was his pride, to guard the liberties he had won.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Hardy, pp. 213-22 ; *Grattan's Speeches*, Vol. I., pp. 140-3 ; Froude, Vol. II., pp. 371-9 ; Barrington, pp. 133-49, 158-67 ; *Charlemont Papers*, Vol. I., pp. 65, 90, 92.



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